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PATRONAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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It is a well-known truth that the most conservative of institutions are those through which the processes of education are accomplished. Education clings to the old and reverences the past; it is guided by tradition and governed by precedent. It is on its guard against the adoption of new ideas and the acceptance of novel theories, and it has ever been a follower rather than a leader. This condition would be surprising were not an explanation for it readily found in the long domination of the educational system by that even more conservative influence, the Church. The medieval university and school existed mainly for the purpose of training young men for the Church; hence it was inevitable that the Church was the governing body, that professors and teachers were clergymen, that courses of study were planned with reference to the needs of theology as a profession. This relationship was not changed when the Reformation emancipated individual thought. Under Anglican and under Puritan, the controlling influence in education was ecclesiastical not less than it had been under the domination of the Mediaeval Church, and not less than it is to-day where the Church of Rome is the insistent force. For centuries the Church led and education followed, whether the Church was Romanist or Protestant. The result of this long control of education by the Church was the fostering in the educational system of a spirit of inertia, of passive acceptance of whatever was prescribed by the supervising authority, of the attitude of non-resis-

tance and even fatalism. Lack of exercise brought, as was inevitable, the decay of the power of self-activity, which had, indeed, never existed as a distinct force, but only as a germ that under more favoring conditions might have been developed into independence of action. The educational system was therefore conservative—its function was to hand down a body of truths generally accepted by the Church, and not to be questioned by those transmitting them; it was not its function to be either an investigator or a leader.

Notwithstanding the partial substitution of civil for ecclesiastical control, this conservatism has not been changed; it is now the State instead of the Church that leads, while education still follows. As education formerly accepted what was prescribed by the Church, so now it for the most part accepts what is prescribed by the State. Its general attitude is well described by a characterization of the political system made by Mr. E. J. Lowell, when he says, "It is characteristic of the European family of nations, as distinguished from the other great divisions of mankind, that among them different ideals of government and of life arise from time to time, and that before the whole of a community has entirely adopted one set of principles the more advanced thinkers are already passing on to another."¹

If this principle is applied to the relative position of the State and education, it is evident that the starting-point of the statesman is found to be the goal of the educator. Hence the educational system constantly suffers from the employment of antiquated political methods that have never represented the highest ideals, and from attempts to employ principles not in harmony with the generally accepted ideas of the best form of political government. Illustrations of this slower pace, in which education follows in the footsteps of the State, are seen in the survival of denominational schools long after the separation of Church and State; in the adoption and retention of the monarchical

¹ *Eve of the French Revolution*, p. 1.

principle in educational organization long after its abandonment in the political world; in the educational disfranchisement of all officers of instruction so far as regards the choice of their superior officers, while universal suffrage has for a century been the generally accepted theory behind our political institutions; in the application of the principle of lese-majesty to every educational institution in America, though freedom of speech and of the press are guaranteed by the political constitution of the State; in the accomplishment of its ends through a highly centralized form of administration with a resulting bureaucracy, though this form of government when found in the field of politics is but the survival of worn-out conditions.

It follows that while education has thus clung tenaciously to principles of government that have been abandoned by the State, and has been slow to accept and to adopt those that have proved satisfactory in the political field, it has, on the other hand, also been slow to introduce those contrary principles that have found an entrance into politics, but have never been approved by statesmen. The educational system, for example, has not as yet been charged with the wholesale bribery and corruption that have brought disgrace upon the states of Delaware and Rhode Island, nor has it ever worked through intimidation as has often been the case in Southern politics.

It is, therefore, not surprising that it was long after the evil of the spoils theory was introduced into the body politic before its corrupting effects were noticeable in the educational system. It is perhaps equally not to be wondered at that, once introduced, the evil has spread with great rapidity, until its extent is perhaps not realized by those whose activities have been given to checking its growth in the political field.

But it must be noted that while the spoils system is essentially the same both in politics and in education, there are a few deviations from the parallel. The introduction of the spoils system into the State was the result of the sudden supremacy in our political life of certain new, untried, self-assertive, over-confident forces that came to the front with the rapid develop-

ment of new material conditions. In the educational system its introduction was purely a matter of imitation—it has served well the ends of certain politicians in the State, it could be made to serve equally well the ends of other politicians in education. Its introduction into the national government attracted immediate attention through the importance of the offices affected,—justices of the United States courts, cabinet officers, ministers of foreign courts, important collectorships and postmasterships were all involved. In education, the positions affected were all local in character and of minor importance. To-day a thousand teachers could at once be removed or appointed for political reasons in different parts of the country, and far less attention would be attached to the situation than has been concentrated on the district-attorneyship of Delaware or the collectorship of Charleston. Its introduction into the State roused at once the active protests of the greatest minds of the country,—Webster, Clay, and Calhoun all joined forces in earnest protest against the prostitution of the national offices in the interests of scheming politicians. Education has had no leader, and the evil has met with little opposition as it has spread itself insidiously into every part of the country. The best element in the citizenship of the State has everywhere protested against its introduction into civic life, while education has been non-resistant.

The spoils evil has therefore developed in the educational system with great rapidity because it has been an imitation, and imitation reproduces itself to infinity, because the positions affected have been as a rule obscure and of minor importance, and because education has not developed champions of the calibre of Webster and Calhoun, Jenckes and Curtis, who have protected it from the assaults of its enemies. But most of all the development has been rapid because the organization of educational work has lent itself readily to the propagation of the evil. In the absence of a national system of education, the States have governed their educational affairs in their own way. It has thus been possible for the evil to take root in

forty-five different systems, and to multiply itself indefinitely through country and local organizations.

The head of the political system of the State is the State legislature and thus this body is in a position to be a prey to the spoilsmen. It is therefore to this body that politicians go for authority to introduce into the schools the compulsory study of American history in the interests of so-called "patriotism"; it is the State legislature that prescribes that the benefits of protective tariff or the virtues of bi-metalism must be taught, it is the State legislature that authorizes the teaching of physiology with special reference to the injurious effects of alcoholic drinks;—it is politicians rather than educators who prescribe what the schools are to teach, and this is done less from vital interest in the subjects themselves than from a desire to retain or to gain votes from the constituencies interested. If offices can not be distributed to large numbers of voters, their support can be retained through arranging a required curriculum in the interests of special groups of politicians and well-meaning philanthropists. It is the State legislature that carries out the behests of politicians and inaugurates a system of uniform text-books published at State expense, with the result that "the people have paid for the books twice, once by taxation and once by purchase."¹

Not only is it possible for the State legislature thus to interfere in larger questions, as those of the curriculum and text-books, and in minor ways, as in the appointment of school holidays, but in many of the States it elects the State Superintendent of public instruction. This introduces at once and directly the political element into the educational system, since the tenure of office is for but a limited period and rotation in office prevails. A fluctuating policy results, since every turn of the political wheel involves a correspond-

¹ In 1900 the State of California had invested more than a million and a half dollars in a printing plant and in the manufacture of text-books and had nothing to show for it. See the account given of the California experiment by R. D. Faulkner in *Educational Review*, XX., p. 60.

ing change in the office of State Superintendent. Even in the first instance the office is too often filled in the interests of party managers. It is but a few years ago that a state superintendent of public instruction was elected by a State Legislature, and some of the daily papers of the State congratulated the public on the ideal choice made, since the person elected had always served faithfully the cause of the Republican party.

But the stronghold of the politician is in the local administration of the public schools in towns and cities. In these places the management and control of public educational affairs is in the hands of a board of education whose functions are most important.

They may be classed under three heads: The most obvious are the business duties, or those that concern the educational plant. These include the purchase of school sites, the construction and repair of buildings, the decision in regard to methods of heating, lighting, ventilation, and sanitary equipment; all of these duties carry with them the letting of large numbers of important contracts.

A second class concerns the material equipment of the schools. This comprises the purchase of school furniture, necessary apparatus, libraries, decorative material, stationery and similar supplies, and the selection and payment of janitors, watchmen, and other caretakers.

A third class is connected with the specific field of education. This includes the selection and appointment of superintendents, principals, and teachers; the decision in regard to the establishment of technical schools, commercial schools, evening schools, training schools for teachers, general industrial and mechanical training, courses of public lectures, university extension, and similar educational activities; the choice of text-books, and finally the general questions connected with the curriculum.

In view of these manifold activities it is important to inquire how the members of the board of education receive their office. Three general types of school boards are found: The first is a large body whose

members are appointed by the Mayor equally from both political parties, and it is inevitable that pressure should be brought to bear on him to give positions on the board to office seekers who have been disappointed in securing larger or more important political offices. Positions on the school board thus become the consolation prizes of disappointed office seekers. The second type of school board is also a large body, elected by the voters on a general ticket. Here the tendency is for positions to be sought not so much by disappointed office seekers, as by political aspirants who seek the office as the first step to political preferment.¹ The school board thus becomes to them the first round in the political ladder that stretches from the street to the presidency. The third type of a school board may be either large or small, but the members are elected by the residents of the ward, they reside in the ward, and they are elected to represent the ward. In such boards it follows that a premium is put on mediocrity, and that places on the board become the sugar-plums given the small ward politician as a reward for faithful service to the political boss. In all three types of school board, it must be evident that political influence is the whip hand where decisions are to be made that affect the schools.

Appointed or elected as politicians, by politicians, for politicians, it is but natural that members of such school boards should magnify their office, and regard themselves as representing political rather than educational interests. Their own attitude towards their duties is perhaps illustrated by a recent session of a school board, where a member said with pride that he was not an educator in any way, shape, manner or form whatever, and that if the people elected him on that supposition, they made a great mistake.² Another

¹ The case is on record of a young man who sought and obtained election to the school board because it would help gratify his ambition to become a night policeman. "Confessions of Public School Teachers"—*Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII, p. 97.

² Report of the National Educational Association, 1900, p. 618.

member of another school board has put himself on record in regard to this position when he says: "I believe that a business man, a business man of intelligence, is better qualified than a professional educator to run our school system, as he is guided more by what the people actually want!"¹

School boards, then, to generalize from these and many other particulars that lack of time prevents enumerating, who have been elected for political reasons, interpret their election as a vindication of business, that is, of political methods, and govern themselves accordingly.

It is of interest to note the result of such "business" methods on the different classes of functions,—those that concern the educational plant, the material equipment, and the specific field of teaching (in providing for the initial outlay). It must be evident that the temptations are manifold for members of school boards elected for political reasons to purchase for school sites property that may be ill adapted for school purposes, but property that a brother politician desires to sell;² to appoint for the construction of school buildings a local architect who builds dwelling-houses, churches, court-houses, banks, opera-houses, and school buildings with equal lack of appreciation of the different uses each building is to serve; to let contracts for heating, lighting, and ventilating school buildings to those whose political support is sought.³

Similar temptations are found in providing material equipment for schools. That these temptations are not resisted is evident from the words of a citizens' com-

¹ *Educational Review*, February, 1899.

² In one city the high school is located on the top of a high hill difficult to be reached on foot, while street-car lines pass on two sides of it and the resulting noise is almost intolerable.

³ New heating apparatus was needed in a large high school, and, at great expense, gas engines were introduced at the instigation of one of the commissioners, who was a member of the firm manufacturing the engines. They were inadequate for the purpose, the building could not be heated and it soon became imperative to take them out and substitute a method of heating not controlled by political influence.

mittee that has for many years been attempting, as yet ineffectually, to free one of our great cities from the grip of the spoilsmen. It reports: "The natural tendency is for the holders of places on the board to be governed by considerations of ward politics rather than by the interests of the schools at large. This is not theory; at present janitorships are traded off, and even principalships of schools in certain wards are regarded as the perquisites of representatives of such wards. Buildings are secured for wards by members having the greatest 'pull,' and other districts are deprived of schools regardless of the needs of such districts. The whole school management becomes a system of trading of ward interests. The school district should be a unit if economical and systematic arrangement is to be possible."

That this condition is as true of other cities as it is of Detroit is evident from school boards that purchase stereopticons without lantern slides, and that contract for chromos by the score to be used as wall decorations,¹ that purchase school desks from the firms allowing the largest rebate irrespective of the adaptability of the desks to the children who are to use them; that increase the wages of janitors before increasing the salaries of teachers; and that appoint as caretakers those who can control the most votes in the ward.

But, the application of the spoils system to the school plant and to its material equipment, corrupting as it is in itself, might be tolerated were it not extended to the field of education itself. But it is in this very

¹ A few years since, I visited the public schools of a large city that numbered among its civic associations one for the encouragement of art. This association had a large and invaluable collection of prints illustrating literary and historical subjects. Each one was tastefully framed in passe-partout and bore in print a full explanatory description of the scene, locality, event, building, or person represented. These pictures were loaned to the different public schools, and were changed every three months. The week I visited the schools, these, by authority of the school board, were being replaced by hundreds of cheap, meaningless pictures gaudily framed, that had apparently been purchased by the wholesale.

field that its most baneful influences are seen, and it is therefore necessary to examine these conditions somewhat more in detail.

The nominal head of the school system of any city is the superintendent, presumably an educational expert, who is qualified for his position by reason of long years of scholastic and professional training, and through years passed in educational work. But in the opinion of the political school board the superintendent is an employee who "loses his job" when he disobeys orders. Said the president of the board of education in Chicago scarcely more than two years ago: "It is an absurdity — in fact, it is an impossibility — for the board to delegate supreme power to its inferior. The inferior can have the appearance of being sole ruler only so long as he anticipates the spirit and wishes of his superiors."¹ Even Rousseau in the extravagances of his "Social Contract" scarcely laid down so contradictory and impracticable a relationship for the members of the body politic.

Another member of the same educational body protested against the right of the superintendent of schools to express his opinion on an educational matter, saying: "It is not necessary to repeat here the opinions he has expressed already about this case. I do not believe it is right to allow an employee of this board to express his antagonism to his employers";² and again the same member complains: "I am tired of hearing the superintendent tell the members of the board what they must do on every matter that comes up. He has no right to dictate to us. He is a servant of the board, and it is his place to obey orders."³ If the same canons were prescribed in other professions, as in that of medicine, for example, it would mean that the anti-vaccinationists and the anti-vivisectionists would prevail in the contest between science and ignorance; since

¹ President Harris, in an address before the Illinois Teachers' Association, December, 1899. Cited in *Educational Review*, XIX, p. 192.

² Cited in *Educational Review*, XIX, p. 311.

³ Cited by A. H. Nelson in *Educational Review*, XIX, p. 189.

"the people know what they want" and the "employee must obey orders." It would follow that the bubonic plague could not be checked in India since "the people know what they want" and do not wish to take sanitary precautions against it. The forces of education are everywhere at war with ignorance, and if ignorance is to direct education, education may as well abandon the field.

If this is the conception of the political school board as to the relation that exists between themselves and the superintendents of schools, it will not be surprising to find that it is extended to all members of the teaching force. A gentleman, as widely as he is favorably known in the educational world, sums up the situation truthfully, if vigorously, in saying: "A school teacher is not able to hold any opinion on any subject worth thinking about. She must sing in the church choir, teach a class in the Sunday school, and she can fail of reappointment at the close of the year if the grocer's wife does not like the cut of her bonnet. The average length of a teacher's tenure in the United States is less than three years."

It must be evident from what has been said, that it is school boards elected for political purposes who have ruled that only residents of a city may occupy positions in the schools; that only one member of a family may be appointed, and that married women may not be appointed, because, if married, presumably they do not need the salary. It is school boards so chosen that refuse to raise the salaries of teachers on the ground that members of the same family have already had their salaries increased; that in some localities give positions in the schools to the lowest bidder, and in others to those who contribute most generously to the campaign funds of the dominant political party; that promote teachers on the principle of priority of appointment, irrespective of their qualifications for the advanced position, and, conversely, cut off the last teacher to be appointed, no matter how successful he may have been, if a reduction in the teaching force is necessary; that appoint young women to important positions with the object of retaining the

political support of the families they represent;¹ that give places to young men for the sole reason that they have a political "pull";² that install as principals of schools men who murder the King's English, that remove teachers who are unwilling to serve the personal ends of its members;³ and that raise or lower salaries for their own purely personal reasons.⁴

The whole situation in regard to the appointment of teachers has recently been admirably presented by Superintendent Maxwell of New York when he says: "Getting good teachers and increasing their efficiency is the main problem of school systems everywhere." "Has there ever been any opposition to such policy?" asked the guileless interviewer. "Has there ever been any considerable opposition to anything else?" questioned in reply the experienced Superintendent. "Almost all the contests I have seen in New York schools, and that is more than twenty years, have sprung

¹ A few years ago one of the district Tammany leaders had secured positions in the public schools of New York City for four sisters of one of his political subordinates. When the subordinate at one time refused to follow his leader, charges of the basest ingratitude were preferred against him by all the members of the Tammany camp.

² In one of our large city high schools, a department of biology was recently established. Among the candidates for the position of head of the department was a young man of small education, who had made a failure as a lawyer, and a young woman, a college graduate, who had made a special study of biology. The broken-down lawyer was "in" with the powers in control, and received the appointment. Public opinion and the attitude of the students soon compelled his resignation, and the young woman with some knowledge of the subject ultimately received the appointment.

³ One teacher has recently been compelled to resign because she refused to use her influence to secure a railway pass for the president of the board from her uncle, the president of one of the great trunk lines.

⁴ In one city the salaries of all the principals in the city were reduced \$100 each, because one of their number had bargained for an article of furniture at the store of a member of the board and subsequently purchased it elsewhere. The offended member of the board was able to "get even" with him by carrying through the reduction of salaries.

"Confessions of Public School Teachers" in *Atlantic Monthly*.

directly or indirectly out of the effort to make teaching better." The methods of appointment, continues in effect Superintendent Maxwell, are not such as to give the schools the best teachers, but to give certain men or groups of men the patronage if a place is vacant. The teacher who desires promotion goes, not to her immediate superior or to her principal, who knows what her work is, but to "a leading man of the party," or to a ward politician, or even to politicians up state, while "committeemen who ignore every thought of the good of the service strut about with the consciousness of having a following of a hundred women and their several male relatives."¹

That this statement is not confined to Brooklyn is evident from the report made by Superintendent Swett of San Francisco in regard to the conditions prevailing there until a very recent period. "As places become vacant during the year," reports the Superintendent, "each director, in regular order, makes an appointment, and, by mutual understanding, this appointment is absolute, the only condition required being that the nominee must be the holder of a legal certificate—the most talented and accomplished teachers, coming here from other cities, stand no chance of an appointment on merit. School directors are subjected to the political or personal 'pull' of United States Senators, of Governors and ex-Governors, city officials, supervisors, members of the county committee, political clubs, and active politicians generally."²

It is the school board on the scent for patronage that seeks to protect home industries by the establishment of training schools for city teachers, not so much from a desire to have better trained teachers as from a wish to keep at home young men and women who may be centres of political influence;³ that forbids

¹ Interview in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, January 30, 1902.

² *Educational Review*, V., pp. 310-311.

³ It is of interest to note that Springfield, Massachusetts, had a training school for teachers until a few years ago, when it was abandoned because detrimental to the best interests of the schools.

by law the employment of any teacher who is not a graduate of the city schools; that always refuses to appoint a first-class applicant from a distance if there is a fairly good applicant whose family is well-known in the place; that asks a candidate, as was recently the case in a Pennsylvania city, "How many votes can you control?" and when the unhappy applicant confesses "None" replies, "Then there's no use in your trying to teach; you'd better get some other occupation."

It is school boards chosen for political reason that furnish the schools with geographies twenty-five years old, and with text-books on science written twenty years ago; that select the text-books published by firms holding out the greatest inducements, either political or financial; that appoint and discharge teachers at the instigation of publishing houses;¹ and that in many places make it practically impossible to secure even proper text-books through the control over the board exercised by publishing firms.²

But a still more insidious evil threatens the school system at the hands of politicians. When the spoils system was introduced into the political system offices were distributed with ostentatious generosity, but after a time politicians began to demand the *quid pro quo*, — the eye for the eye, the tooth for the tooth. Office holders were given to understand that their tenure depended on the money consideration they made to the

¹ "The majority of superintendents in small cities owe their positions to 'pulls' organized by publishing houses to whose books they are friendly."—"Confessions of Public School Teachers," in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII, p. 97.

A few years ago the principal of a large city high school failed of re-election at the instigation of a large book company, one of whose text-books the principal, acting as chairman of a committee of high school principals, had recommended to be dropped, as ten professors of mathematics in universities for which the high schools of the city prepared students had advised his committee that the book was not sufficiently advanced for college preparatory work.

² In one city where a member of the school board is the secretary of a great publishing house, no text-book has ever been used not published by this firm.

campaign fund of the political party through which they obtained office; they were no longer voters to be conciliated, but slaves to be driven under the lash of the party overseer. But it was long after political assessments were levied on office holders before the political boss invaded the school armed with this weapon. As yet but few instances can be cited where assessments have been levied on teachers, but that it has been done even once is cause for alarm. The most flagrant instance of it that has come to public notice is probably the recent one in Philadelphia. Two months ago¹ the Republican Campaign Committee in that city issued a circular containing these significant words: "Mass Meetings must be held and circulars relating to party issues printed and mailed to the voters, and the expense of necessary clerk hire, postage, etc., must be paid, hence we are compelled to ask from Republicans the necessary funds to sustain our efforts in polling the full Republican vote of the city and defray the proper and legitimate expenses of the campaign. We therefore solicit from you such contribution to our treasury as you feel you can and ought to make, and your devotion to the party and its interests prompt you to voluntarily contribute." This circular, signed by the president, the treasurer, and the chairman of the finance committee, was sent to all men² teachers and the school janitors in the public schools; and in blue pencil in the corner was written the percentage of salary the teacher was expected to pay. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of the teachers heeded the injunction. Some teachers have estimated that fifty per cent of their number "paid up," while the *Philadelphia Ledger* admits that the janitors as a class obeyed orders. To the question asked of teachers, "Why do you pay the assessment?" the reply was

¹ It is dated January 20th, 1903, and is issued preparatory to the municipal election of February 17.

² I have been told by one whom personally I consider the best authority that the circular was also sent to all the women teachers. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* states that it was sent to some of the women, but that the city committee said that these requests had been made by mistake.

made, "It is too late, we can't stick together well enough; too many are afraid." In the city where the constitutional convention met, "it is too late"; in the city of Franklin its teachers "can't stick together well enough"; in the city where the Declaration of Independence was signed, "too many teachers are afraid." Is any more significant illustration needed of the degradation into which the spoils system has dragged education? Is it necessary to add that in Philadelphia current report has it that promotions are bought, that a principalship costs from \$200 to \$1200, and that any teacher who refuses to comply with the political demands has his place declared "vacant" on any "trumped-up charge?"

The stream cannot rise higher than its source, and if school boards are elected for political or partisan reasons, superintendents and teachers will be elected on similar grounds; the members of the teaching body will come to regard their occupation as a trade,¹ not a profession, and the forces of evil will prevail over those that make for righteousness.

If, therefore, the question is asked, "How do patronage and the spoils system affect our schools?" the reply must be that it is first through the composition of school boards when positions on it are sought or conferred for political reasons; that it is second through the introduction of "business methods" of administration, a euphemism for ignorance of educational questions; that it is third through the appointment and retention of incompetent teachers; that it is fourth through the control of text-books exerted by certain of the great publishing houses; that it is fifth through the adoption from politics of the pernicious scheme of levying political assessments.

¹ The Chicago Teachers' Federation recently voted to enter the ranks of the trades union and to ask admission to the Chicago Federation of Labor.—*Literary Digest*, November 22, 1902.

In New York City, the Central Federated Union voted, December 21, to attempt to organize the public school teachers of the city, and directed its organization committee to call a meeting of the public school teachers for the purpose.—*The Tribune*, December 22, 1901.

The result of this degradation of the school system through the introduction of offensive and corrupting political methods has been the establishment of private schools supported by the wealthy classes, who have paid from one pocket heavy fees for the education of their children, and from the other pocket still heavier tolls to the political highwaymen who have used the school funds to secure their own political preferment or personal advancement. Those who cannot afford to send their children to private schools have been obliged, if their protests against it have been unavailing, to accept, with all its baneful results, the extension of the spoils theory from the political to the educational system. The ultimate result of this must be the serious undermining of that spirit of democracy that we have so long boasted was our national characteristic.

It has not been the intention of this paper to assert or even to imply that the schools of the country have been hopelessly handed over to the politicians, but only to point out the existence of certain definite conditions that threaten the welfare of education. A recent comparison that has been made of reports in regard to the schools of twenty-three cities seems to show that in thirteen of them the schools are controlled by politics and that in ten the schools are free from such control.

Possibly this is a fair indication of the proportionate influence of politics and freedom from politics.

Efforts have been made in many places to free the schools from the incubus of the spoils system, but such efforts have too often proved unavailing. It is far easier to let down the bars for the admission of the spoilsmen than it is to drive them out of the coveted fields.

The basal fact upon which the question hinges is the composition and organization of the school board, — if this is determined by politics, the schools are in the hands of politicians; if the school board is non-political, the schools are in the hands of educators.

An awakening appreciation of the impossibility of having an efficient administration of the schools as long as their control is in the hands of a numerous

body elected on a partisan ticket has led, in some places, to the substitution of it for a small body elected on a general ticket, or appointed by the mayor. Experience has seemed to show that if governing bodies are so selected or appointed, there is less danger of jobbery and log-rolling in the administration of the schools on their financial side, and that teachers will be less likely to be appointed for reasons of political influence, religious affiliations, family connection, personal popularity, or a desire to protect home industries, than on account of character, scholarship, professional training, and teaching ability.

But the question of the administration of the schools is a most difficult one, and as yet only a beginning has been made towards settling it.¹

So much is the political control of the schools to be deplored that it would seem as if every community would be on its guard against the insidious influence and use all means possible to avert such an unfortunate condition; but the general apathy that characterizes nearly every town in the administration of its local political affairs is still more in evidence in the administration of its educational work. So little has as yet been accomplished to rid the schools of political influence that we seem not yet to have reached the parting of the ways.

The superintendent of schools in one of our great inland cities has recently written: "I have yet to find the city where political influence does not, to a greater or less extent, find its way into the school department;" and his words would doubtless be echoed by large numbers of his fellow superintendents.

It is a matter of great congratulation that the principles of civil service reform have taken such deep root that few are found who openly call in question their wisdom and efficiency. In the forty years that have intervened since Mr. Jenckes began his heroic struggle in the House of Representatives for the sub-

¹ An admirable summary of the present condition of school administration is given by Mr. Trueman A. De Weese in the *Educational Review*, June, 1900.

stitution of the merit system for the spoils system in the political field enormous progress has been made, and political parties now vie with each other in protestations of attachment to the cause of civil service reform. But it must be said that the victories have as yet been largely within the domain of politics. The spoilsmen have been driven from the great departments of public administration in Washington and from many state and municipal strongholds, only to redouble their assaults on the public school system. While men have slept the enemy has sown tares!

That this should be the case has been but natural. The evils of the spoils system, as found in the national government, are far more patent than is their manifestation elsewhere, because of the great publicity that attends all presidential and cabinet appointments. Yet the opportunities offered the spoilsmen are in the aggregate far greater in the educational than in the political field. The total number of teachers approximates 500,000, while the total number of civil officers in the federal service is less than one-half as many.

Mr. George William Curtis said, in an address delivered in 1891 before the National Educational Association: "The alphabet is the ally of liberty, and in any accurate account of the forces that have made America, the public school must stand first." But the public school, if it is to fulfil the sanguine expectations of those who would predicate Mr. Curtis's words of the future, rather than as yet of the past, must have an ally. The great masses of those connected with it are not only powerless to accomplish reform, but they fall an easy prey to the assaults of enemies. The public school is inert, it lacks initiative, it is a follower, not a leader. All the more important, therefore, is it that the leadership should be wise, capable, and disinterested.

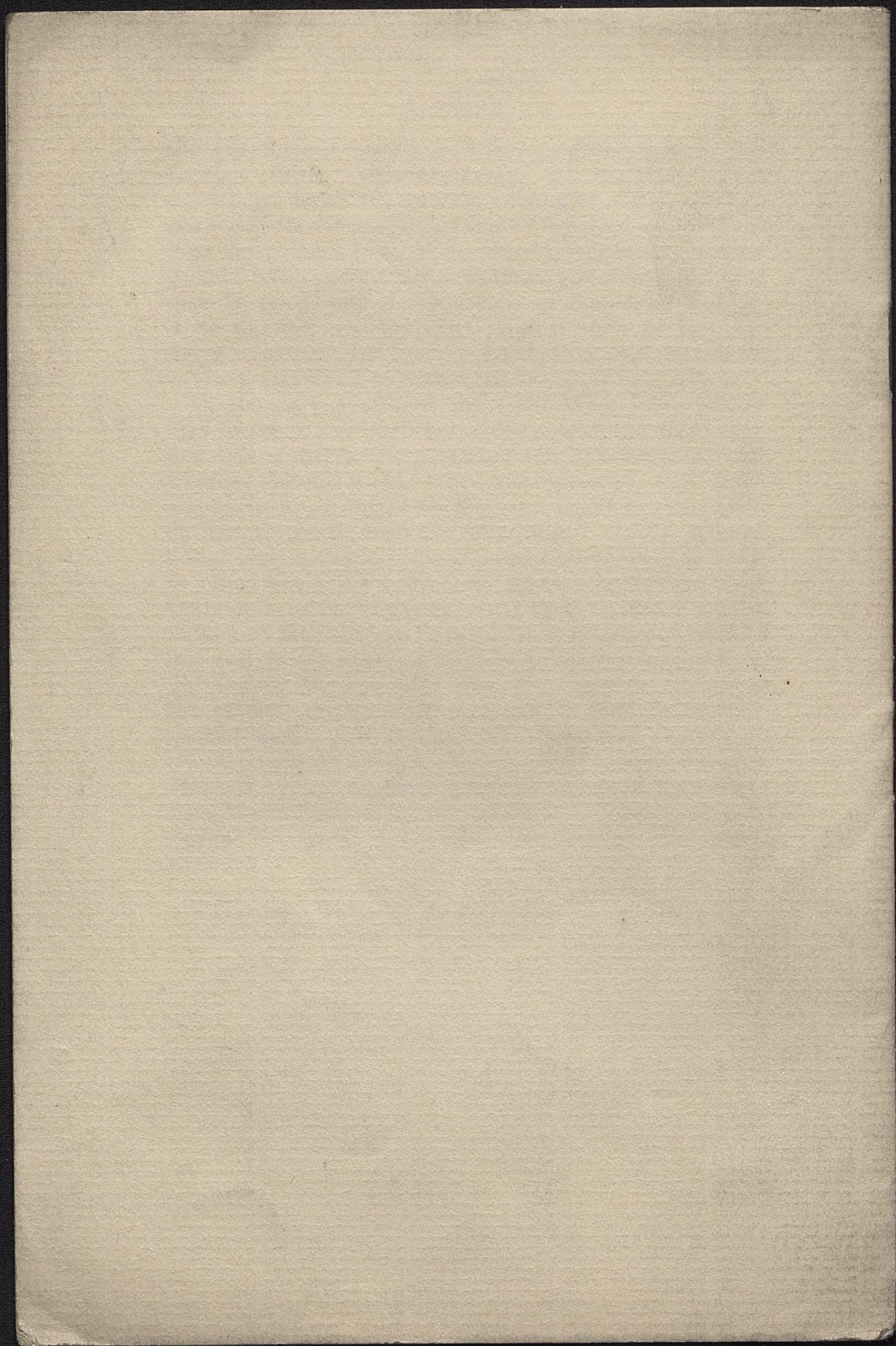
In the last analysis, therefore, the rescue of education from the spoilsmen depends on administrators, not on forms of administration. William Penn, in the Forms of Government granted to Pennsylvania in 1682, warned the colonists that the ultimate fate of

the government rested with them, rather than in the written form. "Governments," he explains, "like clocks, go from the motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined, too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be ever so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil to their turn."¹

In the dark hours of the Civil War John Stuart Mill wrote to the historian Motley, with the frankness that has so often characterized the utterances of our English brothers, of "the incompetency and mismanagement arising from the fatal belief of your public that anybody is fit for anything."² If the educational system is not to be warped and spoiled, it must be taken from the control of those who believe that anybody is fit for anything, and be placed under the direction of professional experts. But in order to secure this end, there must come that moral revolution that Sir James Stephen said was necessary in England before civil service reform could become an accomplished fact. Is it too much to hope that there will rise in every community, bodies of influential citizens who will turn their attention to the needs of the public schools and make it indeed, to adapt the words of Mr. Curtis, the great force that lies behind the ideal America?

¹ *The Duke of York's Book of Laws*, pp. 92-93.

² *Correspondence of Motley*, II., p. 115.



DEMOCRACY AND A PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE

BY

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Democracy and a Permanent Civil Service*

THE most ancient democracy of which we have any full knowledge is that of Athens, and although the conditions of life there were very different from those in which we live, yet the political ideas of the Greeks were so simple and natural that we can readily understand them. They seem to do what we might have done under the same circumstances, and therefore we can learn much from their experience. Now while Athens was democratic, some of her rivals were aristocratic, or were ruled by a single monarch, and these other states had, in many ways, very different customs from those which she followed.

One of these customs related to the tenure of office, for almost all the public offices in Athens were held only for a year, and what is more, they were usually filled by lot. Such a state of things was regarded by the Greek writers themselves as essentially democratic—a point of view that has perplexed many students of Greek history in our own day. They have sometimes found it hard to understand why constant changes in office, and particularly selection by lot, had any necessary connection with democracy.

* Reprinted by permission from *The Youth's Companion*, June 10, 1909

With the use of the lot we need not trouble ourselves here, but the short tenure concerns us nearly. The lack of any officers who held public positions long enough to acquire experience is often said to have been a source of weakness to Athens; but whether such a custom was an inherent weakness of ancient democracy or not, it was a very natural custom, for we find it in the early stages of democracy in other places and at other times.

Rotation in Office.

Our own forefathers in America, for example, as they became more democratic in spirit, set up the principle of rotation in office; and the same tendency was shown a few years ago, quite without any conscious imitation, by the students in Harvard College. Thinking that the management of class affairs had been too much in the hands of certain cliques, they decided that nobody should hold the office of class president more than one year.

A striking instance of the connection in the ancient world between popular government and rotation in office is found in the history of Rome, where, so long as the republic lasted, the public officers were chosen for a single year and not usually reelected.

Such a system worked well enough while the city was the capital of a small community, but as the Roman dominions grew rapidly in area

and population it became hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the state.

Inefficiency and disorder spread, so that at last the people took refuge under the strong hand of emperors, who built up by degrees a civil service filled with professional officers holding by a permanent tenure; and it was this permanent civil service that enabled the Roman Empire to endure until western Europe had been stamped with traditions and laws that form the base of our modern civilization.

Such examples are enough to illustrate the tendency of a democracy toward rotation in public office and short terms of service. An absolute monarch naturally retains men in his employ so long as he is satisfied with them. He does not feel inclined to exchange officers who have served him faithfully, and whom he has learned to trust, for others who are inexperienced, and whom he does not know. A monarchy tends, therefore, to become a government by experts; and the same thing is true of an aristocracy. Members of the small ruling class enter public life young, are gradually promoted by their seniors, and make the public service a career.

But a democracy is apt to be haunted by a dread of suffering any ruling class to develop, even when its members are recruited from the ranks of the people. It fears that permanent officials, however selected, will grow out of touch with popular sentiment.

Nor is the apprehension wholly groundless. And yet it would seem that, as in the case of Rome, a great nation cannot be efficiently managed by amateurs in public office serving for short terms—a fact that goes far toward explaining why history has hitherto recorded no examples of democracies on a large scale that have long endured.

The administration of a state, like that of any great business enterprise, requires not only natural ability, but also long training and experience in the work to be done; and this is more true than ever at the present day, because the applications of modern science, the freedom of voluntary organization, and the growth in the sphere of action of the state, have made the task of administration much more complex.

The Question of Permanent Officials.

We are, therefore, faced by the same dilemma that confronted the democracies of the ancient world. If the administration is conducted without permanent officials in the important posts, the work will not be well done, and democracy will be liable eventually to be displaced by a more efficient kind of government. The forms may, indeed, be preserved, as they were for a time at Rome, while real power passes out of the hands of the people.

If, on the other hand, the administration is committed entirely to permanent officials, then

the government may be no longer popular in character. Clearly, the object to be attained is an administration by permanent officials who shall be really under the effective control of representatives of the public.

Among modern nations this problem has so far been most satisfactorily solved by England, no doubt because in her case a popular government has been superimposed upon an aristocratic one.

In England the only officers of state who change with changes of party are the ministers, about forty in number. They are truly representatives of the public, for they are responsible to the majority in the House of Commons, and through that majority to the opinion of the nation at large. It is not their business to do the actual work of administration, but to direct it, and to see that it is properly done by subordinates who fill all the rest of the offices. These last are permanent in the strictest sense; that is, government service is for them a career or profession for life, which they enter young, and in which they remain, rising, if capable, by successive steps until the age limit comes for retirement with a pension.

They are the trained experts who furnish the knowledge, the experience, and the continuity in the administration. It is they who keep it running; while they are held in touch with public needs and public opinion, and are restrained from an excessive regard for prece-

dent, from falling into ruts, from arrogance and officialism, in short, from all the variegated sins of a bureaucracy, by the ministers to whose control they are in the last resort absolutely subject.

The minister can always override his permanent under-secretary in case of necessity, but, in fact, is very deeply influenced by the opinion of the man who knows the subject thoroughly and possesses all the traditions of the office. The relation is, in fact, not unlike that which prevails here between the directors of a great business corporation and their highly trained officers.

In the United States the problem of the reform of the civil service has been vigorously attacked, although more from the point of view of checking the canker of spoils than of increasing efficiency by the use of experts. About two-thirds of the offices under the national government are now in the classified service, and are filled almost wholly by competitive examinations. These, however, are nearly all clerical and inferior offices, a very minute part of them having a salary of two thousand dollars or more a year.

But if our people are to be well served, we must go further than this. No great enterprise can be successfully conducted at the present day without permanent experts of high grade, not only for technical, but also for administrative matters.

Suppose, for example, that in a railroad the president, the general passenger- and freight-agents, and all other officers with any really executive duties, were replaced every few years by men who had no thorough knowledge of the subject. How well would that railroad be likely to be run, and how safe would travel upon it be? Yet government is also a great enterprise, and its conduct requires no less ability and experience.

There is no reason why the postmasters of great cities and the collectors of the ports should not be permanent officers. There is no reason why they should change with changes of administration, for their work involves no true question of party policy. No one has yet discovered the difference, or any proper difference, between Republican and Democratic methods of delivering letters or exacting customs duties.

There is no reason why the heads of bureaus in the same way, and indeed, all the officers in the departments at Washington—save the members of the Cabinet and their immediate under-secretaries—should not be permanent.

Now some one will say, "It is all very well to talk about a permanent civil service which shall recruit officials of high grade, but if these men are not good, there is no use in keeping them. If they are to be appointed to reward partizans, something may be gained by giving them a long experience; but, on the other hand,

they are likely to be appointed with even less care than they are now, because once in a niche they will stay there, whether competent or not, while some one else does the work, and the service is liable to become a refuge for decrepit politicians. So that the key to the whole question of a permanent civil service lies in a satisfactory method of recruiting."

Recruiting for Public Life.

No doubt that is so. No doubt the stability of the whole edifice of the civil service rests upon the system of recruiting, and herein there is a marked difference between the English and American practise. With our habit of spoils, and our tradition of short service, we have felt it necessary to devise examinations that will test the immediate fitness of the candidate for the work he is to do; and if he is not expected to hold the office very long, that is the only sensible way to proceed. To select for an office a man of whatever natural ability, who is unfamiliar with the work to be done, and who will take two or three years to learn it, is obviously absurd if he is not likely to stay in the place more than four years.

Now the problem in England has been very different. There the habit of spoils, that is, the dismissal of office-holders, merely to make place for partizans, has never existed; and although at one time the use of patronage, or in other words, the appointment of

men to vacancies as a reward for party service, was common, they were retained, when appointed, during good behavior.

In England, therefore, the problem was to recruit young men for a lifelong career; and in that case, natural ability and good education are far more important than any immediate familiarity with the duties to be performed. Young men of capacity and sound mental training can be taught their duties in a short time.

The result is that the tendency in England has been more and more toward competitive examinations based on school and college studies, as compared with any attempt to test an acquaintance with the duties of the office in question.

Obviously a different grade of education is required for the upper, or discretionary, and the lower, or clerical, branches of the service; and while a large door is open for promotion, the lower offices are mainly recruited from boys who have had a good school education, the upper grades from young men trained at the universities.

Conditions differ so much in different countries that foreign institutions can rarely be transplanted bodily, and the attempt to do so savors of academic, rather than practical, thought. Yet valuable ideas may be gained by studying foreign institutions, and sometimes parts of them can be adapted to native wants.

Ideas Worth Borrowing.

We have now at Washington a service of scientific experts which is highly efficient, and as far as we can foresee is likely to be permanent; but the same principle is by no means applied in the general administrative service of the nation. Certainly if we need a corps of permanent officials we can devise an appropriate method of recruiting them; and that we must have such a corps cannot be doubted.

These questions are particularly burning in the government of our large cities, which are universally regarded among ourselves, no less than among our foreign critics, as the least creditable part of our public life. Ours are the only cities in the world which are not administered in the main through permanent expert officials.

Such officials are not, indeed, used in precisely the same way everywhere. In Germany the highest post in the town, that of burgo-master, corresponding to our mayor, is entrusted to a permanent administrator who devotes his life to municipal work as a regular profession. Under him are other officials of like character at the heads of the various departments, while associated with him are the elected members of the city council, chosen by the public to represent its views.

In England the form of organization is different, although the practical result is very similar. There the whole control of municipal affairs is vested in an elective town council, which manages them directly or through standing committees; but in fact each branch of the service is placed in the charge of a permanent professional officer. He acts, of course, under the oversight and direction of the council and its committee, yet his actual influence over them is very great, and in most questions of current administration they defer to his judgment. The relation is like that between the minister and his permanent under-secretary.

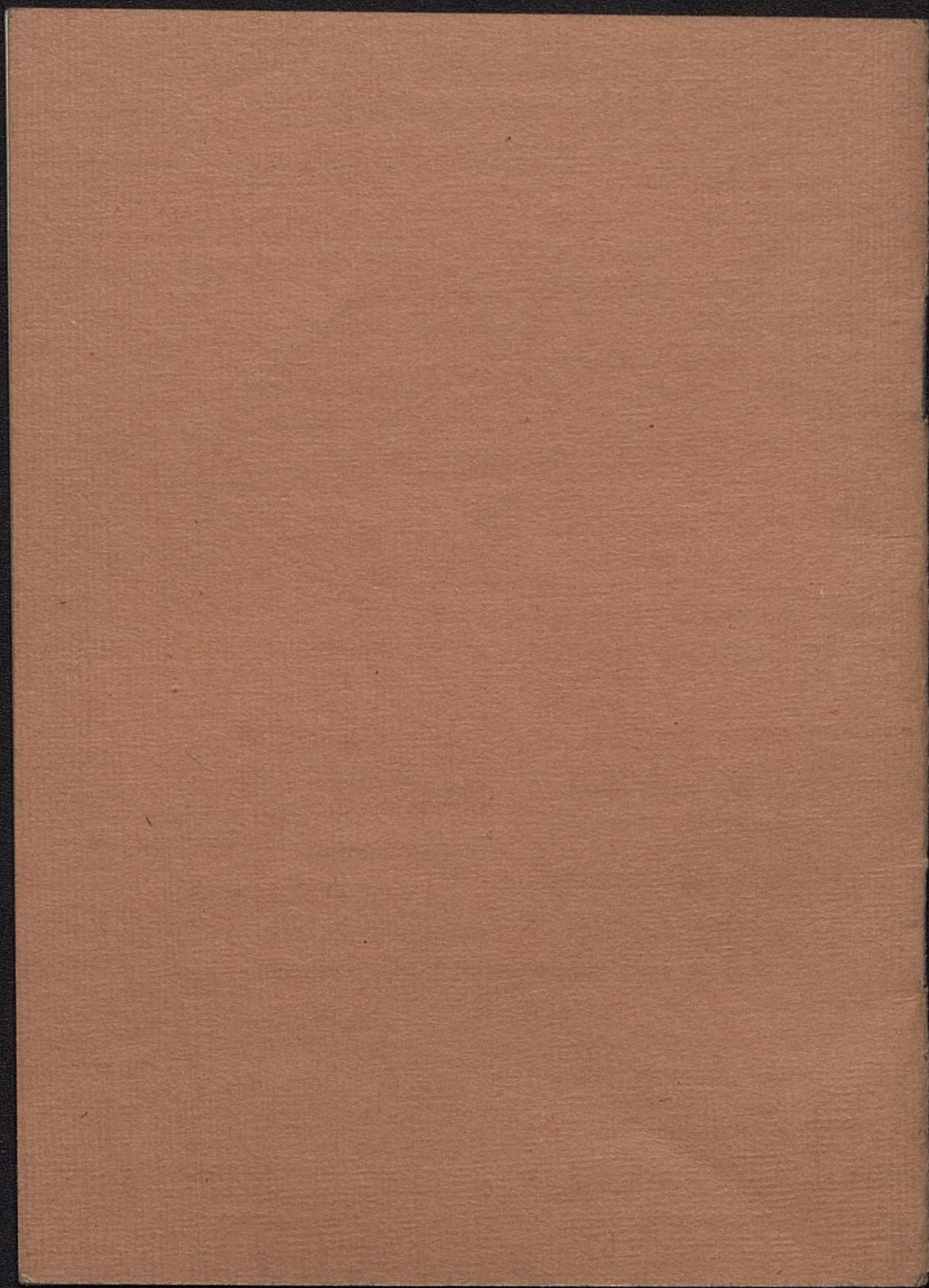
In short, the permanent officials of an English city, although little seen by the outer world, are really the mainspring of the whole machinery. On their efficiency its excellence depends, to their integrity its honesty is largely due.

Here and there in American cities a department is occasionally found which has been admirably conducted by a permanent head, working usually under a board with members renewed from time to time. But this is exceptional. As a rule, the heads of departments are changed by the incoming mayor at each election, and the new men are politicians or prominent citizens, bad or good, but in any case unfamiliar with their duties; with the result that the city is constantly educating ad-

ministrators, and never administered by men of experience.

Can one wonder that under such conditions our cities are not well governed? Have we any reason to believe that Americans acquire at a stroke, by the fact of appointment or election to high office, the familiarity with municipal problems which in other lands are the fruit of many patient years of work?

We must learn to distinguish between the permanent official, devoting his whole life to municipal service, who supplies the professional knowledge and experience; and the political chief, shifting with changes in popular sentiment, who keeps him in touch with public opinion. Such a distinction is as yet strange to us, but until we see it clearly, until we learn to put each of these two classes of public servants in their place and keep them there, we shall sigh in vain for durable improvement. We may remodel our city charters as often as we please; we may seize greedily on each new device; but real reform will always elude our grasp. We have seen that in the past democracies on a large scale have proved short-lived. The lasting success of modern democracy will depend upon its capacity both to use and to control experts. This is the riddle that the Sphinx is proposing to America, and we must solve it at our peril.



The Business Value
of
Civil Service Reform

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The Business Value of Civil Service Reform

Civil service reform is a business-like method of selecting public officials and employees. It secures for the government, whether national, state or municipal, employees more capable and honest, and administration more economical and efficient than under the spoils system of appointment for political reasons.

The purpose of this article is to present from the mass of testimony in favor of civil service reform specific and concrete examples of the efficiency, integrity and economy secured by this system.

Ten Per Cent in Salaries Saved

A conservative estimate, based upon official reports of public officers, indicates as a result of the operation of the civil service rules a net saving in salaries paid, of at least ten per cent.—*Fifteenth Report of U. S. Civil Service Commission*, p. 17.

A Saving of About One-Half in Salaries

Secretary of the Treasury Windom, gave it as his experience that, under the old system, prior to a change of administration the work of the clerks in his department fell off nearly a half, and that it took the successors of those who were changed at least six months to learn their duties. Accepting the average salary of a government clerk as about \$800 this would mean, in Presidential years at least, that nearly half this salary was wasted, no return being obtained by the people for the amount paid out.—*Sixth Report of U. S. Civil Service Commission*, p. 6.

\$1,400 Saved

One of Boston's aldermen has a brother who drew \$2.50 a day as a provisional inspector of lumber, and who did not inspect any lumber. Eventually, this brother was appointed provisional caretaker of horses,

and his wages increased to \$1,400 a year. The civil service commission held an examination, but the alderman's brother failed to obtain a place on the eligible list. It was thereupon found that the position of caretaker of horses at \$1,400 was not necessary, and no one was appointed, a saving to the city of \$1,400.—*Good Government*, November, 1907.

\$179,000 Saved

In a speech before the Detroit Municipal League in 1905, Hon. Joseph W. Errant, President of the Chicago Civil Service Commission, gave figures showing a saving of \$179,000 in the management of one department in that city. In 1899, the cost of maintaining 1,801 miles of water pipe was \$419,000, while in 1905 the same work cost \$240,000, although the amount of water piping had been increased to 1,978 miles. At the same time, Mr. Errant gave figures showing that the cost of keeping streets and alleys clean under the merit system had been reduced from \$19.61 per mile to \$12.90.—*Detroit Free Press*. November 14, 1905.

Cost of Collecting Water Taxes Decreased About One-Third

From figures given by the Superintendent of the Water Department of Chicago, in a letter dated December 31, 1904, a saving under the merit system of one-third in the cost of collecting water taxes in that city is shown. The following figures show the cost for the year 1894, a year before the passage of the Civil Service Law, and the cost for the year 1904, ten years afterwards:

YEARS	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	PER CENT
1894	\$3,010,259.92	\$287,306.92	9 ½
1904	\$4,000,000.00	\$260,000.00	6 ½

Saving of Twenty-Five Per Cent

The late Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Hamlin, who was in direct charge of the collection of customs, makes the following statement in a communication to the Commission:

"As to the application of the civil-service rules to that branch of the government service relating to customs, from the experience that I have had in the Treasury Department during the past four years, I am of the opinion that there has resulted a saving to the Government of at least 25 per cent in cost. From the point of view of efficiency, I believe the the saving to have been greater."—*Fourteenth Report U. S. Civil Service Commission*, p. 14.

A Saving of Over Two Million Dollars

Thus there will have been covered back into the treasury since March 7, 1893, \$2,066,661.19 out of a total amount of \$11,179,455.45 on hand and appropriated.

That these great economies have been affected without in any way marring the efficiency of the department work or unduly limiting its scope is due in a very large degree to the application of civil service rules both in letter and spirit. The wide extension of the civil service classification under the law has been proved by experience to be not only a great help, but absolutely indispensable to the maintenance of an economical and efficient administration of the public service.—*Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1896*.

\$390,000 Per Year Saved in One Bureau

The last report of the Superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing shows that, notwithstanding the work of that Bureau had increased over 77 per cent, the force has only increased 11 per cent. An investigation made by a commission of Treasury experts into the work of this bureau prior to the enactment of the civil service law found the force largely in excess of requirements for the service, and recommended sweeping reductions. In this report the following language is used:

"The total decrease is equal to about 36 per cent of the force as it existed in April, and results in the saving to the Treasury of about \$390,000 per annum."—*Thirteenth Report U. S. Civil Service Commission*.

A Yearly Saving of Nearly Three Millions

That the maintenance of the Commission is directly in the interest of economy is clearly shown by the statistics prepared last year in connection with the government service in Washington, D. C. In these statistics the growth of the classified positions was compared with the growth of the unclassified positions, and it appeared that since 1883 (the year of the organization of the Commission) the unclassified positions, which have been subject to political control, have increased in number 37 per cent and in cost 43 per cent, while the classified positions subject to examinations have remained at a standstill, practically the only increases in their number having been made by the extensions of the rules to cover positions previously unclassified. Had the classified positions increased in the same proportion as the unclassified positions increased up to the time of their classification, an extra yearly expenditure for additional salaries in Washington alone of more than \$3,000,000 or twenty times the cost of the maintenance of the commission, would be required.—*Fourteenth Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, p. 13.*

\$3,000 Saved

While the commission has no power to prevent unnecessary appointments.....provided such appointments are made according to civil service rules, the existence of such rules makes it more difficult to pad the payrolls.....

The case involving the appointment of John J. Douglas to the position of Assistant Superintendent of the Ferry Division of the Street Department of Boston was decided by the Supreme Judicial Court, the appointment being held to be in violation of the civil service law.

The commission held a competitive examination on March 29, 1907, to establish a list of eligibles for the position. No appointment was made, however, to fill the place, and it has remained vacant.

This result constitutes a pertinent illustration of the manner in which the application of the merit system

tends toward economy in city administration.....The net saving to the city of Boston in this case is \$3,000—the salary of the deposed Assistant Superintendent.—*Twenty-fourth Report of Massachusetts Civil Service Commission.*

\$9,600 Saved in One Year

The new warehouse of the Department of Elections, under construction at Eighteenth and Division Streets, is a monument to the efficiency of civil service reform. It is being built out of the savings of an office that was once one of the most wasteful and extravagant in the city government, but which has become through the operation of the merit system one of the most efficient and economical.

There has long been a necessity for some sort of safe storage for the election booths in use in the city. At present they are stored in an inflammable wooden structure surrounded by furniture factories, and if they were to take fire just before an election the city would not only lose the \$30,000 they represent in money value, but the whole election machinery would be deranged and thrown into hopeless confusion. The warehouse above will be built of brick, with but few doors and windows, will be practically fireproof, and will be amply large enough to accommodate the million or so feet of lumber of which the booths consist.

The cost will be about \$9,600. The entire sum was saved out of the appropriation for the department of elections last year, and it is due to operation of the merit system in the office of Registrar Thomas J. Walsh, that the saving was made possible. Since 1900 the department has lived within the appropriations and has had a small surplus at the end of each year, a condition unknown under the Consolidation Act. Before the adoption of civil service reform, and when elections were held once in two years, the expenses of the Department of Elections averaged \$200,000 a year, and have been known to reach \$290,000. Under the charter the cost has been reduced to an average of \$113,000 a year, and we now have from two to four elections annually.

It must be gratifying to taxpayers to know that in at

least one municipal department it has been possible to make a permanent improvement out of current revenue. That it has been possible is entirely due to Mr. Walsh's economical administration of his office on merit system principles.—*Merchants' Association Review, San Francisco, Cal., September, 1903.*

Over Two Million Dollars and a Year's Time Would Have Been Saved Under The Merit System

In 1896 (Senate Document No. 5, Fifty-fourth Congress) Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Director of the Census, stated:

"The absolute necessity of bringing the whole census force into the classified service, in accordance with the act of January 16, 1883, and the amendments thereto and rules thereunder, seems to me perfectly apparent. Had this been the rule in the Eleventh Census there would have been, in my opinion, a saving of at least \$2,000,000 and more than a year's time."

Subsequently in a letter to Senator Lodge (Congressional Record, December 15, 1907) he compared the cost of similar work in the Department of Labor, under civil service rules, with the cost of taking the census, and stated:

"Bringing the comparison to a concrete and quantitative statement, it is seen that had the cost of preparing the matter by the Eleventh Census Office been at the same rate per 1,000 nonpareil ems as was the cost of preparing like matter in the Department of Labor, the total cost under the first comparison—that is, exclusive of printing, engraving and binding—would have been \$3,595,432.68, instead of \$10,016,677.68, a saving of \$6,421,245, while under the second comparison, that excluding the cost of the field force in collecting the material as well as that of printing, engraving and binding, it would have been \$2,298,821.94, instead of \$5,670,847.15, a saving of \$3,372,025.21.

"The above statements more than justify the opinion which I expressed in the report on a plan for a permanent census service, for instead of an extra cost of \$2,000,000, to which I guardedly limited myself, it is

apparent that under the first comparison there was an extra cost of \$6,421,245, and under the second comparison of \$3,372,025. The magnitude of the census work, the lack of time for preparation, the temporary nature of the force, etc., may properly, and perhaps sufficiently account for the extraordinary expense above the \$2,000,000, which I have attributed to the absence of civil-service rules."

Increase of 37 Per Cent in Work Decrease of 20 Per Cent in Cost

From a letter of H. G. Pearson, Postmaster, City of New York, January 10, 1889:

"Methods involving such competitive tests have, to a greater or less extent, obtained at this office since 1872.....A further result of the reformed system of appointment has been in the direction of economy.....as shown by the fact that while in one of its largest departments (mailing and distribution) the bulk of mail matter handled had increased in 1882 37.30 per cent over that handled in 1874, the cost of the service required in handling it was 20 per cent less.... In the money order department the records show that for the past nine years there has been an increase in the number of orders issued, paid, etc., of 110 per cent; and in the amount of money handled of 94 per cent, while the increase in the cost of clerical service required for the performance of the business has been but 18 per cent."—*First Report N. Y. State Civil Service Commission*, p. 270.

Reduction in Force: Increase in Work

Since March 7, 1893, the classified service has been extended until it includes every important permanent position in the United States Department of Agriculture. Reports from chiefs of bureaus and divisions since this classification are unanimous in praising the enhanced value of the service rendered by their assistants and employees. In efficiency and economy the classification has very visibly improved the work.

Decrease of 280 Employees—Increased Work

March 4, 1893, there were 2,497 men and women upon the payrolls of this department. But on November 1, 1896, there were only 2,217 on the rolls; that is—notwithstanding an increased amount of work—there had been a reduction in the force of 280.

Decrease of 23 Employees—Work Trebled

The effect of placing the Bureau of Animal Industry within the classified service has been very marked in increasing its efficiency and improving its discipline. This is particularly apparent with the employees stationed at other cities than Washington. The decreased expense of the inspection work is largely due to this improvement in the force.....On March 4, 1893, there were 781 persons employed by this Bureau, but on November 1, 1896, there are only 758, notwithstanding the fact that the work has more than trebled.—*Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1896.*

Increased Efficiency: Fewer Employees

This meteorological service has developed since 1870 until it is the largest in the world. We have in this service, I can fairly say, a merit system that knows no favorites. I was an employee of the old federal service a third of a century ago, when there was no civil service, and when, I do not hesitate to say, corruption was rampant in almost every branch of the public service. A man could sell nothing to the government from which somebody did not get a rake-off, all the way from the receiving clerk up—very high up, sometimes. Furthermore, at that time for every position there were several unnecessary men and probably not more than one out of ten competent to perform his duties. This was not the fault of the men, it was not the fault of the politician, it was not the fault of executive officers; it was the fault of the system and, therefore, of the whole American people.

All of that is changed to-day; the appointing officer, the chief of a bureau, the secretary of a department, has no incentive to increase his force beyond that which he

needs to perform the public duty. Why? Because he cannot put his friends into office. The legislator has no incentive to appropriate more public money than is needed for public employees, because he cannot control who shall be appointed, and so, as a result, I believe during the first twenty years of the application of the civil service law, notwithstanding the fact that the public business increased several fold, the number of federal employees actually decreased.

I can give you an illustration in my own bureau. The law was just beginning to come into effect—it was not wholly in effect over all places—when I came into the chiefship of that bureau. I have to-day twelve fewer employees at the central office at Washington than I had when I went there fourteen years ago. That is not due to any virtue of my own, it is due to the application of the correct principle. In that time no person dismissed for cause—we have always tried to be sure of our cause—has ever been reinstated in the public service. There is absolutely no patronage in the weather service for any senator or representative or any one else, and I do not believe that either myself or the other administrators of the weather service have a single enemy in either hall of Congress. We have no difficulty in getting the necessary money to run the service. If an executive officer, either in your municipality or in your state or in your federal service, will honestly perform his duties, fearlessly selecting men only when they are needed, advancing those only who have merit, I venture to say that he will get the support of the legislators.—*Extract from an address by Prof. Willis L. Moore, Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, before the City Club of Chicago on February 13th, 1909, published in the City Club Bulletin for March 3d, 1909.*

Efficiency Increased Over Three-Fold

The Railway Mail Service was brought into the classified service in 1889. In his annual report for 1897 the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service gives a table (printed below) showing the increase in efficiency of that service during the ten years. The

direct result of the spoils system is seen in the increase in errors in 1890 concerning which the Postmaster General in his report for 1896 says: "It will be recalled that wholesale discharges of postal clerks were made on political grounds near the close of the fiscal year 1889, the effect of which appears in an increase of nearly 1,000,000 errors in 1890 and the large falling off in the number, correct to each error."

Year ended June 30—	Pieces of mail matter distributed	Errors in distribution	Per cent		Pieces correct to each error	Per cent	
			Increase	Decrease		Increase	Decrease
1888..	6,528,772,060	1,765,821	.....	.....	3,694	.....	.....
1889..	7,026 837,130	1,777,295	.66	.....	3,954	7.04	.....
1890..	7,847,723,600	2,769,245	55.81	.....	2,834	.....	28.33
1891..	8,546,370,090	2,005,973	.....	27.56	4,261	30.35	.....
1892..	9,227,816,090	1,658,457	.....	17.32	5,564	30.58	.....
1893..	9,772,075,810	1,367,880	.....	17.52	7,144	28.40	.....
1894..	10,033,973,790	1,281,094	.....	6.34	7,831	9.62	.....
1895..	10,377,875,040	1,166,682	.....	9	8,894	13.57	.....
1896..	11,166,323,240	1,134,411	.....	2.76	9,843	10.67	.....
1897..	11,571,540,680	967,538	.....	14.71	11,960	21.51	.....

It will be seen that the percentage of errors in the distribution of mail matter decreased under the operation of the civil service rules from 1 in 3,694, to 1 in 11,960.

In his report for 1897 the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service states that during these 10 years the amount of mail matter handled has increased 77.2 per cent., but that the increase in force has been only 48.6 per cent.

Improved Character of Appointees

The civil-service laws and regulations as applied to the Railway Mail Service, accomplishes all the most sanguine expected. The eligibles for appointment who have been certified and selected excel in the fundamental qualities, such as suitable age, good physical condition and habits, activity and retentiveness of

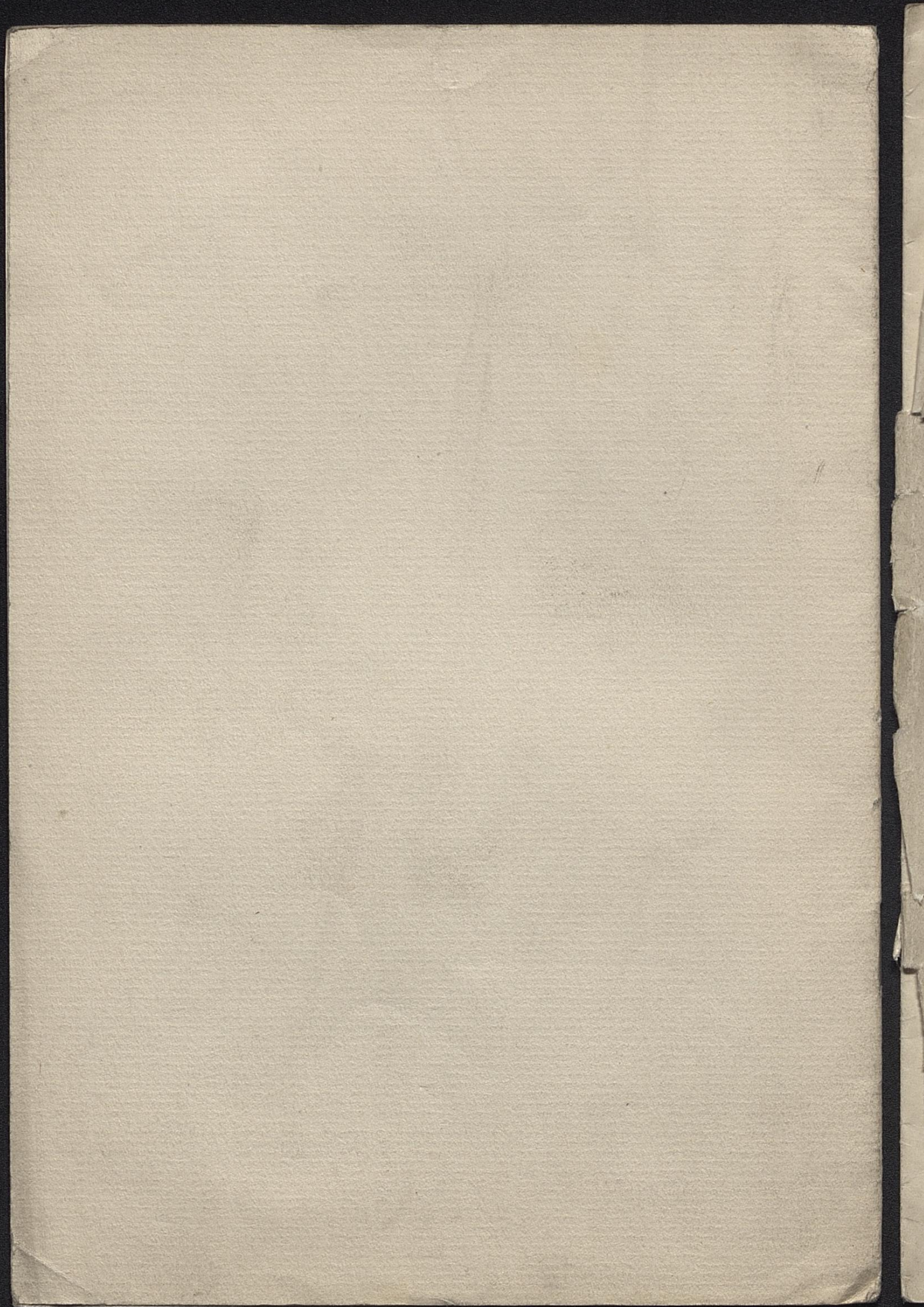
memory, and prospective growth and length of useful service.

Having such desirable undeveloped material to work upon, the management experiences less difficulty in molding it into well-disciplined, industrious, thoughtful, efficient clerks. A much larger per cent of the probationers succeed in earning permanent appointment, and, under the system of development which obtains in the service, they continue to improve during their connection with it, and as opportunities occur, are advanced in class according to their merits. In the judgment of this office the present efficiency could not have been obtained under any other method—*Report of the General Superintendent of Railway Mail Service, 1894.*

No Padding of Payrolls Around Elections

There had formerly been a great abuse in the way of employment of labor in the navy yards just before election, and a law was passed prohibiting such employment except in case of urgency. The law accomplished nothing. Urgency was always declared. In the Presidential election of 1888 the old system of appointment of laborers for political reasons obtained. On September 1 of that year there were fourteen hundred and odd employees in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. On November 1 there were 2,500. By December 1 the number had shrunk again to less than 1,400. Over 1,000 men were employed during the two months before election, and were discharged inside of a month after election. That was in 1888.

During the course of the next Presidential term the service was practically classified, the registration system was established, and on September 1, 1892, 2,200 were employed. On November 1 there were 2,052 men. Instead of 1,000 more, 150 less were employed. On December 1 the same number were still employed.—*Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Civil Service, February 1, 1898.*



The Business Value
of
Civil Service Reform

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1909

The Business Value of Civil Service Reform

Civil service reform is a business-like method of selecting public officials and employees. It secures for the government, whether national, state or municipal, employees more capable and honest, and administration more economical and efficient than under the spoils system of appointment for political reasons.

The purpose of this article is to present from the mass of testimony in favor of civil service reform specific and concrete examples of the efficiency, integrity and economy secured by this system.

Ten Per Cent in Salaries Saved

A conservative estimate, based upon official reports of public officers, indicates as a result of the operation of the civil service rules a net saving in salaries paid, of at least ten per cent.—*Fifteenth Report of U. S. Civil Service Commission*, p. 17.

A Saving of About One-Half in Salaries

Secretary of the Treasury Windom, gave it as his experience that, under the old system, prior to a change of administration the work of the clerks in his department fell off nearly a half, and that it took the successors of those who were changed at least six months to learn their duties. Accepting the average salary of a government clerk as about \$800 this would mean, in Presidential years at least, that nearly half this salary was wasted, no return being obtained by the people for the amount paid out.—*Sixth Report of U. S. Civil Service Commission*, p. 6.

\$1,400 Saved

One of Boston's aldermen has a brother who drew \$2.50 a day as a provisional inspector of lumber, and who did not inspect any lumber. Eventually, this brother was appointed provisional caretaker of horses,

and his wages increased to \$1,400 a year. The civil service commission held an examination, but the alderman's brother failed to obtain a place on the eligible list. It was thereupon found that the position of caretaker of horses at \$1,400 was not necessary, and no one was appointed, a saving to the city of \$1,400.—*Good Government*, November, 1907.

\$179,000 Saved

In a speech before the Detroit Municipal League in 1905, Hon. Joseph W. Errant, President of the Chicago Civil Service Commission, gave figures showing a saving of \$179,000 in the management of one department in that city. In 1899, the cost of maintaining 1,801 miles of water pipe was \$419,000, while in 1905 the same work cost \$240,000, although the amount of water piping had been increased to 1,978 miles. At the same time, Mr. Errant gave figures showing that the cost of keeping streets and alleys clean under the merit system had been reduced from \$19.61 per mile to \$12.90.—*Detroit Free Press*, November 14, 1905.

Cost of Collecting Water Taxes Decreased About One-Third

From figures given by the Superintendent of the Water Department of Chicago, in a letter dated December 31, 1904, a saving under the merit system of one-third in the cost of collecting water taxes in that city is shown. The following figures show the cost for the year 1894, a year before the passage of the Civil Service Law, and the cost for the year 1904, ten years afterwards:

YEARS	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	PER CENT
1894	\$3,010,259.92	\$287,306.92	9 ½
1904	\$4,000,000.00	\$260,000.00	6 ½

Saving of Twenty-Five Per Cent

The late Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Hamlin, who was in direct charge of the collection of customs, makes the following statement in a communication to the Commission:

"As to the application of the civil-service rules to that branch of the government service relating to customs, from the experience that I have had in the Treasury Department during the past four years, I am of the opinion that there has resulted a saving to the Government of at least 25 per cent in cost. From the point of view of efficiency, I believe the the saving to have been greater."—*Fourteenth Report U. S. Civil Service Commission, p. 14.*

A Saving of Over Two Million Dollars

Thus there will have been covered back into the treasury since March 7, 1893, \$2,066,661.19 out of a total amount of \$11,179,455.45 on hand and appropriated.

That these great economies have been affected without in any way marring the efficiency of the department work or unduly limiting its scope is due in a very large degree to the application of civil service rules both in letter and spirit. The wide extension of the civil service classification under the law has been proved by experience to be not only a great help, but absolutely indispensable to the maintenance of an economical and efficient administration of the public service.—*Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1896.*

\$390,000 Per Year Saved in One Bureau

The last report of the Superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing shows that, notwithstanding the work of that Bureau had increased over 77 per cent, the force has only increased 11 per cent. An investigation made by a commission of Treasury experts into the work of this bureau prior to the enactment of the civil service law found the force largely in excess of requirements for the service, and recommended sweeping reductions. In this report the following language is used:

"The total decrease is equal to about 36 per cent of the force as it existed in April, and results in the saving to the Treasury of about \$390,000 per annum."—*Thirteenth Report U. S. Civil Service Commission.*

A Yearly Saving of Nearly Three Millions

That the maintenance of the Commission is directly in the interest of economy is clearly shown by the statistics prepared last year in connection with the government service in Washington, D. C. In these statistics the growth of the classified positions was compared with the growth of the unclassified positions, and it appeared that since 1883 (the year of the organization of the Commission) the unclassified positions, which have been subject to political control, have increased in number 37 per cent and in cost 43 per cent, while the classified positions subject to examinations have remained at a standstill, practically the only increases in their number having been made by the extensions of the rules to cover positions previously unclassified. Had the classified positions increased in the same proportion as the unclassified positions increased up to the time of their classification, an extra yearly expenditure for additional salaries in Washington alone of more than \$3,000,000 or twenty times the cost of the maintenance of the commission, would be required.—*Fourteenth Report of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, p. 13.*

\$3,000 Saved

While the commission has no power to prevent unnecessary appointments.....provided such appointments are made according to civil service rules, the existence of such rules makes it more difficult to pad the payrolls.....

The case involving the appointment of John J. Douglas to the position of Assistant Superintendent of the Ferry Division of the Street Department of Boston was decided by the Supreme Judicial Court, the appointment being held to be in violation of the civil service law.

The commission held a competitive examination on March 29, 1907, to establish a list of eligibles for the position. No appointment was made, however, to fill the place, and it has remained vacant.

This result constitutes a pertinent illustration of the manner in which the application of the merit system

tends toward economy in city administration.....The net saving to the city of Boston in this case is \$3,000—the salary of the deposed Assistant Superintendent.—*Twenty-fourth Report of Massachusetts Civil Service Commission.*

\$9,600 Saved in One Year

The new warehouse of the Department of Elections, under construction at Eighteenth and Division Streets, is a monument to the efficiency of civil service reform. It is being built out of the savings of an office that was once one of the most wasteful and extravagant in the city government, but which has become through the operation of the merit system one of the most efficient and economical.

There has long been a necessity for some sort of safe storage for the election booths in use in the city. At present they are stored in an inflammable wooden structure surrounded by furniture factories, and if they were to take fire just before an election the city would not only lose the \$30,000 they represent in money value, but the whole election machinery would be deranged and thrown into hopeless confusion. The warehouse above will be built of brick, with but few doors and windows, will be practically fireproof, and will be amply large enough to accommodate the million or so feet of lumber of which the booths consist.

The cost will be about \$9,600. The entire sum was saved out of the appropriation for the department of elections last year, and it is due to operation of the merit system in the office of Registrar Thomas J. Walsh, that the saving was made possible. Since 1900 the department has lived within the appropriations and has had a small surplus at the end of each year, a condition unknown under the Consolidation Act. Before the adoption of civil service reform, and when elections were held once in two years, the expenses of the Department of Elections averaged \$200,000 a year, and have been known to reach \$290,000. Under the charter the cost has been reduced to an average of \$113,000 a year, and we now have from two to four elections annually.

It must be gratifying to taxpayers to know that in at

least one municipal department it has been possible to make a permanent improvement out of current revenue. That it has been possible is entirely due to Mr. Walsh's economical administration of his office on merit system principles.—*Merchants' Association Review, San Francisco, Cal., September, 1903.*

Over Two Million Dollars and a Year's Time Would Have Been Saved Under The Merit System

In 1896 (Senate Document No. 5, Fifty-fourth Congress) Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Director of the Census, stated:

"The absolute necessity of bringing the whole census force into the classified service, in accordance with the act of January 16, 1883, and the amendments thereto and rules thereunder, seems to me perfectly apparent. Had this been the rule in the Eleventh Census there would have been, in my opinion, a saving of at least \$2,000,000 and more than a year's time."

Subsequently in a letter to Senator Lodge (Congressional Record, December 15, 1907) he compared the cost of similar work in the Department of Labor, under civil service rules, with the cost of taking the census, and stated:

"Bringing the comparison to a concrete and quantitative statement, it is seen that had the cost of preparing the matter by the Eleventh Census Office been at the same rate per 1,000 nonpareil ems as was the cost of preparing like matter in the Department of Labor, the total cost under the first comparison—that is, exclusive of printing, engraving and binding—would have been \$3,595,432.68, instead of \$10,016,677.68, a saving of \$6,421,245, while under the second comparison, that excluding the cost of the field force in collecting the material as well as that of printing, engraving and binding, it would have been \$2,298,821.94, instead of \$5,670,847.15, a saving of \$3,372,025.21.

"The above statements more than justify the opinion which I expressed in the report on a plan for a permanent census service, for instead of an extra cost of \$2,000,000, to which I guardedly limited myself, it is

apparent that under the first comparison there was an extra cost of \$6,421,245, and under the second comparison of \$3,372,025. The magnitude of the census work, the lack of time for preparation, the temporary nature of the force, etc., may properly, and perhaps sufficiently account for the extraordinary expense above the \$2,000,000, which I have attributed to the absence of civil-service rules."

Increase of 37 Per Cent in Work Decrease of 20 Per Cent in Cost

From a letter of H. G. Pearson, Postmaster, City of New York, January 10, 1889:

"Methods involving such competitive tests have, to a greater or less extent, obtained at this office since 1872.....A further result of the reformed system of appointment has been in the direction of economy.....as shown by the fact that while in one of its largest departments (mailing and distribution) the bulk of mail matter handled had increased in 1882 37.30 per cent over that handled in 1874, the cost of the service required in handling it was 20 per cent less.... In the money order department the records show that for the past nine years there has been an increase in the number of orders issued, paid, etc., of 110 per cent; and in the amount of money handled of 94 per cent, while the increase in the cost of clerical service required for the performance of the business has been but 18 per cent."—*First Report N. Y. State Civil Service Commission*, p. 270.

Reduction in Force: Increase in Work

Since March 7, 1893, the classified service has been extended until it includes every important permanent position in the United States Department of Agriculture. Reports from chiefs of bureaus and divisions since this classification are unanimous in praising the enhanced value of the service rendered by their assistants and employees. In efficiency and economy the classification has very visibly improved the work.

Decrease of 280 Employees—Increased Work

March 4, 1893, there were 2,497 men and women upon the payrolls of this department. But on November 1, 1896, there were only 2,217 on the rolls; that is—notwithstanding an increased amount of work—there had been a reduction in the force of 280.

Decrease of 23 Employees—Work Trebled

The effect of placing the Bureau of Animal Industry within the classified service has been very marked in increasing its efficiency and improving its discipline. This is particularly apparent with the employees stationed at other cities than Washington. The decreased expense of the inspection work is largely due to this improvement in the force.....On March 4, 1893, there were 781 persons employed by this Bureau, but on November 1, 1896, there are only 758, notwithstanding the fact that the work has more than trebled. —*Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1896.*

Increased Efficiency: Fewer Employees

This meteorological service has developed since 1870 until it is the largest in the world. We have in this service, I can fairly say, a merit system that knows no favorites. I was an employee of the old federal service a third of a century ago, when there was no civil service, and when, I do not hesitate to say, corruption was rampant in almost every branch of the public service. A man could sell nothing to the government from which somebody did not get a rake-off, all the way from the receiving clerk up—very high up, sometimes. Furthermore, at that time for every position there were several unnecessary men and probably not more than one out of ten competent to perform his duties. This was not the fault of the men, it was not the fault of the politician, it was not the fault of executive officers; it was the fault of the system and, therefore, of the whole American people.

All of that is changed to-day; the appointing officer, the chief of a bureau, the secretary of a department, has no incentive to increase his force beyond that which he

needs to perform the public duty. Why? Because he cannot put his friends into office. The legislator has no incentive to appropriate more public money than is needed for public employees, because he cannot control who shall be appointed, and so, as a result, I believe during the first twenty years of the application of the civil service law, notwithstanding the fact that the public business increased several fold, the number of federal employees actually decreased.

I can give you an illustration in my own bureau. The law was just beginning to come into effect—it was not wholly in effect over all places—when I came into the chiefship of that bureau. I have to-day twelve fewer employees at the central office at Washington than I had when I went there fourteen years ago. That is not due to any virtue of my own, it is due to the application of the correct principle. In that time no person dismissed for cause—we have always tried to be sure of our cause—has ever been reinstated in the public service. There is absolutely no patronage in the weather service for any senator or representative or any one else, and I do not believe that either myself or the other administrators of the weather service have a single enemy in either hall of Congress. We have no difficulty in getting the necessary money to run the service. If an executive officer, either in your municipality or in your state or in your federal service, will honestly perform his duties, fearlessly selecting men only when they are needed, advancing those only who have merit, I venture to say that he will get the support of the legislators.—*Extract from an address by Prof. Willis L. Moore, Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, before the City Club of Chicago on February 13th, 1909, published in the City Club Bulletin for March 3d, 1909.*

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

1909



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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

THIS is the eighth annual meeting of the Civil Service Reform Auxiliary. I feel already like an old inhabitant, for I am one of the comparatively few present to-day who helped to organize our Auxiliary on the 12th of January, 1901. Already the memory of that first meeting has sacredness through its tender association with Mrs. Elliot Cabot and Mrs. Henry Whitman. In their faith and devotion they rose up like knights at the word of Miss Perkins, of Concord, when she called to the women of this country that they were needed to keep the State sound, strong and growing. These two, our early leaders, young to their last day, were hospitable to new ideas, alert at every opportunity to serve their country, and they saw that to serve the merit system was to sustain the nation.

In her first report Miss Elizabeth Foster, the secretary, wrote: "It may seem an extravagant thought to dream of grounding every school-child in the United States in the principles of Civil Service Reform." But a wise foresighted planner may make a dream real, and even now our pamphlets are used in every state of the Union and in a large proportion of its schools, and the good work goes on month by month.

Our work has always its two sides. We must defend the position already gained and press forward to new and enlarged fields. In our fight against Spanish Veterans' Preference bills we are defending the merit system in Massachusetts; in our school work we aim to make every citizen as he grows up an ardent believer in the merit system. The secretary, in her report, will show how we have tried thus to defend and to extend the merit system.

Last spring a member of the Finance Commission was asked, "What is the most practical and most valuable thing that a body of women can do just now for their state or city?" He spoke at once of the bill introduced by the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association to put the Higher Municipal Offices under the Civil Service Law and said: "The Auxiliary, in supporting this bill, is doing and can do a most important and most needed piece of work, perhaps the very best piece of work possible at this time."

The members of the Finance Commission studied for a year and a half the conditions of the city of Boston in every one of its city departments. They found bad appointments and consequent waste and corruption in almost all departments which were not under the Civil Service Law. They knew that it is useless to stop a dribbling leak here and there when there is a big gash higher up in your pipe. They knew that a self-working check on graft, like the law which obliges men to take examinations and prove their fitness for a place is a strong, permanent force which will hold alike through a good or bad administration. With a good Mayor the city of Boston will have good heads and sub-heads of departments, for he will make efficient appointments, but with a change in administration the whole effort of the past may be overthrown in a single day as disastrously as an earthquake overwhelms the beauty and peace of Sicily. Now we have to face the fact that in a democracy composed of many nationalities a great city like Boston cannot be steadily free from corruption, any more than we can be assured that San Francisco or Sicily will be safe from earthquakes. Therefore we must build around us the protection of an earthquake-proof structure. Civil Service examinations are essentially this—earthquake-proof. They do not have the picturesqueness, the charm, the flexibility, the ease of a light bamboo structure; they are at times inconvenient, for they are stiff and may even sometimes shut out candidates whom it might be well to let in. But they have this supreme

advantage,—they do not bend to the will of a demagogue or a grafter.

My friend of the Finance Commission, in his devoted and concentrated work for Boston, dug below the smooth surface and saw the danger of earthquakes,—saw, I may also say, the disastrous results of past earthquakes, and therefore he has come to believe that the work which we are supporting is of great significance and value.

One more principle on which our Auxiliary has steadily acted came to me through this same expert. He said: "Don't do many different things at once. Don't serve all good causes and spread yourself out thin. That is where well-meaning organizations fail. Do one thing and stick to it and you will be sure to accomplish something worth while." This attitude has been from the outset characteristic of the Civil Service Reform Auxiliary. "This one thing I do." It is not always easy to hold to a single aim through the allurements of the new and the varied. Saving the forests, securing the beauty of Niagara, stamping out tuberculosis, or introducing medical inspection in schools, are appealing claims and causes by which we could easily arouse sympathy and for which we could easily secure money, but we in this organization have aimed at one thing only, Civil Service Reform.

I believe, therefore, that we are doing thorough and valuable work and that we have a right to appeal for the loyal continuance and increase of your support for the welfare of Massachusetts. We have passed our Sabbatical year and we have taken no vacation. Will you not help us by donations and by giving sustaining rather than annual membership fees, thereby enabling us to work the harder and the more effectively for our State.

ELLA L. CABOT,
President.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

THE year 1908 has been made eventful in the annals of Civil Service Reform by President Roosevelt's executive order of December 1st extending the Civil Service Law to the 15,844 fourth-class postmasters east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River. These positions have so long been regarded as peculiarly subject to Congressional patronage, the removal of a third of the total number from political influence is said to be the greatest advance step since the enactment of the original Civil Service Law twenty-five years before. As the President acted under the recommendation of the National League of Postmasters of the Fourth Class and with the approval of President-elect Taft, we may feel confident of seeing further extensions in this direction under the next administration. Another forward stride this past year has been the adoption of a State Civil Service Law by the Legislature of New Jersey, which thus becomes the fourth state to enact a law applying to the general state service. The others are New York and Massachusetts, whose laws date back to 1883 and 1884 respectively, and Wisconsin, which secured a State Civil Service Act in 1905. Two additional states, Colorado and Illinois, have laws applying to state institutions. The winning over of a new state is therefore a source of sincere congratulation. We have the satisfaction of reporting that during the year three additional towns in Massachusetts have voted to adopt Civil Service provisions for the police force,— Framingham, Wakefield and Wellesley.

A blot on the year's record has been the opposition shown by Congress to placing under the Civil Service rules the extra force necessary to take the coming census of 1910. The Crumpacker Census Bill, introduced last January, pro-

vided for non-competitive, instead of competitive, examinations. The President at once pointed out in a special message that the provision for a non-competitive examination was "merely a cloak to hide the nakedness of the Spoils System."

The widespread protest headed by the National League, voiced by the press and supported by leading business bodies throughout the country, led Congressmen to hesitate to come before the autumn elections as having supported a system so signally discredited in the taking of Censuses. The Bill was accordingly postponed until the present session, but the elections over, the House soon passed the Bill with the objectionable clause unamended and it will now come up shortly in the Senate.*

When the League asked our help in arousing public opposition to this patronage provision, we notified our Branches and citizens in the different Congressional districts of the State, wrote to friends outside of Massachusetts, distributed several hundred circulars at the winter meeting of the Massachusetts Federation, sent circulars to all our members and to over 700 Clubs belonging to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, besides publishing a notice in their official organ, the *Federation Bulletin*. The Auxiliary, several of its Branches, and many Clubs passed resolutions urging the adoption of a provision for competitive examination and these as well as personal letters were sent to Senators and Congressmen. One energetic western Club arranged for each member to send a postal card to her members of Congress.

In Massachusetts we still find not only indifference but direct attacks on the merit system, and much of our time and strength has to go to simply holding unimpaired what has

*The Lodge amendment requiring competitive examinations for the 4000 additional census clerkships was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 15 to 32. On February 5th the President vetoed the Census on the score of its patronage provisions. His veto message may be found in *Good Government*, February, 1909.

already been achieved. The Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill forced us to engage in an especially hard fight. The Bill was introduced in the same form in which it was defeated by the Senate in 1907,—namely, offering a 15% bonus for the Spanish War veteran who passed an examination in the official service and an absolute preference in the labor service. We prepared a more comprehensive circular than usual on the subject, which was sent to our 1100 members and to the 225 Women's Clubs of the Massachusetts Federation, and to several hundred men scattered in different parts of the State. Our protest was signed by 5060 men and women representing 130 cities and towns; 2630 of the names were sent in by sixty-nine Women's Clubs. At the hearing before the Public Service Committee on February 28th our Assistant Secretary presented the signatures of 2553 remonstrants, about one-third of whom were men, including a number of Spanish War veterans, and she was subjected to a rigid cross-examination by members of the Committee. The presence of two members from the Medford Woman's Club proved helpful, as they were able to give affirmative testimony on one point raised,—whether our protest contained the names of relatives of Spanish War veterans from the ranks. The Bill was reported to the House with the 15% reduced to 5%, then referred back to the Committee in whose hands it remained until June 4th. On its re-appearance the bonus was limited to an absolute preference in the labor service, but the very moderation of the Bill in its new form was a grave source of alarm as more likely to pass and form a stepping-stone to further encroachments.

The Bill passed the House too rapidly for us to bring any influence to bear, but it was interesting to watch the results of our work in the Senate on the afternoon of its passage by a vote of 18 to 12. One Senator stated that he had received more letters in opposition to the bill than in regard to any other measure; another quoted from a letter from a

Spanish War veteran on our side (written at our suggestion); a third Senator read aloud our circular of remonstrance which gave the total signatures on our protest. Moreover, eight or ten of the Senators gathered around the petition and eagerly scanned the signatures. As the question often arises whether the names on petitions are ever looked at, we can now have the satisfaction of answering, "Certainly!"

The Bill was immediately vetoed by Acting Governor Draper, following the precedent of Governor Wolcott in 1899, and the veto was sustained in the House on June 13th, the closing day of the Legislature, by a vote of 81 to 74 in its favor, with 13 pairs. The Auxiliary sent resolutions of appreciation to Governor Draper to thank him for this act of conspicuous courage.

We wish to express our special gratitude to the editors of the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Boston Herald*, the *Boston Transcript*, the *Lowell Courier Citizen* and the *Springfield Republican* for their strong stand in persistently opposing all forms of preference.

When attacked on the score of the veto in the Autumn campaign Governor Draper stated that if a similar bill again passed the Legislature, he should again veto it. We therefore have the assurance of our new Governor's stand, but it is our duty, if the occasion arise, to give him all the support possible.*

The Higher Municipal Offices' Bill was introduced again last winter by the Massachusetts Association, but made no headway. We attempted no active work in its support, merely being represented at the very interesting hearing.

There is still much need for our educational work. We say with pride that the number of positions in the classified service has risen from 14,000 to 220,000 in the past twenty-six years, but we must not overlook the figures on the reverse

*The Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill has not been introduced in the Legislature of 1909.

side of the column. Over 130,000 positions still remain exempted from the Civil Service rules — a larger number than the total figures for the Federal Service in 1883.

Since our last report we have distributed 45,000 pamphlets to schools, libraries and individuals. Our new publications are the Addresses made by Governor Hughes and Attorney-General Bonaparte at the Buffalo meeting of the League. We also re-published, in revised and enlarged form, a pamphlet entitled "Patronage in the Public Schools," by Professor Lucy M. Salmon. Requests for large supplies of literature have come from Bishop Mackaye Smith, of Philadelphia, who, believing that Civil Service Reform is a question of religion as well as of politics, has taken an active part in the fight against the Mayor for the proper enforcement of the Civil Service Law of Philadelphia; from Miss Anna L. Clark, formerly chairman, now vice-chairman of the General Federation Civil Service Reform Committee; and from the Chairmen of the Florida, Idaho, Kentucky, Michigan, and Rhode Island State Federation Committees. In Idaho the women are working for the passage of a State Civil Service Law.

We received many requests for material to help in the preparation of club papers and school essays. Forty-six of our bronze school medals have now been awarded as the prize for the best essay on the subject of Civil Service Reform. In addition to the nine medals given by our Branches in 1908 three were awarded in high school competitions held under the auspices of the Framingham Woman's Club, the Philergians of Braintree and the Hyde Park Current Events Club.

35,000 pamphlets have been sent to grammar, high, and normal schools and colleges. Applications for 17,000 copies of Miss Cary's admirable "Primer of the Civil Service and the Merit System," came from 800 grammar schools. The largest single order was for 1250 copies for fifty schools in Seattle. Though we limit the number of free copies to 25 to a school, we received, in two weeks,

application from 55 Superintendents of schools in our own state for 11,500 primers to place in 460 schools. A total of 200,000 pamphlets have now been distributed in our school work.

No mention of our school work can be made without thought of Miss Foster, to whose inspiration and foresight is due the idea of spreading literature broadcast among the schools. We announce with great regret that, owing to ill-health, Miss Foster has been obliged to resign as an active member of our Executive Committee, though she has consented to continue as an honorary member.

At the Biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs held in Boston last June, our Civil Service Reform exhibit was shown in a side room at Symphony Hall, the headquarters of the Convention, and at the Civil Service Reform Conference. We were fortunate in being able to arrange for Mr. Dana to give an address at one of the meetings and also to speak and answer questions at the conference. Through the kindness of the Branches and of individual members the Auxiliary raised a special subscription of \$280 as a contribution towards the Biennial entertainment expenses.

The support given by the Clubs and our Branches is invaluable, both in our legislative and educational work and in the maintenance of our large membership. During the past year we have gained 111 new members (1 life, 8 sustaining, 90 annual and 12 group). We have lost 57 members, 9 by death and 48 by resignation. We hope to strengthen our relation with the Women's Clubs through the adoption of a form of Club Membership which provides that Clubs of the Massachusetts Federation may join the Auxiliary with a membership fee varying from two to five dollars according to the size of the Club. Membership entitles the Club to representation at the State Council. It is not open to Clubs in a city or town where the Auxiliary has a Branch.

Representatives from Branches have met at three meetings of the State Council. The Executive Committee has held no public meetings but has helped to furnish speakers on a number of occasions. The Assistant Secretary spoke before the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, and addressed five clubs, three high schools, four Church societies, including one at Farmington, Connecticut, and gave several talks at Settlements. She presented the Auxiliary's report at the recent meeting of the League in Pittsburg.

The League has met this year with a great loss by the death of Daniel Coit Gilman, for seven years its honored and beloved President. By his eloquence, his wisdom and devotion to the cause of Civil Service Reform he was a worthy successor of the first two presidents, George William Curtis and Carl Schurz. Those of our members who have attended meetings of the League will always remember his gracious and inspiring presence and his glowing tributes to its early leaders.

The following quotation from the kindly reference to the Auxiliary in his last public address to the League should be an incentive to us to pursue our work without flagging:

"Next consider the progress recently made in the defense and extension of our merit system. To begin, *place aux dames*, let us congratulate one another on the excellent work of the women's auxiliaries in Massachusetts, New York, Maryland and elsewhere. My attention has been especially called to what has been done in the old Bay State and to the admirable series of leaflets set forth and distributed by the Women's Auxiliary of Massachusetts. * * * These are all attractively printed and they are well adapted to national circulation. Such co-operation in the diffusion of knowledge and in the commendation of sound principles cannot be too highly appreciated by the League, and the formation of similar Auxiliaries in every part of the country is most desirable."

MABEL LYMAN,
Secretary.

JANUARY 6, 1909.

ABRIDGED REPORTS FROM THE BRANCHES

THE BOSTON BRANCH devoted its attention chiefly to furthering an interest in Civil Service Reform among social settlements. As a result eighteen meetings for young men were held during the year. Mr. R. H. Dana gave an address at Hale House; Mr. Arthur H. Brooks spoke at the Roxbury Neighborhood House in the spring and Mr. Fullerton L. Waldo in the autumn. Mr. Waldo also addressed an open meeting at the Young Men's Christian Union and spoke briefly at the Roxbury League. Mr. T. N. Hoover of Harvard University met eight times with a class of young men at the Roxbury Neighborhood House and spoke twice at Emmanuel House. Miss Nichols gave a talk at the Ellis Memorial Club and met twice with some young men at the South End Industrial School. The Branch held a meeting for members and guests in April at which Mrs. I. B. Oakley gave an interesting and stimulating talk on "The Women's Political Campaign in Philadelphia."

The main work of the BROOKLINE BRANCH has as usual been in the public schools. Competitive essays were written by pupils in the upper grades of the grammar schools and eight medals awarded to the writers of the best essays. The experiment was tried of holding one of the meetings for judging the essays in the evening so that the parents of the children might be present to hear the reading of the papers. The meeting was held in a large hall and was crowded. In addition to giving the medals the Branch decided to present to one school a year a large plaster cast of the medal, to be kept in the school. At the annual meeting of the Branch Mrs. I. B. Oakley gave an interesting and lively talk on the needs for reform.

During the past year the CAMBRIDGE BRANCH held its usual three open meetings with an attendance varying from forty to seventy members and guests. The first meeting was addressed by Prof. T. N. Carver; the second, a combination meeting of the State Council and the Cambridge Branch, included an address by Miss Mabel Hill on "What Women

can do to stimulate interest in Civic Matters," the third was addressed by Mr. Fullerton L. Waldo on "The Best shall serve the State." The study class last winter met regularly once a week and took for its subject, State Government. This year it has taken up an investigation into the state of the Cambridge schools. The Branch offered three prizes; one of \$15 to the Young Men's Christian Association and one of \$15 to the Prospect Union, for the best essays on "Do Civil Service Examinations prove Practical Tests?"; also a prize of \$15 to the Young Women's Christian Association for the best essay on "Why Women should interest themselves in Civil Service Reform." The Branch sent a petition to its Congressmen protesting against the non-competitive provisions in the Census Bill. Letters of appreciation were sent to the Cambridge Senator who took an active part in opposing the Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill and to the Representatives from Cambridge who voted against the Bill.

The LYNN BRANCH held five meetings during the year, most of these meetings being devoted to the study of Municipal Government. Mrs. May Alden Ward was the speaker at the one open meeting. Visitors were sent to the Lynn Police Station, Lynn City Home and Salem jail with instructions to report. The members of the Branch secured many signatures to the protest against the Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill. Letters were sent to Senators and Congressmen asking them to use their influence in amending the Census Bill. Senator Lodge responded by saying that he heartily approved of President Roosevelt's recommendation for a competitive provision and would do his best to bring about the amendment. The Branch feels that its persistent visiting at the Lynn City Home and Police Station has been instrumental in producing needed changes and that, though small, it is having an influence in the community in favor of Civil Service Reform.

The most important effort made by the SALEM BRANCH during the year was the study class in Municipal Government. This class was conducted by Mr. Ewart, principal of two of the Salem schools. The course comprised a study of all the different departments of the city govern-

ment, their origin and function, and was followed with great interest by about twenty members. Mrs. Ward gave, as usual, a course of lectures on Current Events and is to give her course again this year. Mr. Fullerton L. Waldo addressed an interested audience of men and boys at the Young Men's Christian Association.

During the past year the SPRINGFIELD BRANCH held two important meetings and much good work was done. The first meeting took place in February and was addressed by Miss Emilie J. Hutchinson, who gave an interesting account of the educational and legislative work carried on by the New York Auxiliary. A letter was read from Congressman Gillett in regard to the Census Bill. Resolutions urging the adoption of competitive tests were passed and sent with a personal letter to each of the Senators and Congressmen of the district. At the second meeting of the Branch, held in December, it was decided to offer the bronze medal as the reward for a competition open to seniors in the high school. The Branch arranged for an Advisory Board to be composed of prominent and representative men interested in Civil Service Reform.

The WALTHAM BRANCH held two meetings, one in the spring for the election of officers, and one in the fall at which Mrs. Cabot spoke. The work among the Italians and with the Boys' City History Club was carried on with great success. The work among the Italians consisted of lectures, social meetings to bring the Americans and Italians together and to give the latter opportunity to learn the English language, and of visits to the boys' homes. The lectures were upon Columbus, Washington, the American Revolution, Garibaldi, etc. The Boys' City History Club has a large and interested membership. Besides holding debates under the leadership of their teacher, they were addressed by Mr. Arthur Lyman, Mr. R. T. Paine, Jr., Dr. Alfred Worcester, and also by heads of city departments upon various topics relating to town, state and country. The boys also sent delegates to the meetings for the Italians. As the result of the Branch's offer to furnish a speaker, the Waltham Woman's Club is to be addressed in April by Mr. R. H. Dana on "Civil Service Reform the Cornerstone of the Republic."

The study class of the WORCESTER BRANCH took up the subject of State and County Institutions. Several members came to Boston to hear a course of lectures given by experts from various state and county departments and reported on the same to the class. The bronze medal was as usual offered as the reward for the best essay written by members of the senior class in the three high schools. The subject for last year's competition was "Patriotism the Basis of Civil Service Reform." At the presentation exercises Mr. R. H. Dana gave an address. A new feature in the competition was the gift of a large plaster cast of the medal to be held for one year by the school of the successful competitor. This plan seems to increase the interest in the writing of the essays. Miss Nichols addressed the seniors of the three schools before they began on the preparation of this year's essays. The Branch provided speakers for several societies wishing to give up a meeting to Civil Service Reform. One of these was the Principal's Club, a club consisting of the principals of all grammar schools. The Branch subscribes for three copies of *Good Government*, which are sent to Clark College, Holy Cross College, and to the Young Men's Christian Association. The members of the Branch are much enjoying a series of talks given by Mrs. May Alden Ward on Current Events.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Boston, January 6, 1909.

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

In Account with MARY MORTON KEHEW, Treasurer.

RECEIPTS

To Balance on hand January 8, 1908	\$6.90
Life Memberships	50.00
Sustaining Memberships	800.00
Annual and Group Memberships	914.50
Donations	
General	476.25
Biennial Entertainment Fund	280.00
Interest on Bank Deposits	12.45
	\$2,540.10

EXPENDITURES

Printing and Pamphlets	\$845.14
Salary of Assistant Secretary	500.00
Clerical Assistance	107.90
Postage, express and other current expenses	199.28
Traveling expenses of Assistant Secretary to Pittsburgh	30.30
Donation to National Civil Service Reform League	100.00
Dues to Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs	50.00
Dues to National Municipal League	5.00
Subscription to <i>Federation Bulletin</i>	25.00
Subscription to <i>Good Government</i>	10.00
R. L. Bridgman for legislative notices	11.30
Caterer for Annual Meeting	15.00
Donation to Biennial Entertainment Fund	280.00
Rebates to Branches:	
Boston	\$40.00
Brookline	53.50
Cambridge	72.50
Lynn	18.00
Salem	55.00
Waltham	19.00
Worcester	57.50
	315.50
	\$2,494.42
Balance on hand, Bay State Trust Co., Jan. 5, 1909	45.68
	\$2,540.10

Audited by WILLIAM FRANKLIN HALL,
Accountant.

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.
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. "CRITICISM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM ANSWERED BY ROOSEVELT.
6. "THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES," by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.
7. SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, 1903.
8. "PATRONAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS," 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.
15. FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1906.
16. "HIGHER MUNICIPAL APPOINTIVE OFFICES AND THE MERIT SYSTEM." Preliminary Report of the National Civil Service Reform League.
17. SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1907.
18. "GOVERNOR HUGHES ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM."
19. "PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM," by Charles J. Bonaparte.
20. SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1908.
"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.)

Requests for these publications or for books and pamphlets in the Lending Library should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

The Fundamental Reform

Address by

President Charles W. Eliot

President of the National Civil Service
Reform League

Delivered at the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting
of the

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

At NEW YORK CITY

December 9, 1909

PUBLISHED FOR THE
WOMEN'S AUXILIARY

OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
ASSOCIATION

1910

The Fundamental Reform

*An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the
National Civil Service Reform League, at
New York City, December 9, 1909*

By PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT

The reform in the civil service which this League has been promoting for twenty-nine years is the fundamental governmental reform, the reform on which all other improvements in national, state, and municipal administration necessarily depend. The explanation of this fact is that the efficiency of all governmental services in these days depends on the adoption throughout such services of the merit system of selection and promotion. While governmental administration was simple, and required only ordinary intelligence and common honesty, it was possible to conduct it through men who came into it on a sudden from other employments, and left it after a few years to make room for a new set of inexperienced men. In the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century the spoils and patronage system was actively developed with the effect of filling the public services with men who possessed neither special training nor appropriate experience for the work in which they were to engage, and who expected only a short period of public employment. The merit system, on the other hand, from its start in 1865-68 undertook to procure for all branches of the public service men of adequate previous training, who could look forward to a life career in the public service, if, on trial, they proved to possess capacity and character. The nature of the work to be done in all branches of the public service has undergone great changes within the last forty years, and these changes are progressive. All kinds of public work now require appropriate previous training and the possession of a good degree of knowledge and skill. In an old-fashioned New England town any one of the fairly intelligent farmers or mechanics could be elected or appointed to direct the annual repairs on the roads, and any citizen could work on the roads,

because road construction was everywhere extremely simple and ineffectual, done with a plough and a scraper and without expectation of its lasting beyond one season. But now every town needs a road commissioner, a man well informed about the materials and processes of road building, and the means of preventing rushing waters from destroying the roads. The accounting of towns and cities forty years ago was within the comprehension of any intelligent book-keeper. It now requires the constant supervision of an expert accountant. The nation, the state, and the city are now obliged to undertake for the promotion of the public welfare a great variety of works which are complex applications of modern science, and can only be managed by engineers, chemists, physicians, and highly trained artisans. The national post-office has become an immense, complicated machine, which requires in the men who operate it intelligence, fidelity, skill, and experience; so that the former method of changing the employees in the post-office and putting in inexperienced men every four or eight years has become impracticable and senseless. There is not a single department of national, state, or municipal business in which experience is not of high value, conducting strongly to the efficiency and success of the service. Hence, the value of a long, uninterrupted tenure for officials of proved merit.

The principles of civil service reform must inevitably be applied throughout all public services, in order that much-needed improvements in the conduct of public business may become feasible. Thus, within the last ten years there has been going on in the United States a widespread movement toward municipal reform; and this movement has resulted in a considerable number of new city charters, the majority of which have the form called commission government. It is noteworthy that most of these new city charters make the adoption of civil-service reform rules, with more or less thoroughness, the foundation of the new structure. Many of them make special provision for the introduction of the merit system of appointment in all city departments; but some of them have failed to pro-

vide a system of appointments adequate to secure the main end of all commission governments—the conduct of city affairs on straight business principles. The execution of many excellent projects for promoting the public welfare has been, and still is, delayed, because the spoils method could not provide public servants capable of carrying them out. Thus, reform of the extraordinarily unjust and ineffectual methods of taxation in the United States has waited, and still waits, for a merit system of selecting the officials who administer the tax laws. For a century past the methods of taxation in the United States have been growing more and more incapable of producing the intended results, and more and more injurious to the national industries, but inasmuch as assessors and other officials concerned with taxation have been, as a rule, elected or selected without any regard to their knowledge of the general subject or their acquaintance with productive tax administration, the legislatures of the country have seldom received from them any sound advice. The assessors have had no preliminary training for their work, and their experience has been confined to the execution of unwise or defective laws. The care of the public health is another field of governmental action the cultivation of which has only lately begun, because health laws can only be properly enforced by medical experts, and until lately there has been no adequate provision for the employment of medical experts in the public service. Indeed, there are many American communities today in which medical experts cannot be employed, or at least cannot be employed under existing legislation in any adequate number. The science of preventive medicine is far in advance of its applications to the public welfare. It is of no avail to know how to prevent the spread of contagious diseases, if the government does not employ competent servants to apply that knowledge. No public medical service can be competent unless all its members are highly trained, and are selected and promoted for merit only.

These instances may suffice to illustrate the proposition with which I began, namely, that the reform to

which this League has been devoted for twenty-nine years is the fundamental governmental reform, on the triumph of which all other reforms in American governmental administration necessarily depend.

A considerable change has occurred in recent years in the regular activities and labors of this League and its agents. The pioneers of this enterprise were obliged to devote themselves chiefly to the procuring of legislation through public opinion, and bringing to bear on legislators a strong moral pressure. Such was the work of Thomas Allen Jenckes, George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, and Dorman B. Eaton—to mention only the dead—and effective indeed was their work. Now, a very different task confronts the League, a task requiring constant watchfulness over national, state, and municipal administrations, a thorough study of the results of existing legislation and of its defects, and frequent suggestion of possible improvements both in the laws and in the administration of the laws. The committee and secretaries of the League are incessantly occupied in discovering evasions of the law and calling attention to them. in reducing the number of unnecessary exemptions from the operation of civil-service rules and of unnecessary exceptions to the merit system of appointment, in preventing attempts to weaken the existing laws or the rules of the national, state, and municipal civil service commissions, and in suggesting and advocating extensions of the merit system of appointment and promotion all over the country. The League therefore has now to deal rather with administrative and executive officers than with legislators, and in order to deal effectively with such officers it must keep well informed about what they are doing, and also about what they are not doing.

The resistance to civil service reform is seldom open and outspoken in these days. Generally it is more or less private or secret, or at least the opponents hope that their action will not attract public observation. This condition of things testifies to the enormous advance civil-service reform has made among thinking people. The common people now think of government

service, not as a charity, or as affording a livelihood for incompetents, or as a means of paying and feeding the henchmen of political leaders, but as a great business organization for doing efficiently and honestly large pieces of business which the people want to have done well. The favorable attitude of the public press towards the merit system illustrates and reflects this condition of the popular mind. The bosses and machine politicians and their tools are about the only people in the United States who now have a working belief in the spoils system; but since there are many thousands of people of that sort they are still able to obstruct seriously the progress of civil service reform. To resist their machinations, and to deprive them of their chief resources for corruption—the salaries in public offices and the opportunities for selling franchises and contracts through public offices—is at present, and will long continue to be, a large part of the work of the Civil Service Reform League. In this work the League has lately been reinforced by another great reform movement which has spread rapidly over the country, the movement in favor of a large reduction in the number of elective offices, often described nowadays as the **short ballot movement**. Taken together, civil-service reform and the short ballot will go far to destroy the boss and the machine, those hideous evils which the American democracy developed to an unprecedented degree in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The present work of the League is certainly as important as any it has ever done, and it requires the constant labor of several paid agents as well as much labor from unpaid volunteers. The support of the salaried agents has to be provided by voluntary subscriptions and membership fees. The voluntary subscriptions must be diligently sought, and their number fully maintained. The membership fees ought to be greatly increased in amount by recruiting the League with new members from all parts of the country. The idea has spread abroad that the work of this League has been finished, that good civil-service rules have been passed by Congress and the state legislatures, and

that the activities of the League may therefore be suffered to decline. Nothing could be farther from the truth. To be sure, great successes have been won since the League was constituted twenty-nine years ago, and many good laws are on the statute books of the nation and the states; but, on the other hand, there are many parts of the country into which the reform has never really penetrated, and there are many communities—including some of the largest—where the execution of the existing laws is very defective. The work of the League is therefore by no means accomplished, and it will probably be several decades before the valuable functions of the League will have been fully discharged.

The civil-service reform rules were at first applied in rather low grades of public employment, and the examinations were therefore chiefly directed to ascertaining the physical qualifications of the applicants for appointment, and their knowledge of the subjects ordinarily taught in elementary schools. As the civil-service rules were extended to higher and higher offices, national, state, and municipal, the fitness of the applicants could not be tested by elementary written examinations, and accordingly, some additional questions were set by special experts who had had practical experience, questions which gave the applicants opportunity to show in their answers that they possessed the particular knowledge and skill which would be required in the places to which they aspired. Gradually, study of the records of candidates in their previous employments became an important part of civil-service examinations; and finally, oral examinations, directed to ascertaining the personal qualities of each candidate, such as manners, alertness, mental activity in conversation, sympathetic responsiveness, and power of quick exposition and quick decision, came into use as part of a civil service examination for a high office, or for an office in which the personality or temperament of the officer would be important. In some cases, this sort of investigation by inquiring into the candidate's record or by a personal interview was the only sort of examination needed; so that no questions whatever were

set to be answered by the candidate in writing. In general, however, questions to be answered in writing are used in addition to the other methods of inquiry; because the candidate is given in that way good opportunity to demonstrate that he possesses the particular kinds of knowledge and skill needed in the office for which he is a candidate.

The elementary examinations in writing are still maintained for the lower grades of the public service, because they afford sufficient guidance to the selection of the most promising candidates for those grades. For such uses written examinations have great recommendations, if the questions are intelligently prepared. They afford the same test for all comers all over the country, which is an important element in a fair, broad, competition. They also, when properly conducted, give no chances for favoritism or political influence, and for a majority of applicants they are more favorable than oral examinations, because they are more prolonged, and less dependent upon the possession of such superficial qualities as a winning aspect and a ready tongue. For all the higher classified offices in the public service, the civil-service commissions now conduct just the same sort of inquiry into the merits of candidates as a business man or a business corporation would use in filling vacancies in the higher parts of a business service; and to conduct these examinations wisely and with sound results is just as possible for a civil-service commission as it is for a business firm or corporation.

The first departure from the original civil-service examinations in elementary subjects, carried on all over the country as open, competitive examinations, without knowledge of the candidates' identity, was the increasing weight given in the ratings to age, personal experience, and previous employments of each candidate. For those positions which required a special kind of experience or educational attainment, greater weight was given to the personal history of the candidate, including education and experience, than to his answers in writing to questions intended to test his knowledge. This sort of examination can be con-

ducted satisfactorily in writing, partly through a statement made by the candidate himself, and partly through correspondence with other persons; but the examiners necessarily know who the candidate is and who are vouching for him, whereas in the original civil-service examinations every effort was made to conceal the identity of the applicant. When there were brought into the classified, competitive service many positions which were not originally within the contemplation of the civil-service law, and in which personal fitness—including temperament—was the primary consideration, oral examination of the candidates was introduced, in order to get a more intimate knowledge of the personality of each candidate. The questions asked orally did not relate to the knowledge of the candidate, but to his personal history, mode of life, reputation among his neighbors, and powers of expression in conversation.

Since there are many positions in the civil service, particularly in its higher parts, which cannot be well filled on the evidence of written examinations alone, the increased rating given to the previous records of candidates and to "personality" has been a great improvement in the methods of the civil-service commissions, because it has enabled them to make wiser recommendations to the appointing powers, and also has encouraged a better class of people to apply for civil-service positions. Professional men of large capacity are willing to present themselves for examinations which rely largely on previous record and personality, as well as on written answers to questions concerning knowledge and skill.

Recent examples of successful selection through competition under civil-service rules of officials whose fitness could not be satisfactorily tested by the ordinary written examinations are the appointment of the new Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, the selection of the heads—a man and his wife—for more than thirty cottages in the Rochester Industrial School for Delinquent Boys, and the selection of superintendents of construction, of members of hospital staffs, and of home visitors for charitable and correctional institu-

tions. In all these cases personality and appropriate previous history were evidently among the proper grounds of appointment. These instances are very unlike; but the competitive oral examinations, as advertised and conducted, brought out a considerable number of good candidates, who would not otherwise have been discovered. For such examinations as these special examination boards are usually required, but the commissions which have tried this method of selection have had no difficulty in procuring the service of competent boards.

The practice in well-conducted American colleges and universities in regard to appointments and promotions sheds light on the method which may best be used on other services which offer to intelligent and prudent persons a satisfactory life career. The appointing power inquires into the education, knowledge, experience, temperament, character and reputation of every candidate, and never appoints a stranger without first having a personal interview with him.

The extension of civil-service rules, or, in other words, the merit system, to the higher offices is warmly advocated by the League, because it is only in this way that the civil service in American communities can be brought to the condition of a life career, which well-qualified young men can enter with the intention of devoting themselves to it for life. It is quite as important that promotions should be given for merit, as that original appointments should be made for merit; and in determining merit the previous career and the personal qualities of the candidate should offer the principal fields of inquiry on the part of the promoting power. This is the only way in which the American city governments can be redeemed and put on a business basis. The heads of departments in cities must all be men whose previous records and personal qualities, inquired into by an independent board or commission, determine their appointment by the city executive, whether a mayor, a manager, or a commission.

No government service, military or civil, and no corporation service in banking, manufacturing, mining, transportation, or insurance, can be kept good without

some means of providing humanely for men and women who have been long in the service and whose efficiency is reduced by advancing age. It is for the interest of any such service to possess some means of retiring the disabled and the superannuated. In this way, promotion is made more rapid throughout the service, and the whole corps is kept efficient. In any permanent service wise provisions against disability and superannuation are not extravagant or wasteful, but actually economical as well as humane. They make men contented with lower salaries in youth and during maturity, because of the security they offer for old age or premature disability. They also offer strong inducements for entering a permanent service, inducements which are particularly strong with the right sort of men, that is, with those who prefer a sure opportunity to be useful, security, stability, and public consideration to adventure, risk, and a small chance of winning a large prize. The goal of civil service reform is a public service, national, state, and municipal, exclusively composed of men, each of whom possesses the knowledge and skill needed for his own task, well-disciplined, devoted to their work and to the public authority which employs them, and regarding their occupation as an honorable and satisfactory life career. In order to constitute well and maintain well such a body of men, some form of retiring allowance after long and creditable service is indispensable. This is the result of much experience in European governments and corporate services, and within the past twenty years much American experience to the same effect has been accumulated, particularly as regards the officers of the army and navy, appointed judges, university teachers, firemen, policemen, and railroad servants. The serious abuses in connection with military pensions in the United States since the Civil War have caused many Americans to dread the institution of civil service retiring allowances; but such persons must have failed to observe that the ground of a civil service retiring allowance is always long and faithful service, which was by no means the case in regard to the pensions granted on an immense scale after the Civil War and the Spanish War.

Thus far, the civil service laws do not seem to have increased the number of old employees in the government service of the country, and they have not caused any new need of an old-age provision for government employees; and accordingly the Civil Service Reform League has not felt bound to urge the passage of laws providing retiring allowances. The League, however, recognizes the fact that just civil service rules, successfully applied, will in time make the service of the government in all its branches a more permanent, as well as a more desirable and efficient service; and it believes that ultimately the interests not only of the members of the service, but of the public, will require some humane provision for men that grow old in the service. In any case of incapacity or neglect of duty, the employee can be removed under civil service rules; but such action toward a faithful employee, who has grown old in the service, is hardly practicable, because in the absence of a retiring allowance it is not humane.

Several bills to provide retiring allowances or annuities in the civil service of the nation and the states were under consideration in 1908 and 1909, but no measure on this subject was adopted. The bills before Congress have proposed that employees who enter the service hereafter should be provided with annuities on retirement at definite ages, to be paid from a fund created by the employees themselves, and that employees now in the service should also receive an annuity without contribution on their part, based upon service prior to the adoption of the plan. To meet these annuities for past service, a separate fund was to be created by making special deductions from the salary of every employee upon entering the service, and from promotion increases. A bill was introduced into the New York Legislature providing for the retirement on pension of civil service employees of New York City who had served the city thirty-five years, and become incapacitated for other service. The New York Civil Service Reform Association opposed that bill and certain other pension bills for particular branches of the city service, such as the street cleaning department. The New York Association's opinion is that the subject

of provision for retirement ought not to be dealt with piecemeal, but that the general policy of making provision for the retirement of civil employees should first be carefully considered, and then, if that policy should be approved, a comprehensive scheme of legislation to carry out the policy should be deliberately adopted.

It has been supposed in some quarters that the civil service rules prevent, or improperly restrict, the removal of incompetent persons. This is not the case. Removals for cause may be made in any branch of the public service, without any trial or public hearing, at the discretion of the responsible superior officer; but in order to prevent a despotic or revengeful use of that power certain reasonable restrictions are imposed, such as the requirement of a public statement of the reasons for removal. These reasons must be given with sufficient fullness to make them readily intelligible, and to enable the person removed to make a public explanation of his case, if he wishes to do so. It is only in the case of war veterans and a few others that an appeal to the courts is allowed concerning the justice of a removal, and these exceptional restrictions the Civil Service Reform League has uniformly opposed. The League fully recognizes that no service can be kept in a state of disciplined efficiency, unless the head of each group or department possesses the power of removal for cause.

In order to create and maintain throughout the country a non-partisan, permanent civil service, the people need to feel assured that the members of the civil service, national, state, or municipal, cannot be used by any party or person in possession of a city or state government, or of the national government, to keep that party or person in power. The people will dread the establishment of a permanent service, if they think it can be used to promote the interests of any party or person that is in possession of political power. It is therefore an essential rule for members of a permanent civil service that they should have nothing whatever to do with political or partisan activities. In all European governmental services this is a well understood principle, universally applied. In this country

judges and army officers act on that principle. It was publicly recognized by President Roosevelt in his order of June 3rd, 1907, amending the civil service rules by forbidding employees in the competitive service to take part in political management or in political campaigns; and this important order was enforced in the last campaign. The order did not touch, however, the members of the unclassified patronage service. The activity of unclassified federal office-holders in primaries and conventions, in the interest of those to whom they owe their appointments and by whose favor they continue in office, leads to neglect of duty and absenteeism on a large scale. During every presidential campaign the government pays large sums in salaries to officials who devote themselves to politics, while their offices are left to the control of subordinates. The federal office-holders who are still outside the operation of civil service rules number about one hundred thousand. In general, they are the higher officials, who can wield through their official positions large political influence, and are subject to possible dictation from the central administration. The active participation in caucuses, primaries, conventions, and elections, by such persons, who have a personal, pecuniary interest at stake, seriously interferes with the proper freedom of the people to choose their representatives and officials. This great evil is no new thing. It dates from the time of President Jackson, and although several presidents have protested against this dominating political influence, it was only in 1907 that a president of the United States made an effective order on the subject. This Civil Service Reform League advocates the diminution of this evil, first, by extending the classified competitive service to the limit of the present civil service act, and secondly, by procuring new legislation to reduce the number of office-holders who are outside the jurisdiction of that act. These measures will encounter the opposition, open or concealed, of every boss and political henchman in the country; but there is good hope that in the present temper of the people that opposition will prove ineffectual.

This League had the great satisfaction of contrib-

uting effectively in 1908 and 1909 to the conflict which Presidents Roosevelt and Taft waged with the majority in Congress for the application of the merit system to the appointment of clerks for the census of 1910. The majority in Congress wished to use the patronage system of making these numerous temporary appointments, and a bill providing for patronage appointments passed Congress. It was vetoed by President Roosevelt, and this veto was loudly approved by the press and the people. The League engaged actively in the contest, both before Congress and its committees and in the public prints, but it was not till June that a bill at last passed, putting the appointment of four thousand extra clerks under open, competitive examination. The Senate was successful in insisting that it should exercise its confirming power over the appointment of the census supervisors, a power which has heretofore done nothing but harm to the census bureau. Through the action of Mr. Durand, the director of the census, seventeen hundred special agents will also be appointed through competitive examinations. This victory for the merit system, though not complete, is nevertheless of great importance to the industrial and other business interests of the United States. No accurate and trustworthy census has ever been made as regards either population or industries,—partly because of natural difficulties, such as the country's immense area, the sparseness of its population, the roving habits of the population, and the absence in many states of trustworthy records of births, marriages, and deaths,—but largely because the enumerating force has been incompetent because badly selected. No amount of skilful figuring on inaccurate and incomplete returns can produce an accurate census. Every successive census is harder to make than its predecessor, because the multitudinous population is harder and harder to count, and because the statistics of the national industries are more and more difficult to accumulate and arrange instructively. The merit system of appointment, applied throughout the census organization, would increase greatly the trustworthiness of the census results, and a trustworthy census would contribute

strongly to the wise progress of many social, industrial, and governmental movements. There is no more injurious place to apply the patronage system of appointments than the census bureau. For this reason we may all rejoice together that the League has been able in this great question to support effectively President Roosevelt and President Taft, and to help forward a sound public opinion concerning the organization of the census bureau.

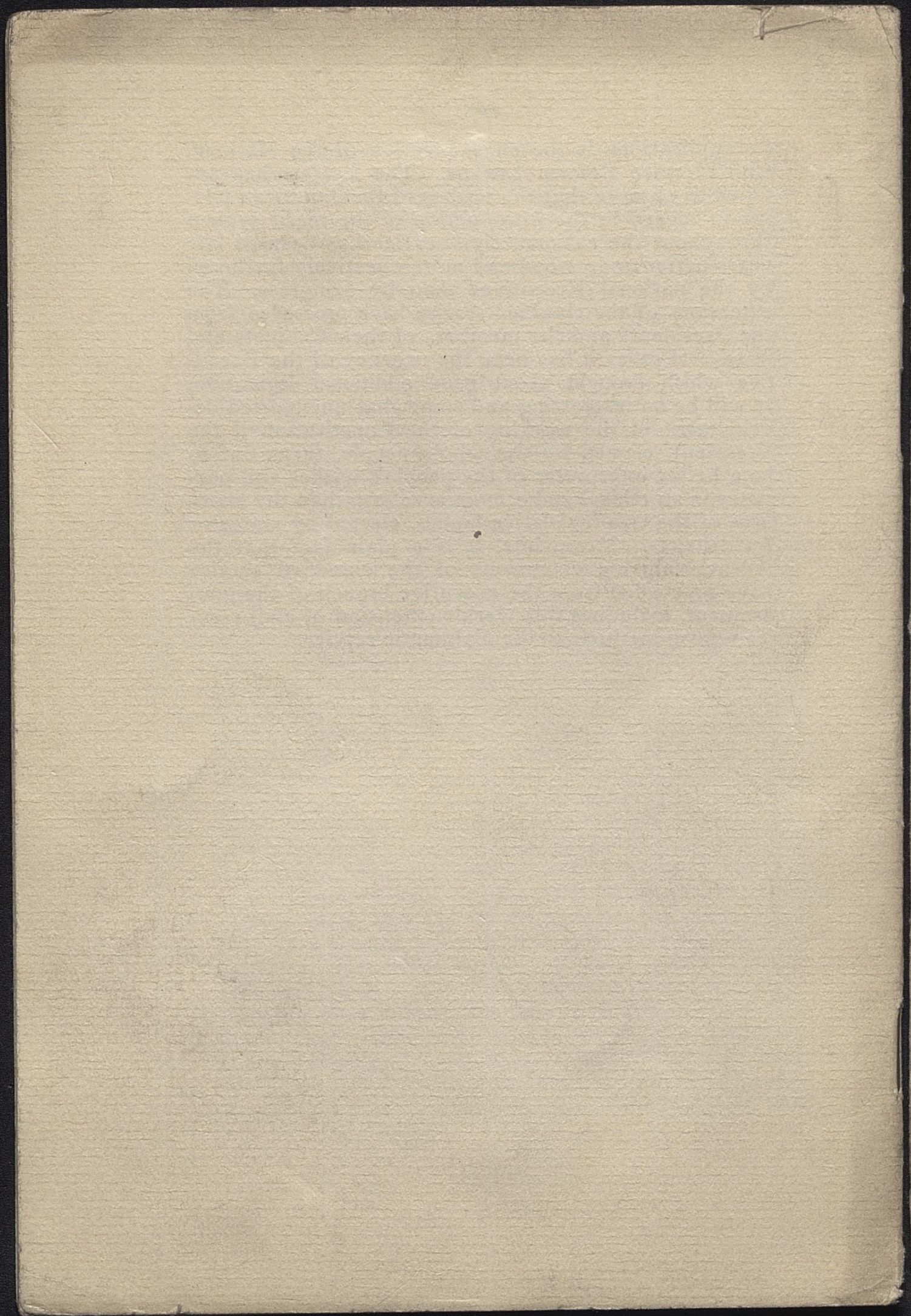
The improvement of the consular service is a good field for the activity of this League, for consuls are business agents who ought to know well at least one living language besides English, and the elements of commercial geography, international law and mercantile law, and be in themselves alert, inquiring, winning personalities. More than most officers of the national government, consuls can profit by experience, and therefore grow more and more serviceable as they grow older. Now that many productive American industries absolutely require a foreign market as well as a domestic, in order to keep their machinery and their employees busy, consuls must be appointed for present merit and promise of future serviceableness, and the consular service must become a life service, promotions being invariably made for demonstrated and recorded merit. The business organizations of the United States are steadily urging that the consular service be placed completely and thoroughly by statute on the merit basis; but although a bill was introduced to that effect at the last session of Congress, no action was taken on it. The bill itself was far from satisfactory, because the power of the Senate to consent to consular appointments and promotions was maintained,—a fatal obstruction to any satisfactory reform. All the forces which this League can command ought to be rallied to procure a thoroughgoing merit system of appointment and promotion in the consular service.

The League can be useful in forming public opinion concerning the business value of the merit system. This value has many elements. The economies effected by a good system of appointment and promotion are numerous and various. Fewer people are needed

to do a given amount of work; sinecures are detected and abolished; a day's work is got for a day's pay; all labor is more efficiently performed; the waste caused by the frequent bringing in of inexperienced persons is prevented; a reduction in force often accompanies increase in the amount of work done; or in other words, there is often increased efficiency with fewer employees. The League should systematically collect and publish statistics of economies effected through judicious use of the merit system of appointments and promotions. A good beginning has been made in this direction; but much more may be profitably done.

The great reason for the gains made during the last thirty years for the merit system over against the spoils or patronage system is that the merit system is the only business-like and democratic method of selecting the servants of the government, municipal, state, or national. The people have come to see this fact; and the people want efficient and honest servants in every department of government, and they want them to be employed like judges and officers of the army and navy, under conditions which defend them from temptation to dishonesty or neglect of duty. No employer has a right to employ men and women on terms which tempt them to sin, and least of all should government commit that grievous fault. The spoils, or patronage, system subjects men in government positions to fierce temptation. Their places are presumably temporary and insecure. At any moment, some other favorites, or somebody else's favorites, may displace them. They lack the public consideration which is given only to recognized efficiency and honesty. A public service which is to command respect must be organized on the merit system, and not on the patronage system. The American people want efficient and honorable service, and they understand better and better every day the real conditions under which such service can be obtained. They realize too that in a democracy every career, and particularly every career in government service, should be open to merit and talent, free from every kind of political, financial, or social influence. To explain and enforce that democratic doctrine and

its applications is the chief function of the National Civil Service Reform League. The League has not failed to observe that the wishes of the American people in regard to the introduction of the merit system throughout the national civil service has been of late years better understood and more effectively furthered by the national Executives than by Congress. The extensions of the classified service have proceeded from the Presidents and the members of their Cabinets and in several cases it has been the urgency of the Executive which brought about good additional legislation. It will be an interesting and somewhat unexpected development in the working of the Constitution if the President, elected by the whole people, turns out to be a better interpreter of the people's wishes and purposes in an ethical and economic reform than the members of the two legislative bodies, elected by states or by districts. Meanwhile, it is a plain fact that the recent, valuable extensions of the classified service have proceeded from the executive branch of the government, including this week's extension of civil service reform methods to the diplomatic service.



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

1910



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SECRETARY'S REPORT

As the Massachusetts Auxiliary has from the first directed its chief efforts to the education of public opinion in regard to the Merit System, it is gratifying to report a steady gain in the support given by the country to the principles of Civil Service Reform. The advance of the Merit System continues to be more marked in the Federal Service than in the service of States and Municipalities as a whole.

EXTENT OF THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE LAW

No important extension of the Civil Service Law has been made since Roosevelt's Executive order of December 1st, 1908, placing under the Civil Service rules the fourth-class postmasters in the district north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi Rivers. The figures compiled by the Civil Service Commission for June 30th, 1909, show that of the 367,794 officers and employees in the Executive Civil Service 234,940 are subject to open competitive examinations and about 6500 more are laborers subject to labor tests. Of the remaining 126,354, over one-half are laborers or minor employees, and 57,764 are in the post-office department. As the classification of one portion of the fourth class postmasters has worked satisfactorily, it is hoped that the system will be extended all over the country and that the merit principle may likewise be applied to the other exempt positions in the department—namely, clerks in non-free delivery post-offices, assistant postmasters, and postmasters of the first, second and third class. Both the National League of Fourth-Class Post-

masters and the National Association of Assistant Postmasters have passed resolutions urging the transference of their positions to the classified service.

CENSUS BILL

After a long and hard struggle the National Civil Service Reform League finally secured the elimination of the objectionable patronage features in the bill for taking the Census of 1910. The first bill to pass was promptly vetoed by President Roosevelt, solely on account of the provision for a non-competitive examination for the extra clerical employees. The President's veto message characterizing such an examination as a "fraud upon the public" received widespread approval from the press and business organizations. Congress in the end yielded to public sentiment and last June enacted a Census Bill requiring open competitive examinations for the temporary clerical employees in the Census Bureau at Washington. The classification does not apply to the field force consisting of supervisors, agents and enumerators. The 330 supervisors are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; the 1600 or more agents by the Director of the Census Bureau; and the 65,000 enumerators by the supervisors with the approval of the Director. By order of the Director, agents and enumerators must pass a test examination held under the supervision of the Civil Service Commission. The small salaries received by the enumerators and their brief term of office made it seem inexpedient to subject them to open competitive examinations.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AMONG UNCLASSIFIED OFFICE HOLDERS

Last August President Taft issued a stringent order that a supervisor or enumerator taking part in any political ac-

tivity should at once be dismissed from the service. Of late years it has been the custom to distinguish between classified and unclassified office-holders. Political activity is forbidden to employees in the classified service, and, since 1907, power to enforce this restriction has been given to the Civil Service Commission. But free participation in politics is permitted to employees in the unclassified service, provided only that they do not neglect their public duties or cause public scandal. As a result of a special investigation made by the National Civil Service Reform League last year, it was found that at the Republican Convention, held at Chicago in 1908, one-tenth of the delegates were office-holders and the proportion of government officials from the South averaged one third, rising to two thirds in two or three states. The political control thus placed in the hands of the higher grade officials is regarded by the League as a distinct menace to our free institutions. President Taft's restriction for the Census Bureau has, therefore, established a most valuable precedent by forbidding political activity among unclassified employees.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Another forward step taken by President Taft is his recent Executive order requiring rigorous entrance examinations for lower grades of the diplomatic service and providing for promotion to the higher grades from within the ranks on grounds of efficiency. The President has likewise recommended to Congress that this order placing the diplomatic service on a similar basis to the consular service shall be embodied in a statute.

APPLICATION OF THE MERIT SYSTEM TO HIGHER OFFICES

Recent years have shown great advance in the application of the Civil Service Law to higher grade positions in

the Federal, State, and Municipal service. Chicago has taken the lead in placing under the Civil Service Law expert positions such as the city librarian and superintendent of streets. The examination given the applicants for the librarianship differed from the ordinary test in that it consisted in a careful investigation as to training and experience with a thesis on an administrative subject. The New Charter of Boston gives a restrictive power to the Civil Service Commission in regard to the higher municipal offices. Heads of departments are appointed by the mayor, who is obliged by law to certify that the appointment is made "solely in the interests of the city" and that the appointee is either a recognized expert or specially fitted for the position by education, training, or experience. The Civil Service Commission must then certify that the appointee has the necessary qualifications, otherwise the appointment becomes void.

STATES AND CITIES

In 1909 no new State adopted a Civil Service Law, but unsuccessful attempts to pass Civil Service legislation for the State service were made in Connecticut, Idaho, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. Colorado Springs and Grand Junction, Colorado, Leavenworth and Wichita, Kansas and Keokuk, Iowa adopted Commission forms of government with Civil Service provisions. The fire department in Muncie, Indiana, and several new counties in New York also were placed under Civil Service rules.

CIVIL SERVICE BILLS IN MASSACHUSETTS

In our own State there were the usual number of bills affecting Civil Service interests. Two bills to provide better quarters and larger salaries for the Civil Service Commis-

sion contrasted with two others, one to abolish the Commission, transferring its duties to the Bureau of Labor and Statistics, another to make it obligatory for one member of the Commission to be a mechanic or workman, not an employer of labor. Attempts were made to extend the Civil Service rules to heads of departments and to sealers of weights and measures, and to make the law applicable on local adoption to towns with a population of 7000 or more. Bills were likewise introduced to exempt from the Civil Service Law call-firemen in Chelsea and Lawrence, bridge employees in Fall River, and assistants to the Board of Probation. The only one of these bills to pass was that placing under the Civil Service rules principal and assistant sealers of weights and measures, an extension recommended by Governor Draper in his inaugural address.

NEW CHARTER FOR BOSTON

The legislative work of the Auxiliary was devoted largely to the support of the bills providing increased appropriations for the Civil Service Commission and of the Charter Amendments for the City of Boston. The provision in the latter that heads of departments should be appointed by the Mayor subject to confirmation by the Civil Service Commission made support of the New Charter appropriate work for the Auxiliary. A brief account of the Charter Amendments, written by Mr. John F. Moors, a member of the original Finance Commission, was published in the *Federation Bulletin* and leaflets on the Charter, kindly furnished us by the Committee of One Hundred, were distributed at a conference of Club Presidents held by the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs and were sent with letters asking support for the measure to several hundred men in different parts of the State. The passage of the Charter Amend-

ments with the chief features recommended by the Finance Commission was a most notable event in Municipal Reform.

LARGER APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The Auxiliary was represented at the hearings in regard to larger salaries and better quarters for the Civil Service Commission. Besides calling upon the Branches to use their influence in favor of these two measures, we asked the help of a large number of constituents of members on the Public Service Committee and the Ways and Means Committee, which successively had the bills in charge. Three excellent editorials on the need for increased salaries and better accommodations for the Commission were reprinted from the *Boston Globe*, *Herald*, and *Transcript* and widely distributed. As it was privately arranged that the Commission should be given a room adjacent to its old quarters in the State House, no legislative action was needed in regard to this bill. The Committee on Ways and Means reported to the House two forms for increasing the salaries of the Commissioners, the majority report making the salary of the Chairman \$5000 with \$2000 for the other two members, the minority report favoring \$4000 for the Chairman and \$3000 for the other Commissioners. Owing to the uncertainty as to the form in which the bill would be reported, we waited before sending letters in the name of the Auxiliary to members of the Legislature. On June 16th, the majority bill was rejected by a vote of 28 to 94. The bill came up for reconsideration on the 18th. On the morning of that day we sent copies of the newspaper editorials to each Representative together with a letter asking his favorable attention for the bill. The motion to reconsider was lost by a vote of 65 to 110. We are preparing to work with renewed

vigor for this measure during the coming session of the Legislature.

PUBLICATIONS

During the past nine years the Auxiliary has published eighteen different pamphlets in addition to its eight annual reports, and has distributed altogether about 375,000 pamphlets. Since our last report we have sent out 69,000 pamphlets, a larger record than for any previous year. The new publications are "Twenty-five Years of Civil Service Reform," an address given last year by President Choate at the annual meeting of the League, and "The Business Value of Civil Service Reform", both reprinted by courtesy of the League; "Democracy and a Permanent Civil Service" by President Lowell, a paper based on his address at our annual meeting a year ago and reprinted, by permission, from the *Youth's Companion*; and "The Merit System a Connecting Link in the Work of the Federations of Women's Clubs," a leaflet first prepared by us for the *Federation Bulletin*.

USE OF PAMPHLETS IN SCHOOLS

There continues to be a great demand for our pamphlets for use in high and grammar schools. During the past year 44,000 pamphlets have been used in our school work. 27,500 copies of Miss Cary's invaluable "Primer of the Civil Service and the Merit System" were sent to a thousand or more grammar schools, and 8,600 pamphlets were distributed to high schools. The largest order from one superintendent was for 2,200 copies of the "Primer" to be placed in 74 schools in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The letters that we receive from superintendents, principals and teachers show a warm appreciation as to the value of the pamphlets and a great willingness to co-operate in our efforts to have school children instructed in the principles of the Merit Sys-

tem. A total of 250,000 pamphlets have been sent to schools and colleges scattered in every State and Territory. As in many cases these pamphlets are used from year to year and passed about the class, it is probably no exaggeration to estimate that they have been made the basis of at least one lesson for half a million boys and girls.

SCHOOL MEDAL

Fifty-eight in all of the bronze medals have been awarded in school competitions for the best essay on some subject connected with Civil Service Reform. In addition to six medals given by our Branches, medals were offered this past year in the Framingham High School for the fifth annual competition held by the Framingham Woman's Club, in the Hyde Park High School for the second time by the Hyde Park Current Events Club, one medal by the Allegheny Civil Service Reform Association and three by the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

COOPERATION WITH THE WOMEN'S CLUBS

The invaluable assistance given us by the Women's Clubs both within and without Massachusetts has always been a great help in our work. During the past year four officers of the Auxiliary have served on the Civil Service Reform Committee of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs, thus establishing a close relation in the work of the two organizations. We have received frequent requests for help in the preparation of Club papers and for literature to distribute at Club or Federation meetings. In 1909 large quantities of pamphlets were sent for distribution at the annual meetings of the State Federations of Women's Clubs in Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, and Vermont. In Idaho the Women's Clubs introduced a State

Civil Service Bill and at their request we sent sets of pamphlets to the members of the Legislature. Mrs. L. W. Keil, the able and inspiring Chairman of the Michigan Federation Civil Service Reform Committee, has aroused unprecedented activity among the Clubwomen in her State. The number of Clubs with Civil Service Reform Committees has risen from 4 to 100. Frequent meetings have been held, study classes organized, articles published, pamphlets placed in public schools, Sunday Schools, libraries and reading rooms, settlements, men's and boys' social and political clubs, police quarters, fire-engine houses, and car-barns. The literature used in this educational campaign has been supplied by the National League and the New York and Massachusetts Auxiliaries. Last year we sent 10,000 pamphlets to Michigan and received applications from 110 Clubs or Clubwomen in the State. The work there is of special interest since the Clubs are cooperating with the Michigan Civil Service Reform Association in its efforts to secure the enactment of a State Civil Service Law.

EXHIBIT AT BOSTON-1915

The Auxiliary had a booth in the exposition held in the autumn by Boston-1915, a movement for the civic development of Boston. Our exhibit consisted chiefly of the maps, charts, photographs, and other material prepared for the Jamestown Exposition. One new chart showed by means of a vicious circle the many evils resulting from the Spoils System. The pamphlets offered for distribution disappeared with such surprising rapidity—on one occasion 100 copies of the "Primer" within an hour—that it was impossible to keep a supply on hand. 5000 pamphlets were taken away by visitors to the Exposition.

MEETINGS

During the past year the Auxiliary and its Branches have held a total of 18 meetings and have also helped to provide speakers for other organizations. The State Council met in the autumn at the house of Miss Lyman, when reports were presented by the Branches and plans discussed for the winter's work; at the mid-winter meeting, held at the house of Mrs. Kehew, Mr. R. H. Dana kindly spoke on opportunities for women to help in legislative work; in the spring, the Council was the guest of the Brookline Branch and was addressed by Mr. Stratton D. Brooks, Superintendent of Boston schools. Our delegates to the annual meeting of the League held in New York in December were Mrs. R. H. Dana, Miss Margaret Norton and the Secretary, who presented the report from the Auxiliary.

MEMBERSHIP

There has been a slight decrease in the membership since a year ago, largely due to a falling off in group members. The new form of Club membership is in some cases taking the place of group membership. In response to an invitation sent to clubs in Massachusetts, the Ousamequin Club of Bridgewater, the Clinton Women's Club, the Framingham Women's Club, the Old and New Club of Malden, and the Fortnightly Club of Sharon became members of our Association. One member joined the Auxiliary as the club representative of the Monday Club of North Adams. The Auxiliary now numbers 1050 members representing 50 cities and towns in Massachusetts.

REORGANIZATION

The most important event of the year from an internal point of view has been the reorganization of the Auxiliary

on a larger scale to meet the growing needs of the work. An office was opened last spring at 31 Beacon Street. This pleasant room overlooking the Boston Common not only greatly facilitates the work of the Auxiliary, but is proving a centre for those interested in or desiring information in regard to the Civil Service. The Auxiliary now employs two salaried workers, an executive secretary and a clerical assistant. The new arrangement will make possible the enlargement of the present scope of work with opportunity to develop new features. The acquisition of the office and the more adequate assistance makes us start on our tenth year with promise of increased usefulness in our work to further good citizenship and good government.

MARIAN C. NICHOLS,

JANUARY 5, 1910.

Secretary.

ABRIDGED REPORTS FROM THE BRANCHES

In May the *Boston Branch* held a meeting for teachers at the Twentieth Century Club which was addressed by Mrs. I. B. Oakley of Philadelphia. Invitations were sent to teachers in the public and private schools in Boston and to teachers in the Brookline and Cambridge public schools.

The *Brookline Branch* continued work in the public schools. Pupils in the upper grades of the grammar schools are keenly interested in the subject of the Merit System and write excellent essays in their competitions for the bronze medal. Five of the medals were awarded last June. A large plaster cast of the medal was given to one school and a cast will be presented every year until each grammar school has one to hang in the school building. Last May the State Council met with the Brookline Branch and

Superintendent Stratton D. Brooks of the Boston Public Schools spoke on the Merit System of Appointment for Teachers.

The *Cambridge Branch* held monthly meetings for the Executive Committee and arranged for three open meetings. Mrs. Oakley spoke at a meeting held at Bertram Hall in the spring, and in the autumn Miss Nichols gave a talk on the work of the Auxiliary. A prize of ten dollars for the best essay on Civil Service Reform is to be offered at a boys' club at the Social Union and it is hoped also to arrange a competition for the medal to be held in one of the Cambridge schools.

The *Lynn Branch* held five meetings during the year. Four of these were for the study of Municipal Government and its relation to Civil Service Reform, and the fifth, an open meeting, was addressed by Mr. Meyer Bloomfield who spoke on "Life and Problems of New Americans." As a result of this lecture the Branch voted to give ten dollars towards furnishing a room in the Civic Service House, where work is carried on to train foreigners to become good citizens. A committee continued to visit the Lynn Police Station and City Home and reported that conditions in these institutions were much improved.

At a preliminary organization meeting, held in February at the house of Mrs. F. H. Keyes, it was voted to form a *Newton Branch*, and a week later, on March 3d, the first regular meeting of the Branch took place at the house of Mrs. Charles S. Dennison, when officers were elected and a Committee appointed to draw up a Constitution. At both these meetings Miss Nichols spoke on the work of the Auxiliary. Addresses were given by Mrs. Oakley and Mrs. Cabot at an open meeting held at the house of Mrs. Charles

H. Breck in May. Copies of the Constitution of the Newton Branch, printed through the kindness of Mrs. Dennison, were circulated at this meeting.

The *Salem Branch* conducted a course of eight talks on Current Events by Mrs. May Alden Ward, which were well attended and much enjoyed. One public meeting was held at which Mr. R. H. Dana spoke. The Branch presented to the new High School building a cast of the medal, for which it received a vote of thanks from the School Board.

The *Springfield Branch* reports that it is thoroughly alive and doing all that it can to aid in the work of the Auxiliary. The Branch offered a bronze medal as a reward for a competition to be held in the High Schools. In November, Congressman Gillett addressed the pupils of the Technical and Classical High Schools, and many members of the Branch and their friends were likewise present to hear his most interesting lecture on Civil Service. An account of the meeting, together with illustrations of the medal, which first appeared in the *Springfield Republican*, was afterwards reprinted in a Canadian journal, called the *Civilian*. At the annual meeting a paper was given on the work of the Branch since its organization. The Branch is aided in its efforts by the hearty cooperation of the Springfield Woman's Club.

At a meeting of the *Waltham Branch*, held in October, it was decided to appoint a Committee on plans for the improvement of the city. The Italians, whom the Branch started in the formation of a *Circolo*, have a society of about forty members and are arranging to publish in Italian a leaflet on municipal regulations. The Boys' Debating Society, also formed by the Branch, is in a flourishing con-

dition and has a speaker to instruct the members on Civic Laws.

The *Worcester Branch* held two meetings, one addressed by Hon. Herbert Parker, the other by Miss Nichols, and conducted a series of twelve talks by Mrs. May Alden Ward. The Branch furnished speakers for the Teachers' Club and three other clubs as well as for three meetings at the High Schools. A medal was awarded in the fifth annual competition for students in the three high schools. The successful competitor also secures for his school the cast of the medal for the coming year. Application from different parts of the country were received for 300 copies of the Branch's publication, "The Study of Municipal Government in its Relation to Civil Service Reform." The Branch subscribed for *Good Government* for the Young Men's Christian Association, Clark College, and Holy Cross College.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

BOSTON, January 5, 1910.

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

In Account with MARY MORTON KEHEW, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS.

To balance on hand January 5, 1909.....	\$45.68
Sustaining Memberships	860.00
Annual and Group Memberships.....	921.75
Donations	
General.....	451.25
Special	394.00
Refund from Biennial Entertainment Fund.....	131.02
Sale of Pamphlets.....	13.11
Interest on Bank Deposits.....	18.47
	<u>\$2,835.28</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Printing.....	\$644.63
Salary of Secretary.....	575.00
Clerical Assistance.....	299.80
Postage, express, and other current expenses.....	283.35
Traveling expenses of Secretary to New York	15.30
Rent of office	166.67
Furnishings for office	50.70
Donation to National Service Reform League.....	100.00
Dues to Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs	52.50
Dues to National Municipal League.....	5.00
Subscriptions to <i>Good Government</i>	10.00
R. L. Bridgman for legislative notices	10.02
Caterer for Annual Meeting	15.00
Boston-1915 Exposition.....	17.60
Rebates to Branches:	
Brookline	\$54.50
Cambridge	65.00
Lynn.....	16.50
Newton	3.00
Salem.....	54.50
Springfield	16.00
Waltham.....	17.00
Worcester.....	53.50
	<u>280.00</u>
	<u>\$2,525.57</u>
Balance on hand, Bay State Trust Company..	209.71
With Secretary.....	100.00
	<u>309.71</u>
	<u>\$2,835.28</u>

Audited by M. W. VAUGHN.

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.
 2. EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS. By W. W. Vaughan.
 3. THE CIVIL SERVICE. THE MERIT SYSTEM—THE SPOILS SYSTEM By Edward Cary.
 4. FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1902.
 5. CRITICISM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM ANSWERED BY ROOSEVELT.
 6. THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES. By Clinton R. Woodruff.
 7. SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, 1903.
 8. PATRONAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. 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.
 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.
 14. FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1905.
 15. FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1906.
 16. HIGHER MUNICIPAL APPOINTIVE OFFICES AND THE MERIT SYSTEM.
 17. SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1907.
 18. GOVERNOR HUGHES ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
 19. PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. By Charles J. Bonaparte.
 20. SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1908.
 21. EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1909.
 22. THE BUSINESS VALUE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
 23. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. By Joseph H. Choate.
 24. DEMOCRACY AND A PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE. By A. Lawrence Lowell.
- 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.)

Requests for these publications or for books and pamphlets in the Reference Library should be addressed to the Secretary.

Things Won and Greater Things Not Yet Won

Address by

President Charles W. Eliot

President of the National Civil Service
Reform League

Delivered at the Thirtieth Annual Meeting

of the

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE

At BALTIMORE, MD.

December 15, 1910

PUBLISHED FOR THE
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OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
ASSOCIATION

1911

Things Won and Greater Things Not Yet Won.

*An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the
National Civil Service Reform League, at
Baltimore, December 15, 1910.*

By PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT

The labors of the National Civil Service Reform League have been rewarded during the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Taft by the attainment of many improvements in the national service. Today about 294,000 employees of the government are in the classified service, of whom about 226,000 are competitive and most of whom have been appointed for merit and promise demonstrated through adequate examinations and thorough inquiry. About 68,000 persons in the classified service have, however, been appointed on exceptional terms, with exemption from examination or without competitive examination,—a grievous fact which cannot but gravely qualify the satisfaction of this League in the results already obtained in the lower grades of the national civil service under existing legislation.

The unclassified service numbers about 61,000 persons, of whom 49,000 are unskilled laborers, and 2,600 are census appointees. Deducting these 51,600 persons from the total of the unclassified service, there remain something more than nine thousand presidential appointees who are subject to confirmation by the Senate, and in this number are included all the higher officers, such as first, second, and third class postmasters, collectors of customs and internal revenue, appraisers, district attorneys and marshals, consuls, and diplomatic appointees. These nine thousand are all political appointments, or spoils of victory at the polls. Under the practice of our government, lately very frankly described by President Taft, these spoils are distributed by senators and representatives. In short, the valuable and influential offices in the public service are still party or personal "spoils." The figures given must not be regarded as exact, or as accurately representing the state of the service on any one day. A

precise enumeration would be difficult and costly; and at present no government agency or office seems to be in possession of the exact facts. Thus much, however, is clear:—the higher places in the government service, to the number of nine thousand, are inaccessible to the 294,000 men and women who have entered the classified service. However meritorious these subordinate servants of the government may prove themselves to be, they cannot reach higher posts without procuring the active influence of a patron, or without commending themselves in some way to the persons in whose gift the higher offices lie. The original appointments in the classified service are made for merit; but thereafter advance of salary and promotion must be secured, as a rule, by "influence," and the higher parts of the national service are in the main inaccessible to members of the classified service.

It has been an immense gain that the original appointments to 226,000 places have been rescued from the grasp of politicians, and made accessible in a thoroughly democratic way to competent men and women; but so long as promotions generally go by favor, and not by merit, and so long as there are many thousands of persons in the classified service who have been exempted from passing examinations at appointment, or have passed only non-competitive examinations, the civil service of the United States cannot be said to offer an attractive life-career to intelligent and ambitious young people, and will remain inferior as a career to many services in this country, already organized and conducted on a merit system by numerous business and educational corporations and charitable or betterment associations. A service which has no system of promotion for merit, and no system of pensions or retiring allowances, and in which all the higher posts are held on short tenures and without personal or official independence, is obviously very inferior not only to most government services in Europe, but to many private and corporate services in the United States, which have already adopted advancement for merit, insurance against disease and accident, and pensions on disability or old age.

In consequence of this unfortunate condition of things, many young people, of good quality as regards both intelligence and character, enter the national service by exami-

nation, serve diligently for a few years, and then, finding themselves cut off from the higher places in their several departments, quit the service of the government, and find employment in private or corporation services which are much better organized than the civil service of the national government. By this exodus the government is constantly losing the best part of its employees. The civil service ought, of course, to offer just as satisfactory and honorable a career as the military and naval services offer; but is far from doing so, first, because no system of promotion for merit has ever been contrived for the civil service, and secondly, because the nine thousand posts at the top of the civil service are still political "spoils."

The work of the National Civil Service Reform League has been supposed by many public-spirited persons, who are not acquainted with the facts in the case, to have been practically accomplished; but the truth is, that the work of the League is only well begun, and its most important work remains to be done. Indeed, there has never been a time in the whole history of the League when widespread and ample support in money, service and patriotic interest was more needed than it is now. It was only on September 30th, 1910, that the most important step ever taken towards making the civil service of the government a worthy life-career was taken by President Taft, in his order putting assistant postmasters into the classified service. Heretofore the assistant postmasters have been "spoils" appointees. Hereafter they will be merit appointees, and will supply the government with a large body of capable and experienced men, from whom the postmasterships can be advantageously filled. President Taft has also declared in a recent message his opinion that first, second and third class postmasterships should be transferred to the classified service, and be filled with experienced men, advanced for merit. Under the present law, postmasters in first, second and third class offices must be confirmed by the Senate; so that new legislation is needed in order to bring about this great improvement in the postoffice department, regarded as a business organization which should be conducted with the utmost efficiency in the interest of the whole people. To procure this new legislation will undoubtedly require a

strong pressure of public opinion from all parts of the country. This League will do its utmost in support of the recommendations of President Taft.

To promote the transformation of the national civil service into a business-like organization offering a life-career to intelligent and ambitious young people, the League, through a committee appointed for the purpose, has prepared a plan for regulating promotion throughout the service. The work of this committee on promotions has extended over several years, and has involved much study of existing conditions in this country and in the leading countries of Europe. The plan recommended by the committee is believed to be the first thoroughly studied plan adapted to existing conditions in the United States; for today no general rules governing promotion exist, either in Washington or in the civil service outside of Washington, and none have been publicly proposed. Certain departments have regulations concerning promotions; but there is no uniformity in the several departments, and no existing regulations are satisfactory. The committee of the League recommends the introduction of a uniform system of promotion, based mainly upon competitive examination, but in part also on records of efficiency and on seniority. In order to bring into effect any comprehensive system of promotion for merit, additional legislation will be necessary, and particularly a law providing for a re-classification of salaries. Such a bill was introduced by Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts during the last session of Congress, and is on the calendar for action at the present session. The passage of this bill will make possible the adoption of a uniform promotion system. The committee on promotions is strongly of the opinion that neither seniority nor efficiency records should be adopted as the main ground of promotion, but that all candidates for promotion to a given office should submit themselves to the same tests of capacity, and that these tests should relate chiefly to ability to perform the duty of the higher position sought. Since civil service examinations were first established under the Law of 1883, great improvements have been made in the quality and scope of the examinations. These improvements have been made not only in the national service, but in the state and municipal

services; and there is at present no difficulty in conducting competitive examinations, directed with the utmost precision to ascertaining the physical, intellectual, and moral qualifications of a large or small group of candidates for offices which require expert knowledge and skill, as well as for those which require only elementary knowledge, a sound body, and a good character. Examinations for promotion in the higher parts of the civil service will often require expert examiners; and will often include the same kind of examination into the education and experience of the candidates, which any careful person or corporation habitually uses in filling vacancies in a trained staff. The committee on promotions also recommends that all promotions be made for a probationary period, just as original appointments should be. It further recommends that the civil service commission should be given discretion to decide whether a high place in the civil service, demanding executive ability, should be filled through promotion, or through the holding of an original, open, competitive examination, to which employees should be admitted. Through the exercise of this discretion the commission could bring new blood into the system at various stages.

This League would not have it inferred, from the fact that it has presented a plan of promotion applicable to the classified service as it now exists, that it supposes the classified service to have reached its proper limit. On the contrary, it is unquestionably the opinion of the League that all administrative officials, whose work is regulated by public law and by the decisions of their administrative superiors, should hold their positions, regardless of political changes, on secure tenures during efficiency and good behavior. The League cordially welcomes the recommendation contained in the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury that all non-political offices be classified in the competitive service. Only those officers who determine the policies of the government, and their immediate assistants, should be changed to match the changes in the political opinions and sentiments of the people which elections record.

It has been the practice of all the administrations since the civil service law was enacted to make appointments to excepted positions in the classified service with-

out conforming to the prescriptions concerning examinations. These exceptions carry into the classified civil service many persons who have given no proper evidence of either capacity or character; and put at the disposition of politicians or other patrons annual salaries to a large amount in total. The commonest argument in favor of these exceptions is that officials who have fiduciary functions want to have assistants selected either by themselves or by friends who have personal knowledge of the candidates. This argument is not a remarkable one. A fiduciary officer will in most cases get a better assistant, if he is supplied by a civil service commission with a man or woman whose character, habits and mental quality have been subjected to an impartial examination by experienced examiners, than he will procure through his own individual selection. Accordingly, experience concerning delinquencies, neglects, and crimes in the civil service of the United States shows conclusively that they occur among the excepted appointees and in the unclassified service much more frequently than in the competitive, classified service. The best man to trust in a confidential capacity is the man who is not afraid to have his previous training and experience and his capacity and character inquired into by impartial and experienced examiners.

A strong argument in favor of extending the classified service all the way up to those offices which have to do with the determination of the political policies of the government is to be found in the political activity at nominating conventions and elections of the existing unclassified service—that is, of all the higher civil servants of the government. Officials who owe their appointments to political influence, who hold them as rewards for party service, naturally feel under obligations to be active on behalf of the administration, party, “boss,” senator, or representative, who gave them their appointments. Every recent national administration has thus far accepted the political services of such officials without restraint during nomination and election campaigns; and there have recently been given striking exhibitions of the effective response of “spoils” civil servants to the call of their respective patrons, seeking to control party conventions in the state of New York and in several of the Southern

States. Several Presidents have forbidden political activity to members of the classified civil service; but no President has effectively forbidden members of the unclassified service,—that is, all the higher officials in the service, to be active in nominating conventions and political campaigns. So long as the American people see thousands of officeholders exerting themselves to the utmost to keep their party, their immediate administrative superiors, and themselves in power, so long will they distrust a permanent civil service with tenure during efficiency and good behavior. All intelligent persons can see that a permanent civil service, which can afford a satisfactory life-career to its members, must be ready to serve whatever chief officers of the government may be put in power by popular election, and must therefore be prohibited from engaging in party political activities,—just as appointed judges and officers of the army and navy are now prohibited from participation in political conflicts by custom and by their own self-respect and desire for independence.

Obnoxious political activity is not the only abuse which would be done away with, if the civil service were classified all the way up to the executive offices which have to do with determining the policies of the government. In the present unclassified service there is a great deal of absenteeism. Many men appointed for political reasons, without any test of their capacity or fidelity, are not only frequently absent from duty, but are in the habit of hiring assistants or clerks at low wages to do all, or nearly all, the work of their office, taking to themselves the greater part of the compensation provided for their offices, but doing none, or very little, of the work. Under a merit system of appointment and promotion, these evils would not occur.

Again, if every department of government were organized on the merit system as a business office, another obvious bad tendency in democracies would be checked, namely, the tendency to create sinecures, or offices with pay but no function. In this respect democracies tend to outdo aristocracies; but the sinecures created by democracies are usually in the lower grades of government employment, rather than in the higher. A merit system of appointment and promotion honestly applied would soon

do away with the thousands of sinecures which now exist in the national, state and municipal governments of the United States.

In order to secure a satisfactory civil service from bottom to top, something more than good methods of inquiry into the merits of candidates for appointment and promotion is clearly needed, namely, a proper system of probationary appointments and promotions. No appointment should be made, and no promotion given, except on probation for a specified period. The effect on a given man of securing a desired appointment or promotion can seldom be predicted with certainty, and moreover, one who has succeeded in a lower station is not sure of succeeding in a higher. Hence, probationary appointments are an indispensable part of a sound organization which proposes to secure fidelity and efficiency.

This League has been interested for several years in the discussion concerning pensions, or retiring allowances, in the civil services of the country, national, state and municipal; and has endeavored through reports of committees to contribute to the progress of the discussion. It believes that some method of retiring disabled or superannuated officials in a humane and therefore practicable way is essential to the best efficiency of any permanent service; but it sees difficulties in the way of applying any pension system to the United States civil service in its present condition. Until men in the lower grades of the service have access to the higher grades, the lower grades themselves will not attract or keep the most intelligent and ambitious men; and in consequence it will sometimes be difficult to fill the higher grades from the lower. The higher officials, on the other hand, being all political appointments with uncertain tenure, are no fit candidates for long-service pensions. Again, existing laws usually prescribe a fixed number of clerks or assistants in each of several grades to be distributed among the Washington departments, leaving to the heads of the departments no discretion as to the number of clerks of each class to be employed in the several departments. If a vacancy occurs in one of the higher classes of clerks, it is the interest of the department to keep good the number of clerks in that class. If the vacancy is caused by the retirement of a

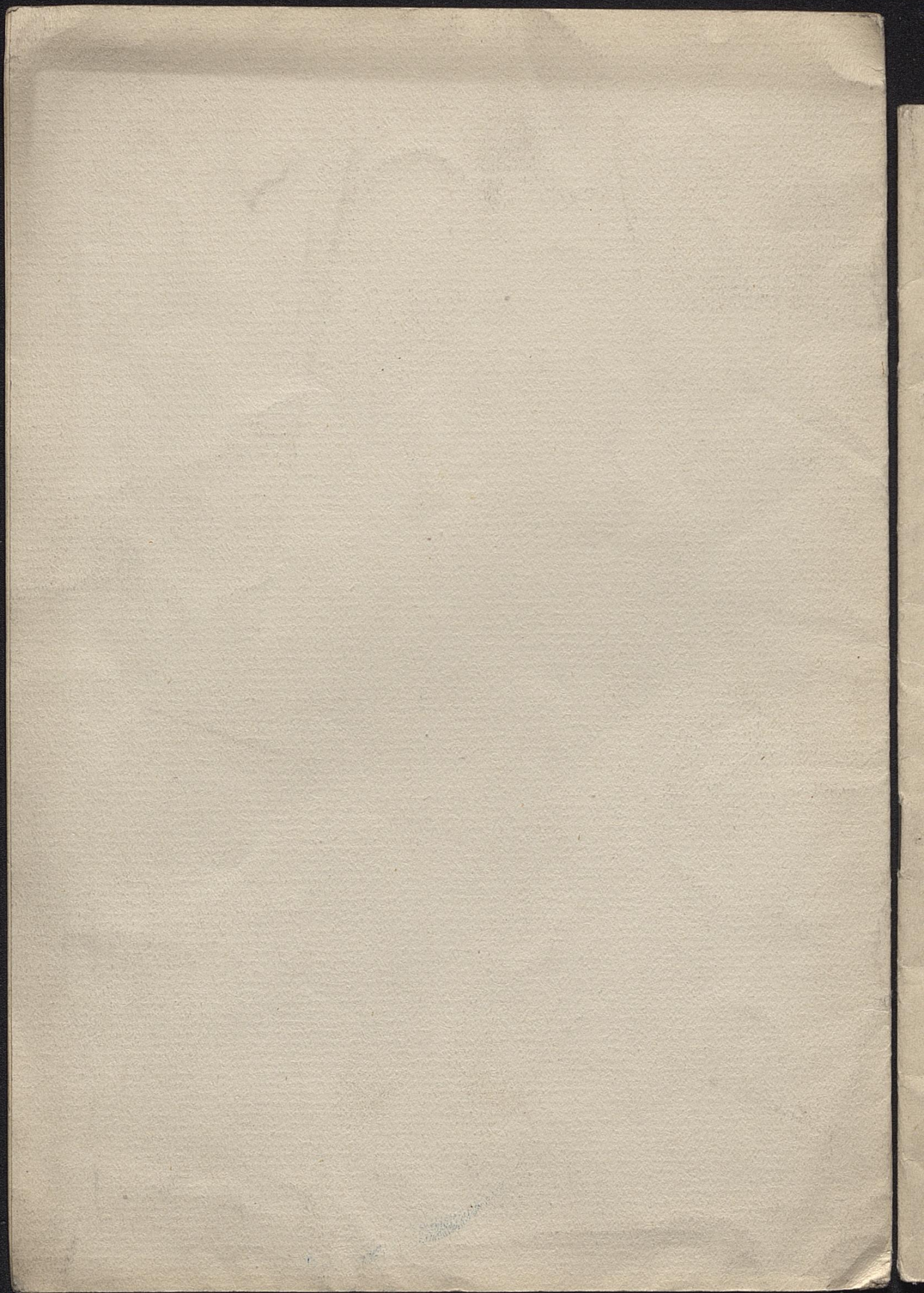
disabled or superannuated official, the cost of any pension or retiring allowance given to him is a clear addition to the cost of the total active service; whereas, if the head of the department had discretion as to the number of clerks of each class that he employed, a pension granted to a retiring official might not increase at all, or but very little, the total expenditure for clerical service within the department. In any well-arranged administrative staff the payment of a pension to a retiring official will not cause an immediate additional expense to its full amount; because the person retired is usually replaced by a much cheaper employee at the other end of the scale, and the pension is never equal to the salary of the person retired. The fixed number of clerks of each class in the Washington departments prevents this sort of economical adjustment.

An active discussion has lately been in progress concerning the best form of pension, some of the interested persons advocating a simple pension paid outright by the government, like the national pensions for judges and army and navy officers; while others advocate the establishment in case of the government of a retirement fund to be derived from annual reserves from the salaries of all employees, or from these annual reserves and contributions from the government. This League has taken active part through a committee in this discussion. The members of the classified civil service, many of whom are keenly interested in this subject, are themselves divided on the question, which is the best form of pension. On the whole, it seems to your President wisest to concentrate the activities of the League on the improvement of the civil service itself, through extension of the merit system and faithful execution of all the laws on the subject, and to await the disappearance of the unclassified part of the service before it should itself actively urge the establishment of any pension system whatever.

Some of the most valuable improvements in the civil service of the country have lately been effected in state and city administrations. Indeed, the most advanced work within the last two years has been done there. The best examinations for admission to the civil service have been conducted by state and city commissions. More than

a hundred charters for the commission form of government have now been adopted by American cities; and in a great majority of these charters some provision has been made for putting the city's servants under civil service rules. The new charters are not of even merit in this respect; but in every case the adoption of the new form of government has been accompanied by much public discussion of the advantages of the merit system, and some improvement over the pre-existing municipal service has always been secured. The local associations which make up this national League have profited by these opportunities, and by all the discussions of state civil service which have sprung up within their respective territories.

For the successful performance of the important functions which are in plain sight, this National Civil Service Reform League now needs a larger annual income, a more numerous staff in the secretary's office, and a greater number of earnest individual members from all over the country, and particularly from those states which have not yet exhibited much interest in the cause of civil service reform. The potential usefulness of the League has never been so great as now. The opportunities for beneficent achievement which lie before it are greater than any the past has offered. The evils against which it is now contending are as threatening as any it has ever met; and now, as heretofore, the reform which this League urges is the fundamental reform, underlying all other improvements in the conduct of public business.



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

1911



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ADDRESS

BY

PRESIDENT CHARLES W. ELIOT

At the Tenth Annual Meeting, January 4th, 1911

You are all interested in what I call the fundamental reform in this country; it is fundamental because no other large reform can be carried out except through the agencies which have been brought into play through the action of Civil Service Reform. For example, we are just now engaged, in the State of Massachusetts, in asking for a great reform in the production and distribution of milk. Yesterday I was at a meeting of the Milk and Baby Hygiene Association, which is much interested in this project; and this association sent a letter to the Milk Commission appointed by the last legislature, asking them to recommend certain measures in order to procure a better milk supply in Massachusetts, and a better distribution to the consumers. This letter to the Commission asked for the appointment of a chief inspector and twenty assistant inspectors for milk and milk products. How could we get inspectors competent for the duty without Civil Service Reform, carried out already in great measure in Massachusetts? This very letter asked that the chief inspector should appoint his assistant inspectors from the classified civil service lists. It is just so with all reforms which have to be executed by agents of the state or of the municipalities—it is hopeless to get any reform carried out, unless the agents in carrying it out are appointed from the classified lists of the civil service, unless, indeed,

the Spoils System is absolutely abandoned in regard to all appointments for administrative work to promote human welfare in the Commonwealth.

Take, for instance, Child Labor laws (and the laws we ought to have to prevent women from being employed in factories for some weeks before and after confinement). Impossible to get such laws executed without competent inspectors. They can be passed on paper by the Legislature, as a great many of our states have passed them, but they cannot be executed, unless administrative appointments are made, in the community to be rescued from such evils, for merit, and not as rewards for political service. It is unnecessary for me to illustrate further this proposition.

There is a multitude of associations and societies all over our country enlisted for the promotion of various reforms, or for the abolition of wrongs and evils which greatly retard the progress of American society toward health and happiness. Every one of this multitude is depending for the execution of its hopes on real Civil Service Reform throughout national, state, and municipal administrations.

Now, we are about to have in the next few months a very interesting period in the history of Civil Service Reform in our country. In the first place, in the national service we have never had any single measure put in force by the national administration which was so good and so promising as the last executive order of President Taft for the extension of the Merit System to the appointment of assistant postmasters and certain post-office clerks. I say, we have never had so promising a measure actually carried into effect by order of the Executive. The reason that this order is so important is that the assistant postmasters are the highest national officials ever put under the protection of civil service laws. I imagine most of you are aware that the Merit System has been adopted in the national service of the United States

only in the very lowest grades, that is, in clerkships and fourth-class postmasterships, and these last only as a final act of President Roosevelt, an act applicable only to a small fraction of fourth-class post-offices of the United States; that is, to fourth-class offices east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. It is only the subordinate national offices that have heretofore been filled on a merit system. Moreover, often in those offices, promotion could not, as a rule, be had without political influence. As a result, there might be two clerks sitting beside each other in one of the Washington departments, doing the same work, and having originally received the same pay; but one would have been rapidly advanced as regards salary, while the other would not have been advanced at all. An advance of salary was often procurable only through political favor.

You see, then, how important a fact this last act of President Taft's is. The assistant postmasters are persons high up in the post-office department; they are not subordinate officers; they are experienced officials. Even under the Spoils System they were necessarily kept some little time in office; because the postmasters, who were, as a rule, wholly un instructed in their business, needed the assistant postmasters who had had experience. Their tenure therefore was longer than usual, and they became persons of experience. But now they are put on the Merit System outright, and we are to have in the post-office department a considerable body of men, some thousands strong, who will have been appointed for merit and will be promoted for merit. It has been a very great drawback on the application of the Merit System in the national service that it has been so long confined only to the lowest places and did not affect promotion. We are looking forward to the introduction of the Merit System of promotion, and the National Civil Service Reform League has just presented a well-studied report on that subject,

which has met with favor at Washington. It is, however, not yet established by law.

These coming months are to be interesting also for the League and its Auxiliaries, because President Taft has for the first time during his administration, or indeed the whole history of this reform, proposed that first, second, and third class postmasters be put under the Merit System. Whether that recommendation will be adopted by Congress remains to be seen. It will only be adopted after Congress makes up its mind that public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of it; and it is just through such Associations as this, that that legitimate effect of public opinion can be brought about.

As you all know, doubtless, the next few months are to be very interesting in regard to the civil service in Massachusetts. We are in a state of uncertainty as to what is going to happen to the Civil Service Commission in Massachusetts. No commission can be effective, as effective as it should be, if it is underpaid; if it is not possible for it to give an adequate amount of time to its proper work; if its members are not appointed with a single eye to the Merit System. If any side issue comes into the appointment of a member of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission, if an appointment is made for ulterior objects, we shall soon be in stormy waters. If we get into rough water every possible effort must be made by the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association, and by this Auxiliary, to carry our cause safely through the coming months.

We all know, too, that the Merit System is in a critical situation in the city of Boston. The new charter imposes a new duty on the State Civil Service Commission, one which does not afford adequate protection to the service of the city of Boston, and one which is peculiarly embarrassing to the Commission itself. This, however, is accomplished legislation and the working of Boston's new charter, the action

of the Commission, and the effect on the civil service in the city of Boston must be carefully watched and reported on by this Auxiliary and the Massachusetts Association itself.

I would not have you think, however, that when I say the next few months are to be peculiarly interesting and in some respects critical, that I think our cause is going back in any way; on the contrary, if you take the country at large, it is going forward; it is going forward all the time, and the means are just those you have heard described in Miss Nichols's admirable report, which I am glad to have heard read at a meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League at Baltimore, as well as here. It was a report which put the emphasis on educational work, and on publicity with regard to the wrongs of the Spoils System and the merits of the Merit System; it dealt largely with education through schools and education through the distribution of reading matter on the subject. It is through publicity and education that we get along with this great reform, this fundamental reform. No evil or wrong ever began to be righted in this world, so long as it was kept secret and under cover, nothing being said about it. We have got by that stage in Civil Service Reform. We thoroughly believe in complete publicity, and in the education of the public in general, and particularly of children and young people in regard to the superiority of the Merit System to the Spoil System. Great progress in these respects has been made in many of our states and many of our cities.

Within the last five years, more than one hundred American cities have adopted new charters; in almost all of those new charters there is a civil service provision. They are not all equally good; some of them are defective in a serious respect, namely, that the Civil Service Commission ordered to be created is created by the city government itself, although the precaution is often taken to give the Civil

Service Commission a longer tenure than the city government itself would have,—a four-year tenure for example, whereas the city government itself had only a two-year tenure. We are peculiarly fortunate in Massachusetts because we have a State Civil Service Commission authorized to work for any city in the Commonwealth.

There are other very encouraging facts in regard to the progress of the Civil Service System on which I want to congratulate you. Massachusetts has made some progress in this new direction, but I think New York State and the city of Chicago, may fairly be said to have made more. When civil service examinations first began, they were written examinations in the elements of knowledge; but now civil service examinations, or rather inquiries, are held for numerous rather high offices in the public service, and the inquiries comprehend very much more than written examinations on topics, elementary or advanced. The civil service inquiries about individuals now include inquiry into the education of the candidates, into their experience and into their character. In short, the civil service inquiries concerning the candidates for given offices are now just like those a judicious individual makes when he wants to get a good servant in his own business—a good superintendent, a good clerk, a good mechanic. Every judicious employer makes careful inquiry into education, experience, and character as well as into knowledge.

We have now got well by the old objections to the written examinations—that they related not at all to the work to be done; we have got by that altogether, and in New York State and Chicago and other places, high appointments have been given after the new sort of civil service examinations, and these appointments have been highly satisfactory and have turned out well. The whole movement has been stimulated and encouraged by the good outcome of the new sort of

civil service examinations. So I think you have every reason to go on with your work during the year with high hope and confident expectation that the Merit System is to prevail more and more throughout all government administrations in our country, and that it is to prevail completely in the more advanced communities, among which, I hope, we may count the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Ten years ago the Women's Auxiliary of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Association was formed for the purpose of helping to advance the cause of Civil Service Reform. From the outset much of the work has been devoted to the education of public opinion as to the true meaning of the Merit System and the essential need for its application to appointments in Federal, State, and Municipal government. At the close of our first decade it is interesting to take a cursory backward glance and to note the steady onward march of this great movement.

I

A DECADE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

FEDERAL SERVICE 1901 to 1911

During the past ten years the number of positions subject to competitive examinations in the Federal service has more than doubled.

Executive Civil Service		
	June 30, 1901	June 30, 1910
Competitive positions	108,967	222,278
Other positions	126,799	161,810
Total	235,766	384,088

Part of this vast increase is due to the natural growth in the service, part to the extension of the civil service law to new classes. Under President Roosevelt's friendly adminis-

tration the permanent census bureau was placed in the competitive class by act of Congress, and by executive order the civil service rules were extended to the rural free delivery service, to laborers, to deputy collectors in the customs and revenue service, to the Isthmian Canal service, to fourth-class postmasters in one section of the country, and to many minor positions. Moreover President Roosevelt established an examination system, under special executive regulations, for appointments and promotions in the consular service, and President Taft applied the same system to the diplomatic service.

During President Taft's administration Congress, stimulated by widespread public demand, placed under the civil service law the temporary clerical employees required for taking the Census of 1910. By executive order of September 30th, 1910, the civil service rules have been extended to assistant postmasters in first and second class post-offices and to clerks in non-free delivery post-offices of the same classes. This extension, covering 2,237 assistant postmasters and 1,386 clerks, adds 3,623 positions to the competitive service.

PRESIDENT TAFT AND THE MERIT SYSTEM

The classification of the assistant postmasters is a significant event in the annals of Civil Service Reform, since these positions are the highest thus far removed from the influence of the patronage system. In his message to Congress last December President Taft gives further testimony as to his warm advocacy of the Merit System. He recommends the extension of the civil service law to the diplomatic and the consular service, which have already shown the good results of a partial application of the examination system, and he asks the Senate to relinquish its right to confirm appointments to first, second, and third class post-

masters and to place these positions in the competitive service. The President says: "To make this change would take the postmasters out of politics; would relieve Congressmen who now are burdened with the necessity of making recommendations for these places of a responsibility that must be irksome, and can create nothing but trouble; and it would result in securing from postmasters greater attention to business, greater fidelity, and consequently, greater economy and efficiency in the post-offices which they conduct." The President likewise advocates the application of the same principle to other departments. To quote further from his message: "Officers responsible for the policy of the Administration, and their immediate personal assistants or deputies, should not be included within the classified service; but, in my judgment, public opinion has advanced to the point where it would support a bill providing a secure tenure during efficiency for all purely administrative officials. I entertain the profound conviction that it would greatly aid the cause of efficient and economical government, and of better politics, if Congress could enact a bill providing that the Executive shall have the power to include in the classified service all local offices under the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice, the Post-Office Department, the Interior Department, and the Department of Commerce and Labor, appointments to which now require the confirmation of the Senate, and that upon such classification the advice and consent of the Senate shall cease to be required in such appointments. By their certainty of tenure, dependent on good service, and by their freedom from the necessity for political activity, these local officers would be induced to become more efficient public servants."

STATES AND CITIES PRIOR TO 1901

Both Massachusetts and New York benefited by the temporary current in favor of Civil Service Reform that led to the passage of the Federal civil service act in January, 1883. Later in the year New York, and the next year Massachusetts, enacted civil service laws applicable to the service of State and of cities. In 1885 a civil service law was passed for Philadelphia, but the unsatisfactory administration of the system made it valueless. A decade of legislative inaction followed. Then in 1895 Illinois passed an act to regulate the civil service of cities, which could be adopted by popular vote. Chicago and Evanston at once accepted the provisions of this act. In 1897 Wisconsin made it obligatory for cities of the second and third class to establish civil service regulations for the police and fire force. A Merit System had previously been enacted for Milwaukee, the one first-class city in the State. Civil service provisions were embodied in the new charters adopted by Seattle and New Orleans in 1896, by New Haven in 1898, and by San Francisco and Duluth in 1900, and in the latter year were applied also by local ordinance to the fire and police departments in Baltimore. A subsequent charter limited the worth of the Merit System in New Orleans, and the New Haven law required only a pass examination. An excellent civil service law prevailed in Galveston, Texas, previous to the flood, but was not incorporated in the new charter.

SLIGHT ADVANCE IN STATES AND COUNTIES FROM 1901

Such was the situation prior to 1901. Since then four States have adopted civil service laws for the State service. In 1905 Wisconsin passed an act covering all the state service, and Illinois placed its charitable institutions under a civil service law. In 1907 Colorado enacted a law

mandatory for charitable and penal institutions and optional for cities, and the following year New Jersey established a civil service law obligatory for the State service and permissive for cities and counties. Beginning with 1900 the New York Civil Service Commission has gradually extended its jurisdiction to the 17 chief counties in the State. The only other counties in the country where the Merit System is in force are Cook County, Illinois, and Essex County, New Jersey.

RAPID EXTENSION IN CITIES FROM 1901

The civic awakening that has swept across the country within the past few years has brought with it a widespread recognition that Civil Service Reform principles are an important factor in a well governed American city. The following list gives the names of the chief cities that have adopted new charters containing more or less comprehensive civil service provisions.

- 1902 Los Angeles.
- 1903 Portland, Oregon.
- 1904 Bellingham, Washington Denver.
- 1906 Norfolk, Virginia.
- 1907 Wheeling, West Virginia.
- 1908 Des Moines Cedar Rapids Leavenworth,
Kansas.
- 1909 Berkeley and San Diego, California.
Colorado Springs and Grand Junction, Colorado.
Wichita, Hutchinson, Anthony, and Independence,
Kansas.
- 1910 Burlington and Keokuk, Iowa.
Topeka, Parsons, and Coffeyville, Kansas.
Kansas City Columbia, South Carolina.
Detroit Memphis Tacoma.

Several States have passed civil service laws applicable to municipal service. In 1902 Iowa adopted a law mandatory for first-class cities, and in 1906-1907 Pennsylvania enacted compulsory laws for first and second class cities, namely,—Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Scranton. In New Jersey an optional law of 1905 made it possible for the Mayor to apply civil service rules to police and fire departments, and the State law of 1908 enabled cities by popular vote to place the entire service under the supervision of the State Civil Service Commission. Jersey City has adopted the earlier law, and last autumn by substantial majorities Newark and East Orange accepted the provisions of the later act. No use has yet been made of the optional law passed by Colorado in 1907. But two additional cities in Illinois have adopted the act of 1895, and five cities have placed the fire and police force under the civil service law in accordance with an optional act passed by the Illinois legislature in 1903. In 1908 Ohio enacted a new municipal code which took effect January 1, 1910. This code, which applies to 71 cities, provides for local civil service commissions and places the majority of positions in the competitive class. As 48 cities in New York and 33 cities in Massachusetts are subject to civil service law, more or less adequate provisions are thus applied to over 200 cities in the United States. Such a rapid extension is most encouraging not only to those who watched the earlier struggles but to those also who have more recently taken part in the reform movement.

MASSACHUSETTS 1901 to 1911

In Massachusetts great progress has been made through the extension of the civil service rules, through the inclusion of higher grade positions and through marked improvements of the working of the civil service law. The

original civil service act applied to the government of the Commonwealth and of cities but not to that of towns. In 1894 an act was passed making it possible for towns with 12,000 or more inhabitants to adopt the provisions of the civil service law. Brookline at once took advantage of this act. In 1900 the civil service rules were applied to the police and fire service in the town of Milton by special act of legislature. The following year a law was enacted permitting any town to place its police and fire departments under the civil service rules by popular vote. Since then nineteen towns have voted to extend the civil service rules to the fire or police service or to both departments. To-day 33 cities and 21 towns are to a greater or less extent under the supervision of the Civil Service Commission.

Previous to 1904 the fire department of any city except Boston was placed under the civil service rules only by request of the proper city authority, but in that year the amended rules made it obligatory for fire departments in all cities to be subject to the civil service law. This regulation was made by the Civil Service Commission, which has power from time to time to extend the civil service rules with the approval of the Governor and Council. By virtue of this authority the Civil Service Commission has classified a great variety of positions and within the past ten years the number of classes has arisen from eighteen to thirty. One class, sealers of weights and measures, was placed under the civil service law by special act of legislature.

The inclusion of positions requiring expert service is especially noteworthy. Recently examinations have been held for deputy superintendent of streets, chief smoke inspector, secretary of State Board of Charity, probation visitors, and other high-grade positions. These examinations are conducted with the help of prominent authorities

on the special class of work. The Commission has paid great attention to the improvement in the examination system. The effort in every case is to set practical questions and to apply practical tests. Greater weight, moreover, is being laid on experience. There has been a careful revision of rules for registration in the labor service. A strength test and proof of six months' experience are required for laborers of certain kinds.

Other administrative improvements are a law providing for greater publicity for examinations, a system devised by the Commission for checking fraudulent emergency appointments, and an act requiring the Commission to certify pay-rolls of all persons employed by the City of Boston. The pay-roll inspector cannot prevent the appointment of unnecessary employees but may indirectly bring about the discharge of those who continuously neglect their duties by reporting their non-attendance at work or their occupation as "loafing."

CERTIFICATION OF HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS IN BOSTON

Under the new charter of Boston, which took effect February, 1910, heads of departments are appointed by the Mayor, subject to the approval of the Civil Service Commission, which must certify that the Mayor's appointee is either a recognized expert or specially fitted by education, training, or experience. Up to September 30th, the Commission acted upon 63 appointments, with the following results:

	Approved	Not approved	Total
Paid heads of departments			
New appointments	8	14	22
Reappointments	14	0	14
Unpaid heads of departments			
New appointments	10	4	14
Reappointments	13	0	13
	—	—	—
	45	18	63

Boston has undoubtedly benefited by the new system of certification. Heads of departments can no longer be appointed merely on political grounds, but must conform to a certain standard of "tested experience and proven capacity." Much attention has centred on the decisions of the Commission. By provision of the charter, an appointment not approved at the end of thirty days becomes void. A policy of unexplained rejections was adopted, thus avoiding useless controversy. We are fortunate in our Civil Service Commissioners who, heedless of criticism and abuse, have faithfully and courageously carried out the arduous duties imposed by the new charter.

II

OUR WORK IN 1910

The active support given by our nine Branches is of inestimable value in both our legislative and educational efforts. The following reports summarize briefly their year's work.

ABRIDGED REPORTS FROM THE BRANCHES

The *Boston Branch* has carried on no separate work but acted through the State Executive Committee. A meeting, addressed by Mr. Moorfield Storey and Mrs. Cabot, was held at the house of Miss Lyman, to which were invited members of the Sewing Circle League and others with the hope of interesting the younger set in the Auxiliary. The meeting led to a gain of sixteen members.

The *Brookline Branch* arranged for Mr. A. H. Brooks to speak on the meaning of the Civil Service System at the Boys' Club of the Brookline Friendly Society. About twenty-five young men and boys were present, the majority of whom were studying to take the civil service

examinations. In May the Branch held a meeting for men and women at which Mr. Graham Wallas of the London County Council gave an interesting address contrasting the abuses of the former patronage system in Great Britain with the practical working of the Merit System of to-day. Mr. Brooks also spoke on the need of further extensions of the civil service laws in Massachusetts. Competitions for the medal were held in four grammar schools, and five medals were awarded. Following an annual custom one school was also presented with a large plaster cast of the medal.

The *Cambridge Branch* held three well attended meetings, the first addressed by Mr. Elmer L. Curtiss, the second by President Eliot, the third by Mr. Wilson L. Gill on the "School City." Permission having been granted by the Superintendent of Schools to offer two medals for essays, the offer was made in the high schools and in the ninth grade of the grammar schools. It brought out a number of good essays on the subject of "The Difference between the Merit and the Spoils System."

The *Lynn Branch* held five meetings during the year and continued its study of Municipal Government and its relation to Civil Service Reform. An open meeting was addressed by Prof. W. B. Munro and Miss Lyman. As usual, committees have been appointed to visit the various city institutions and the Salem jail. The members of the Branch asked the Lynn members of the Legislature to support an increase in salaries for the Civil Service Commission.

A meeting for teachers, addressed by Miss Murphy and Miss Nichols, was held at the *Newton Branch* in preparation for competition for the medal. Medals were awarded

to the successful competitors in the Technical High School and the Mason Grammar School.

The *Salem Branch* arranged for eight talks on current events by Mrs. May Alden Ward and held the spring meeting of the State Council at which Miss Murphy of Framingham and Miss Wright of Brookline spoke on work in the grammar schools.

The *Springfield Branch* held two meetings during the year and arranged for a competition for the bronze medal, open to the juniors and seniors of the three high schools. A plaster cast of the medal was presented to the Central High School. The "Primer" was placed in the grammar grades.

The *Waltham Branch* held two meetings during the year. Under its auspices is carried on a debating club for boys with a young lawyer as teacher. Alternate evenings are given up to the study of Civil Service Reform. Members of the Branch show their interest by attending the meetings.

The *Worcester Branch* held its sixth annual competition for the medal. The plaster cast of the medal, which is held for the year by the winner's school, was taken away from the school previous holding it. Copies of *Good Government* are sent to Clark College, Holy Cross College, and the Young Men's Christian Association. As there is a continued demand for the "Outline for the Study of Municipal Government in its relation to Civil Service Reform," the Branch is to issue shortly a revised edition of the Outline. The Worcester Board of Trade and the Worcester Merchants' Association have agreed to give their

careful consideration to any legislation called to their attention by the Branch.

LEGISLATIVE WORK

One of the primary objects of the Massachusetts Auxiliary is to co-operate with the Massachusetts Civil Service Association for the protection and advancement of the Civil Service Law of the Commonwealth. Each year a great variety of measures affecting civil service interests come before the Legislature. The Massachusetts Association keeps watchful guard over all these matters, working for their support, amendment, or defeat, as occasion demands. The Auxiliary also keeps in close touch with the bills in their successive stages, and when desirable, takes action.

SPANISH WAR VETERANS' PREFERENCE BILL

Our legislative work was concentrated on three important bills. The first was our old friend, or rather enemy, the Spanish War Veterans' Preference bill which last year took a specially pernicious form in proposing to give a bonus, not only to veterans of the Spanish War, but also to members of the army and militia who had served for a given number of years. As the hearing came at too short notice for us to prepare a large petition, we handed in the names of 1000 or more men who signed our protests in 1907 and 1908 and recalled that in 1908 our petition was signed by 5070 remonstrants representing 130 cities and towns. At our request four Spanish War veterans appeared in opposition to the bill. The room was crowded with remonstrants, including a large delegation from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, but only the petitioner appeared in support of the measure. The Committee unanimously reported against the bill the following day and the report was promptly accepted by the House and Senate.

Only once before has this measure received such a prompt and decisive defeat.

LARGER SALARIES FOR THE COMMISSION AND EXTENSION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW IN BOSTON

The two other measures in which we took a special interest were the Governor's recommendation in his inaugural address to increase the salaries of the Civil Service Commission and the recommendation of the Finance Commission for extending the civil service law to the collecting, treasury and penal institutions departments of the city of Boston. Mr. Elmer L. Curtiss of the Civil Service Commission spoke at the winter meeting of our State council on the great need of larger salaries in order that the commissioners might devote more of their time to the work. We reprinted from the report of the Finance Commission leaflets giving the reasons for recommending the extension of the law in Boston. Mr. R. H. Dana kindly wrote an editorial on this subject, which was published in the *Transcript*. Both measures were brought to the attention of the Women's Clubs in the State Federation and were discussed at a small conference for men and women held by us in Boston, one meeting of the Boston City Club was at our suggestion devoted to their consideration, Mr. A. H. Brooks spoke in regard to the bills at a meeting in Brookline of the Federation of Men's Church Clubs and the Secretary at a meeting of the Cantabrigia Club. Letters and leaflets were sent extensively about the State and active support asked for the bills. The salaries of the Commissioners were raised from \$1500 to \$2500 for the Chairman, and from \$1200 to \$2000 for the other two members. The increase was not, however, as large as was thought desirable. The Legislature granted the request of the

Commission for a deputy examiner and likewise increased the salary of the physical inspector.

The bill for the extension of the civil service law to the collecting, treasury, and penal institutions departments in Boston was favorably reported by the Committee on Metropolitan Affairs, six members dissenting from the report, but the bill was rejected in the House by a vote of 101 to 90. It is to be hoped that another year greater success will attend the effort to remove the stigma of the Spoils System from the collecting and penal institutions departments in Boston.

MEMBERSHIP

Since our last report we have gained 79 members, but have lost an equal number through death, removal, and resignation. The Auxiliary continues to maintain a membership of about 1050, representing 50 cities and towns in the State.

Much to our regret we felt obliged, for financial reasons, to resign our membership in the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs; but we trust that we may still maintain a close working relation with the Federated Clubs.

WIDE-SPREAD DISTRIBUTION OF PAMPHLETS

During the past year we have sent out 55,613 pamphlets, thus making a total distribution of over 425,000 pamphlets in ten years. Requests for material have come to us from all over the country, and for a variety of purposes. That club-women take an active interest in the Merit System is shown by our receiving, in 1910, applications from women's clubs in 25 States for material to distribute at federation or club meetings, to help in the preparation of club papers, or to use in support of civil service legislation. A large supply of pamphlets, including a special leaflet written by Miss Perkins,

was sent to Cincinnati last spring for the biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Civil Service Reform conference was crowded, the papers most interesting, the audience enthusiastic, and the literature, as we were told, disappeared "like hot cakes."

Applications for pamphlets were received from Civil Service Commissions and Civil Service Reform Associations, from libraries, settlements, colleges, schools, and individuals. The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association asked for pamphlets to send to 100 educational secretaries in North America; the University Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin applied for material to be used by the department of debating and public discussion. Through the courtesy of the editors, several educational journals published notices of our offer of free pamphlets, which led to many requests from teachers and others. The majority of pamphlets were, as usual, distributed in our school work.

SCHOOL WORK

Since the last annual meeting requests for 37,000 pamphlets have been received from 774 schools. The pamphlets are used by schools in every state and territory. They have been placed in over 2000 high schools, normal schools and colleges or, in other words, in one out of five of our institutions for higher education, and have likewise been accepted by several thousand grammar schools.

The pamphlet offered to grammar schools is Miss Cary's "Primer of the Civil Service and the Merit System." One teacher writes of this booklet: "The clearness and simplicity of the language, the careful selected subject-matter, the abundance of familiar illustrations, and above all, the constant appeal to the pupil's sense of justice and fairness, all render it a most valuable aid in teaching the subject." She likewise says of the systematic study of the

Merit System: "The teachers do not consider this an additional burden to be dreaded or avoided, but rather do they believe it to be a privilege to have this phase of civic well-being presented to the grammar school pupils."

Similar testimony as to the value of the pamphlets and the willingness of the teachers to give us their co-operation comes from high schools and colleges. Though the pamphlets are sent free on condition that they shall be made the subject of at least one lesson, we learn that several recitations are often given to their consideration, and that sometimes each pupil is required to write an essay on the subject or the material is brought before the school debating society. A novel use of the pamphlets was made in Illinois when one teacher who had successfully used our literature for the past eight years encouraged her students to vote by proxy on the recent referendum as to the extension of the civil service law. The boys and girls were given pamphlets to distribute to voters and later recorded in their permanent notebooks, "How I helped to extend the Merit System in Illinois and Cook County on November 8th, 1910."

SCHOOL MEDAL

The beautiful bronze medal designed by Miss Frances Grimes, under the supervision of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, has led to the preparation of several hundred essays on some phase of the Merit System, and has been awarded in school competitions to 71 boys and girls. In 1910, competitions for the medal were held by the Framingham Woman's Club in the Framingham High School and by our Branches in Brookline, Cambridge, Newton, Springfield, and Worcester. Seven medals were given to grammar school children and five to high school pupils.

The State Federation Civil Service Reform Committee has recently issued a "Special Plea to the Federated Clubs of Massachusetts," in which clubs are urged to offer the medal to high schools, and helpful suggestions are given as to topics and conditions for the contest. The medal is furnished for five dollars to any club or society desiring to award it for the best essay on Civil Service Reform.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The new publications of the year are an address by President Eliot on "The Fundamental Reform," and a discussion by Mr. Augustine L. Rafter, Assistant Superintendent of Boston Public Schools, on "The Merit System of Rating and Re-rating Teachers in the City of Boston," an article written at our suggestion and published in the *Educational Review*. We are to issue shortly a new pamphlet called "Civil Service Tests," by Mr. Frank Foxcroft of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission and reprinted, by permission, from *The Youth's Companion*. This booklet, which is well adapted for use in grammar schools, is to be published in form similar to the "Primer," and has a few illustrations that will add to its attractiveness.

NEW PLANS FOR EDUCATIONAL WORK

Our Civil Service Reform exhibit was conspicuously placed at the convention of the National Education Association held last July in Boston. Some of the charts in the exhibit, together with much additional material, are to be used as lantern slides to accompany lectures on Civil Service Reform. These slides are to be largely pictorial, and will illustrate the meaning and character of civil service examinations, the need for the Merit System, and the history of the reform movement. Permission has been given us to reproduce, as slides, the admirable series of Civil Service Reform cartoons

that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* during the editorship of George William Curtis. We are also greatly enlarging our reference and lending library, which now contains several hundred pamphlets, reports, and books, and are adding to its usefulness by a card catalogue giving page references to subject-matter. Thus we are preparing to carry on, with renewed vigor, our educational campaign on behalf of the "fundamental reform."

MARIAN C. NICHOLS,
Secretary.

JANUARY 4, 1911

TREASURER'S REPORT

Boston, January 5, 1911.

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

In Account with MARY MORTON KEHEW, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS

To balance on hand January 5, 1910.....	\$309.71
Sustaining Memberships	850.00
Annual and Group Memberships	1,203.00
Donations	737.00
Sale of Pamphlets	62.20
Interest on Bank Deposits	17.10
	\$3,179.01

EXPENDITURES

Salaries, Secretary and Assistant	\$1,228.37
Rent of Office	250.00
Office Expenses and Postage	337.16
Printing	852.97
Donation to National Civil Service Reform League ...	100.00
Dues to National Municipal League	10.00
Subscriptions to <i>Good Government</i>	10.00
Sundries (State House Service, travel, telephone, caterer, etc.)	59.28
Rebates to Branches:	
Cambridge	\$55.00
Lynn	16.00
Newton	16.00
Salem	51.50
Springfield	16.50
	155.00
	\$3,002.78
Balance, with Secretary	\$100.00
in Bay State Trust Company	76.23
	176.23
	\$3,179.01

Audited by M. W. VAUGHAN.

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

ANNUAL REPORTS 1902-1910 inclusive (Nos. 4, 7, 10, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 25).

No.

1. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. ATTACK AND DEFENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE. By R. H. Dana.
2. EVERY MAN ON HIS OWN MERITS. By W. W. Vaughan.
3. THE CIVIL SERVICE. THE MERIT SYSTEM — THE SPOILS SYSTEM By Edward Cary.
5. CRITICISM OF THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM ANSWERED BY ROOSEVELT.
6. THE MERIT SYSTEM IN MUNICIPALITIES. By Clinton R. Woodruff
8. PATRONAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. By Lucy M. Salmon.
9. THE SPREAD OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PRINCIPLES THROUGH THE AGENCY OF WOMEN'S CLUBS. By Imogen B. Oakley.
11. THE RELATIONS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO THE APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. By Beverly W. Bond, Jr.
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.
16. HIGHER MUNICIPAL APPOINTIVE OFFICES AND THE MERIT SYSTEM.
18. GOVERNOR HUGHES ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
19. PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. By Charles J. Bonaparte.
22. TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. By Joseph H. Choate.
23. THE BUSINESS VALUE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
24. DEMOCRACY AND A PERMANENT CIVIL SERVICE. By Abbott Lawrence Lowell.
26. THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORM. By Charles W. Eliot.
27. THE MERIT SYSTEM OF RATING AND RE-RATING TEACHERS IN THE CITY OF BOSTON. By Augustine L. Rafter.
28. CIVIL SERVICE TESTS. By Frank Foxcroft.
29. THINGS WON AND GREATER THINGS NOT YET WON. By Charles W. Eliot.
- 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.)

Requests for these publications or for books and pamphlets in the Reference Library should be addressed to the Secretary,
Miss MARIAN C. NICHOLS, 31 Beacon Street, Boston.

The Merit System

The Merit System comprises: *First*, That plan of *appointment* to public office which is based upon the merit or fitness of the applicant to perform the duties of the position applied for, ascertained by open competitive examinations or tests; *Second*, That method of *promotion* in the public service which is founded upon proved efficiency and ability in the discharge of duty and service; *Third*, It includes *removals*, which are based upon actual inability or inefficiency to perform the functions of the position occupied; and it is a system in which appointments, promotions and removals are alike made without regard to political or partisan considerations.

The civil service of the Nation, and the several states, in marked contrast with the rest of the public service (which is either military or naval), for many years failed to enjoy the beneficent advantages of such a Merit System, but instead thereof, there prevailed a system of favoritism in which appointments, promotions and removals were all made as rewards for partisan service, or fidelity to the fortunes of some political boss, and without any special regard to fitness for the duties to be performed.

By means of the Federal statute known as the "Pendleton Bill" the National Civil Service has

largely been brought under the operations of a carefully framed merit system ; similar laws have been enacted for the States of Massachusetts and New York.

Under the Spoils System the head of a department instead of being free to exercise his own judgment, is practically forced to select those who have the most political influence, and to pay but little if any regard to their ability or fitness. Under the Merit System the appointing officer is not only enabled but obliged to select for appointment or promotion those who will give the public the best obtainable service.

Under the Spoils System each appointment makes more enemies than friends. Under the Merit System no unsuccessful applicant can complain of anything but his own deficiencies.

Under the Spoils System the offices are almost monopolized by men of small capacity and few scruples, and the most desirable class of employees are unwilling to apply. Under the Merit System the examinations are open to every citizen, and the best are eager to compete because their employment, retention and promotion are made to depend solely upon their merit and fitness, and because the work is honorable, the pay is certain, and the opportunities for advancement are many.

Under the Spoils System the offices which the people pay for are converted into bribes and rewards for the use of corrupt and demoralizing methods by unscrupulous men. Under the Merit System the public offices can only be secured or retained by superior efficiency and proved integrity.

Under the Spoils System elected officials must devote themselves to the peddling of offices and

the division of patronage. Under the Merit System they can give their time and energies to the legislative or executive duties for which they have been chosen and by which they can best serve and secure the gratitude and esteem of their constituents.

The Merit System means fair play for all applicants.

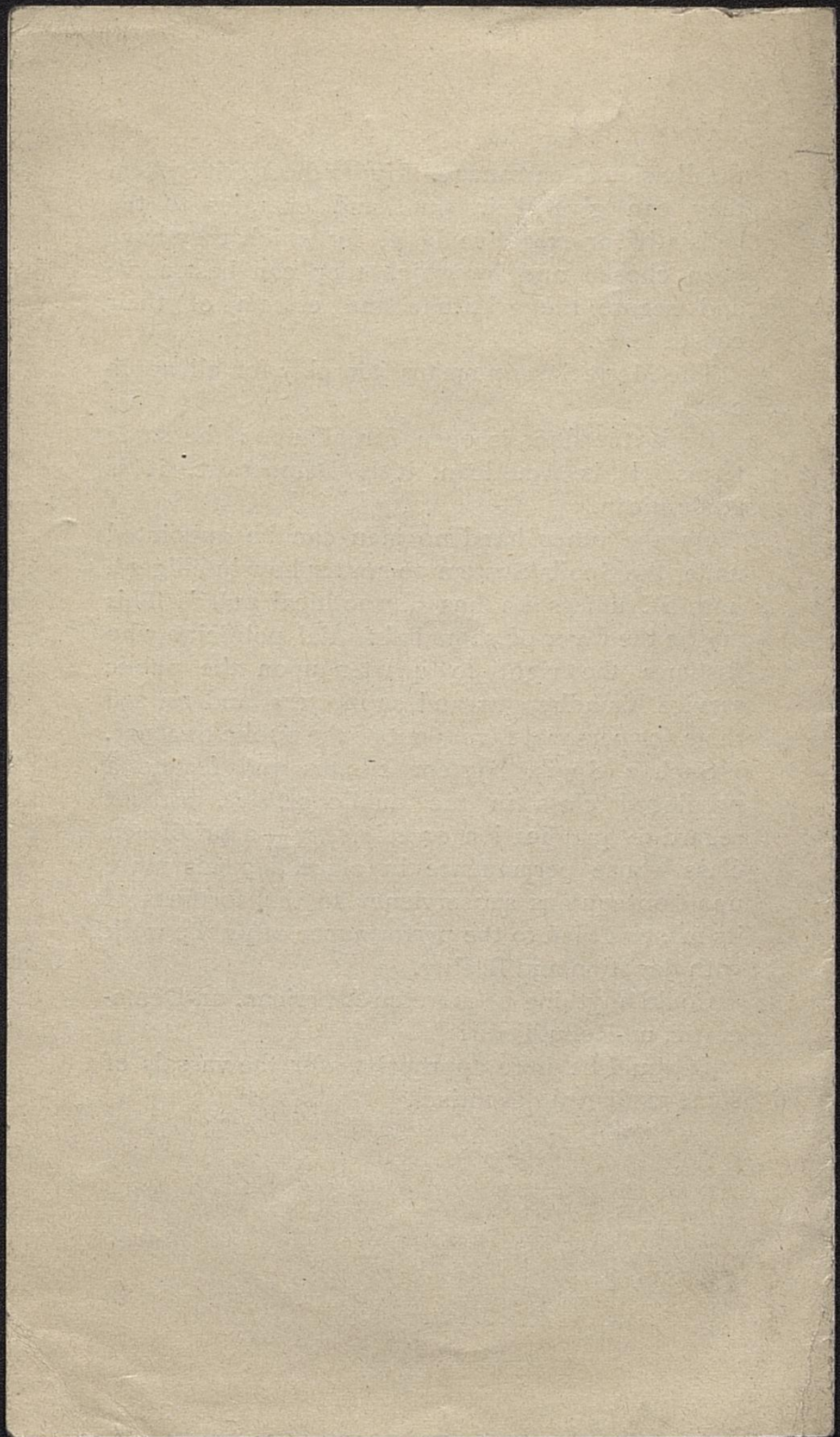
By it the door is open for all upon the same terms. It is American, it is Democratic, it is Republican.

On the other hand no man can be appointed under the Spoils System no matter how intelligent, how fit, unless he has a "political pull." This means the favor of some influential politician who assumes the right to quarter upon the public service his adherents and supporters, and reward them for personal favors out of the public treasury.

Such a Spoils System creates and fosters a privileged class in the public service, without regard to qualification or efficiency—a privileged class whose permanence in office depends more upon obsequious subserviency to the fortunes of its masters than to the performance of public work with devotion and fidelity.

Could anything be more un-American, un-Democratic, un-Republican?

It would be more appropriate for the vassals of some mediæval despotism.



THE MERIT SYSTEM A CONNECTING LINK

IN THE WORK OF
THE FEDERATIONS OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

"The Biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs," Miss Perkins, of Concord, writes, "stands in my mind as a Conference for Righteousness. I suppose there has never been a group so large, so devoted to the things that make the world better, with an organization so complete, so flexible, stretching into the remote corners of our land, making the most obscure club a link in this chain."

All the Federation committees have one underlying aim, the service of humanity; all the varying aspects of their work have one root,—righteousness; and, in spite of their manifold activities, the committees have one practical connecting link,—the Merit System.

We can see how close is the relation between health and sanitation and civil service reform, because any branch of work intrusted to public officers depends for its efficiency upon this reform unless we can receive a guarantee that now and in all future years each officer in charge will rival George Washington in courage and public spirit. It is

clear, too, that public morals and civil service reform are in large measure identical, for this reform says, "No man shall serve the State who does not bring her honest service." It sets up before the eyes of all, the standard of right and honor instead of the hideous and debasing picture of "the public crib." But a little thought will show how closely civil service reform is interwoven with the work of each committee.

Let us glance at the latest reports from the committees of the Massachusetts Federation. The Chairman of the *Arts and Crafts* Committee writes, "We are forced to the conclusion that, in order to make encouraging conditions for the handicraftsman, we are obliged to make right the conditions for the factory hand and every other kind of a producer." For improving industrial and living conditions we depend first on legislation, then on the effective administration of the laws, and thus we are at once brought to the question of public servants and the manner of their appointment. The *Civic* Chairman speaks of work for the enforcement of local ordinances in regard to tuberculosis, for the medical inspection of schools, for the establishment of juvenile courts and the increase of salaried probation officers. At each point we touch on the need for honest and efficient officials. The Chairman of the

Industrial Committee says that its work "involves the gradual study, section by section, of the whole problem of administration of the labor laws that should protect working women and children in Massachusetts." The Committee withdrew its support to a bill calling for a school physician's certificate of physical fitness, because the only chance of the bill being favorably reported was through the substitution of "reputable" for "school" physician. No better example could be given of the importance attached to a trustworthy official. It is too well known that only the alert and honest inspector can evade the combined efforts of the greedy or ignorant parent and the negligent or self-interested employer. The Committees on *Consumers' League*, *Pure Food*, *Household Economics*, and *Forestry* likewise touch government at every turn, for they need to inquire as to the character of the officials who are to carry out regulations, whether for proper workshops, pure milk, clean streets, or protection of forests and trees. The *Legislative Committee* united with the *Civil Service Reform Committee* in opposing the Spanish War Veterans' Preference Bill. We learn from the Chairman of the Committee on *Moral and Civic Training* that "the demand for more adequate methods of moral and civic training in our schools is constantly grow-

ing, and many different methods are being proposed and tried out." It must not be forgotten that civil service reform is, above all, a question not of politics, but of civic morality. Moreover, what is often forgotten, teachers are a part of the civil service, and it is of equal importance that the teacher and the inspector shall be appointed for merit and not through "pull." The remaining Committees on *Education, Library Extension and Settlement, Literature and Reciprocity Bureau*, touch civil service reform, either through their contact with teachers and schools or as possible agents in spreading the knowledge of the fundamental importance of civil service reform through travelling libraries, study outlines, and exchange papers. In very truth the "keystone of the arch is the choice of instruments to carry out good laws and reform methods." You cannot turn in any direction to try to better things without becoming linked with government; and pure, efficient government means a sound body politic, and that is an impossibility without civil service reform.

A PRIMER OF
**The Civil Service and
the Merit System**

PUBLISHED BY

The Women's Auxiliary to the New York Civil
Service Reform Association

and

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

The Civil Service and the Merit System.

IN the first place what is the Civil Service? It is a part, and a very important part, of the Government, and consists of a large number of persons who do certain kinds of public work and are paid for it by the citizens of the country, state or city in which the work is done.

The Military Service, as we all know, is made up chiefly of the soldiers who fight our battles when we are so unfortunate as to have on hand a war.

The Naval Service includes the people who go out in ships of war to fight for us on water.

The Legislative Service is made up of the men who frame our laws and plan the business management of our affairs as a country.

The Civil Service is made up of persons who are not soldiers or law-makers, but who perform hundreds of duties that add to the daily comfort and convenience of everyone living under the gov-

ernment. Our mail carriers, our policemen, our firemen, our lighthouse-keepers, the men who inspect our steamships, the bookkeepers who keep the public accounts, nearly all the people connected with the United States Mint, to take only a few examples, belong to the Civil Service.

As I have said, these public servants are paid by the people. That is to say, the taxes, which we all pay in one form or another, provide the money out of which come the wages of the persons who do public work. The poor man who rents part of a house, perhaps only a single room, still helps to pay the public servants, since the landlord who pays taxes on the whole house, which he owns, adds these taxes to the rent charged to the tenants, and the higher the taxes the higher the rents. There are other taxes than those on houses, but this one example will make it plain that no man, rich or poor, can live under this government without paying some share of the expenses of the public work. It is important that we should keep this in mind in order to understand that each one of us is interested in having the work that we pay for done in the best way and at the least cost.

Our early Presidents, Washington and Adams and Jefferson, understood this and tried never to

turn out a public servant who was behaving himself and doing his work as it should be done. When the country grew larger and more and more work was to be done for the public, and there were more and more places to be filled, a different feeling grew up among the men whose business it was to choose the public servants. They could not know each one of them personally, and they became more and more influenced by political motives. When President Jackson was elected he said very plainly that he thought it right to turn out of their places people who had voted against the President and his party to make room for those who had voted in favor of them. This idea soon became firmly fixed in the minds of politicians. They found it convenient to be able to promise good positions to men who would themselves vote and get their friends to vote for the party they wished to have in power. It was cheaper for them to buy votes in this way than with actual money. And also they could threaten men already occupying Civil Service positions with the loss of their places if they refused to try and get votes for the party or to give money for political purposes.

Thus it came about that when a Republican

President was elected all the Republicans who wanted these places thought they had a right to them. And if a Democratic President was elected the Democrats thought it was their turn to get just what they wanted. If any man had succeeded in persuading or threatening or bribing many others to vote for the successful party he was fairly certain of getting a good place himself and sometimes he was able to get places for his friends and members of his family. It frequently happened that none of these people did their work very well or very honestly, but that was not considered so important as the fact that they had voted for the successful party.

All this, of course, was most unfair, and the persons who got positions in the Civil Service were often tempted to feel that it was hardly worth while to do their duty when the excellence of their work had nothing to do with keeping them in their places. Instead of thinking about their work they thought about getting what they called a "pull" with the important people belonging to their party, and whenever the time came for a new election they were frightened and anxious lest they should be turned out.

Soon after the end of the Civil War a few men

who were called "Civil Service Reformers" realized how foolish and wrong this whole arrangement was. They saw that on account of political influence two or three people were employed to do the work which one man could do easily alone, and that unnecessary places were created in the Service so that a salary could be paid to some one who had done political work, and that in many other ways the money paid by the people was wasted and put to wrong uses; also that the work was not nearly as well done as it ought to be, and that beside the honest men who held public places there were a great many rogues and idlers who did not begin to earn their salaries.

There was not much attention paid to the Civil Service Reformers, however, until 1881, when President Garfield was murdered by a man who wanted a political appointment and was disappointed in getting it. This tragedy made the whole public think about the system that had grown up of office-getting and office-giving, and it was soon decided that some fairer and more sensible way of choosing public servants must be found.

A law was passed in January, 1883, that made a great change in the Civil Service. According to

this law anyone who wanted a government position must prove that he could do the work of that position, and was likely to do it better than anyone else who wanted it. If he could not prove this the position could not be given to him, and it did not in the least matter whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. Under this law, also, no one could be turned out of a Civil Service position because he had refused to give money to any political party, or to do political work of any kind. This was the National Civil Service Law and was applied to positions in the National Civil Service in which public work is done for the whole nation and not for special states and cities. Other laws very much like it have been passed in some of the states, and rules have been made in certain cities on the plan of the national law. The idea of the people who made the law was to provide a way in which the government positions could be filled by men and women who knew their work thoroughly and were decent, honest people; and to prevent these people from being turned out of their places for any reason connected with politics. The best way to find out who were the right persons to appoint to Civil Service positions was decided to be this: All who wanted

such positions must pass certain examinations, and those who stood highest on the list of those who passed the examinations must be chosen. Before the law was passed each person who did any part of the public work was given his position by the persons at the head of his department. For example, the postmasters who were and still are appointed directly by the President (except in the case of what are called "Fourth Class Post Offices," which exist only in small towns), chose the clerks and mail-carriers who did the practical work of the post office under their direction. Now all these clerks and mail-carriers are chosen from lists of men who have taken the Civil Service Examinations and passed them successfully.

Now what are these examinations? Most school children know what school examinations are, and that they are intended to test the pupil in different studies. If a pupil is to be tested in his knowledge of history, for example, he is not asked questions about geography. In just the same way the questions that are asked of people wishing Civil Service positions are intended to test their knowledge of the duties they will have to perform in the position they are trying to get. This must be re-

membered because many people think that Civil Service examinations are only made up of questions in history or arithmetic, or geography and other studies that may not have anything to do with the work the successful applicant actually will have to accomplish. To find out what the real Civil Service examination is let us suppose that a young man wishes to be a Steamboat Inspector. This, of course, is a very important position, as a careless or ignorant inspector might report a boat to be in perfectly safe condition when, as a matter of fact, it was quite unsafe, and thus put the lives of many people in danger. Before the young man who is a candidate for this position takes the regular examination, he must fill out an application blank which will be sent to him with certain questions printed on it. The answers to these questions show how old he is, where he was born, what kind of an education he has had, what kind of work he has been accustomed to do, whether he has ever been arrested for a crime, whether he is healthy or has some disease or deformity that might interfere with his doing his work properly, whether he drinks intoxicating liquors, and so forth. He must swear that his answers to these questions are absolutely

true, and he must find two other people who are citizens of the United States, have a good reputation, and have known him at least six months, to answer a few more questions about his character and ability. Now, because he is going to do work that requires good eyesight, plenty of strength, and steady judgment, he must go to a physician and get from him a certificate or paper telling all that it is important to know about his health and strength. When he sends these papers to the Commission by which the examinations are conducted, if the answers are satisfactory, a notice is sent to him and on the day of the examination he and others whose application papers have been approved, meet at the place appointed to write their examination papers. We will suppose that he wishes to be an Inspector of the hulls of steamboats. Among the questions he has to answer will be many relating to the way in which hulls are made; he is supposed to know how the different parts of a hull are joined together, how the deck beams are connected with the hull, how wooden deck planking is fastened to iron deck beams, and many other practical facts connected with the construction of a steamboat. Other questions will test his knowledge of the rules of navigation, he

will be asked about the different kinds of signals that are used, about the number of people a lifeboat should carry, and about other things important for him to know.

If he wishes to be an Inspector of the boilers on a steamboat very different questions will be asked. He will then be supposed to know how boilers are made, all about safety valves and indicators, how the boilers are run, what causes them to wear out, the best ways of testing their strength, and so forth.

Other questions also are asked to test the candidate's knowledge of arithmetic, and to show whether he can write a clear and correctly spelled letter or report. But the questions about the special duties of his position are considered the most important, and when his papers are marked his knowledge of these duties is given the greatest weight. This means that, in this special case of boiler inspection, if he answers all the questions in arithmetic correctly his papers will be marked 10 in arithmetic; but if he answers all the questions about boilers and machinery correctly he will get 60 in this subject. His letter-writing may also be marked 10, and his experience, if it has been of a kind to fit him for the position he wishes, will be marked 20. And all these together:

Arithmetic	10
Letter-writing	10
Knowledge of boilers and machinery .	60
Experience	20

and you will see that the man who passes the examination with perfectly correct papers will be marked 100 on the whole paper. Now, suppose the next man does just as well in arithmetic and letter-writing, and has had the right kind of experience, but does only half as well in answering the boiler and machinery questions. His marks will be:

Arithmetic	10
Letter-writing	10
Knowledge of boilers and machinery .	30
Experience	20

and he will be marked only 70 on his entire paper.

In order to have any chance at all of getting the position his paper must be marked at least 70 unless he has been a soldier or a sailor honorably discharged, on account of wounds or illness, in which case it will answer for him to get as low a mark as 65 on his paper.

After he has passed his examination successfully his name will be placed on a list, at the head if he has passed highest, at the foot if he has passed lowest, or elsewhere according to the marks he has received. If he is among the highest three on the list he stands a good chance of being chosen, as the first three names are sent to the person at the head of the department in which he wishes to work, and anyone of these may be selected by him.

After the candidate has been appointed he must work for six months "on probation" or on trial. If he does not do his work as well as he should or if he misbehaves in any way he can be discharged and the next three names on the list (which is called the eligible list) are sent to the head of the department, but no one can take his place who has not passed the examination. It is interesting to know that it very seldom happens that candidates appointed on probation have to be turned out.

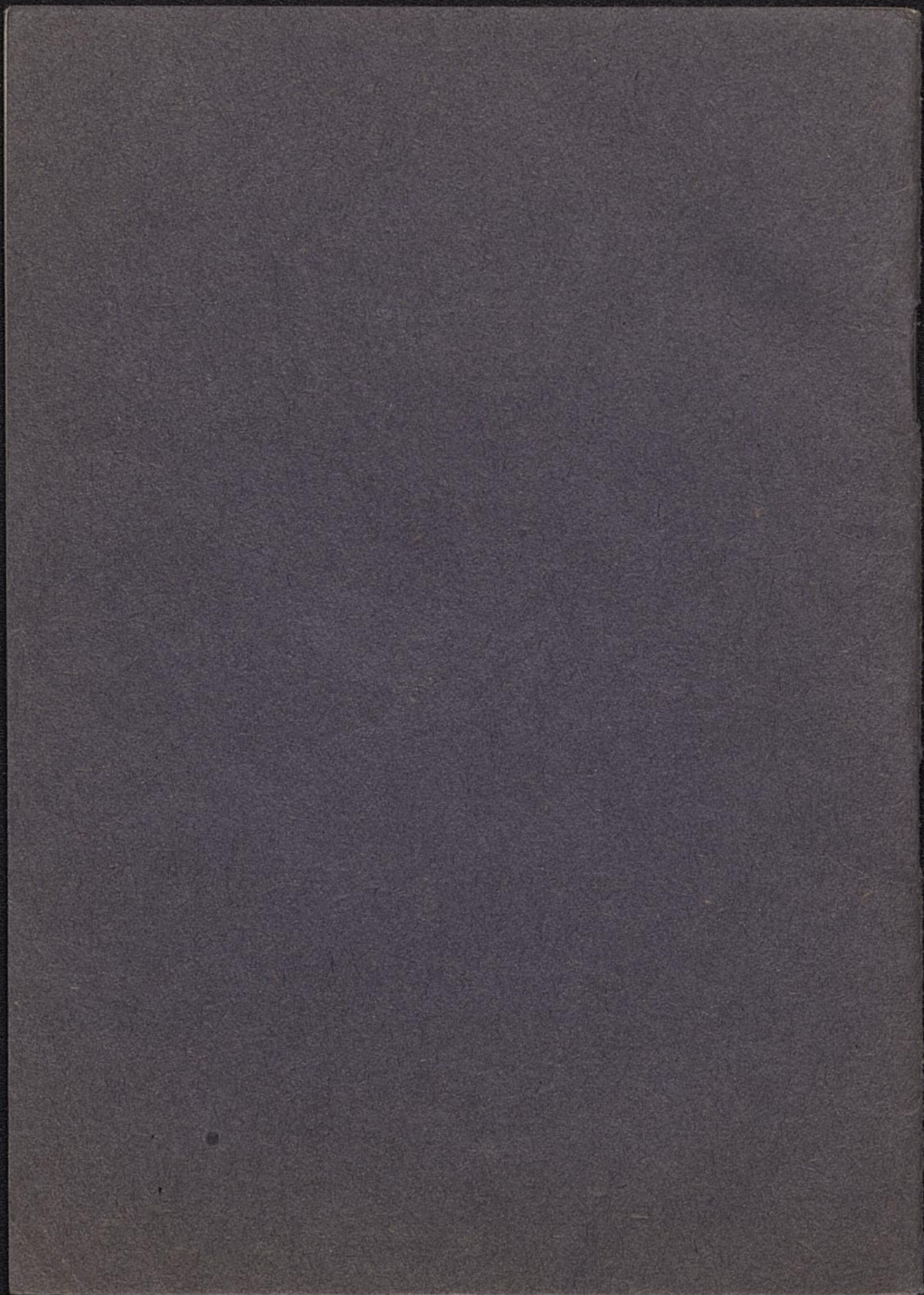
Once appointed, there is, of course, opportunity of promotion for those who have done their work well. It is quite plain, however, that a man occupying a low position might not be fitted by his work for a higher position in his department.

Under the rules he is required to take a promotion examination in which his record is given a heavy weight and in which also the length of time he has been in the Service counts for something. This is a very important part of the whole matter, since if it were possible to promote men who got into the Service through easy examination to a place the duties of which called for a much harder examination and the salaries in which were larger, much of the good of the examination system would be undone, and we would again have poor men in important places.

There are many more things to learn about the Civil Service and about this method (called the Merit System) of choosing people to do its work; but it is easy to see from even this slight explanation that it is an improvement on the old way of getting the public work done. The public money is not so easily wasted, there is a better chance of getting people who understand the work, and those who are appointed are reasonably sure of not being turned out for political reasons, but only if they do not do their duty. The system does not always work perfectly, and the people who wish to get places in the Service without having to pass the test of an examination, and especially

the people who would like to go back to the old way of giving positions in the public service in return for political favors, try in many ways to get around it, and complain of it whenever they can. But every good citizen should try to find out if the law is being honestly carried out and should do his best to extend the Merit System because it is democratic and gives every person the opportunity to get a place in the public service if he is fitted for it; because it helps the public servants to be honest and faithful and to do their duty to the country, without fear or favor of any political "boss"; because it gives to the people the very best possible service at the least cost; but, most of all, because it prevents the places in the public service from being used to bribe and corrupt the citizens and voters of the Republic.

ELISABETH LUTHER CARY.



THE CIVIC CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

1615 WALNUT STREET



THE Complaint Committee of the Civic Club has for several years carried on its work of intermediary between the members of the Club who have been annoyed by some neglect on the part of a city employee, and the particular Bureau or Department at City Hall under whose direction that employee works. In many ways its work has been most successful, but often a wrong of which complaint is made, is not righted for two reasons:

First, the complainant is not specific in giving time, place, name of complainant, number of house, etc.

Secondly, because the complainant does not know accurately what is expected of the City employee.

The Complaint Committee is particularly careful never to send in a complaint that is not justified and that is not specific. In order that all members of the Club, and all other persons interested in the health and cleanliness of our City, may co-operate with the Committee in its work, a short compilation of the most important items in the Street Cleaning Contracts for 1906 is given below. The Committee asks that all complaints may go through them and not be sent individually, believing that organized effort is far more effective, and that it is but fair to the Departments receiving the complaints, that they should be sent in as concise and clear a form as possible.

All complaints should be directed to

COMPLAINT COMMITTEE OF CIVIC CLUB,
1615 WALNUT STREET.

SPECIFICATIONS FOR STREET CLEANING, 1906.

TO BE CLEANED SIX TIMES EACH WEEK.

All streets between the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers south of Lehigh Avenue; all of Germantown, Kensington and Frankford Avenues and Richmond Street; all of Market Street, Baltimore, Woodland, Lancaster and Haverford Avenues in West Philadelphia.

All of Ridge Avenue and Main Street, Manayunk.

Wayne Avenue and Cheltenham Avenue, Germantown.

All streets north of Lehigh Avenue to be cleaned at least three times each week.

All streets in West Philadelphia to be cleaned at least twice each week.

All private alleys to be cleaned at least once each week.

Special provision is made for asphalt streets in all parts of the City by means of block men, to be employed between 7 A. M. and 6 P. M. On some streets one man for each square and not *more* than four (4) squares to one man in any part of the City.

Each block man shall be provided with a wheelbarrow, to which is attached a bag for holding rubbish and sweepings, a watering can for sprinkling, a shovel, a broom, and sometimes a scraper for removing dirt from inlets.

The streets should first be sprinkled, whenever the sweeping would cause the dust to rise, and the sprinkling shall be so done that the dust will not rise while sweeping nor be turned into mud.

Sweepings from all streets where block men are employed and from bridges, are to be placed in dust-tight bags, these to be emptied into wagons, and not on the streets. No dirt pile will be permitted on any of the City's streets or bridges.

All ashes, garbage or rubbish of any kind thrown into the streets, shall be removed by the contractor.

All accumulations of sweepings shall be removed within one hour from the time such heaps are made, in metal carts or wagons, and the place where they had been collected shall be swept clean.

All sweeping machines, while in use, must have heavy canvas guards over part of broom, so as to prevent street dirt being carried to the sidewalks.

Where special days are provided for cleaning streets, all ashes and household waste must be collected previous to said cleaning.

STREETS AND CROSSINGS.

All inlets opening on paved streets must be cleaned at least twice a week, and as much oftener as may be necessary to keep them at all times free of obstructions, and the matter removed shall be loaded immediately into metal wagons or carts.

All street crossings, gutters approaching same and all gutters necessary to drain crossings within 100 feet of inlets, and streets in front of fire-plugs, for a radius of 10 feet, must be kept clear of dirt, mud, ice and snow.

EMPLOYEES, VEHICLES, ETC.

All employees shall wear uniforms, to be approved by the Director of Public Works. For street cleaners, brown, including brown hat in summer season and a brown cap in winter. For all drivers, collectors of ashes and their helpers, gray. Foremen shall wear gray, with title of "Foreman of Street Cleaning" on hats.

Any official or employee using improper language, being under the influence of liquor, or demanding payment for services rendered, shall be at once discharged and be debarred from further employment on the work.

All sprinklers and sweepers, carts or vehicles, used for the removal of street dirt, ashes or household waste, must have the name and address of the Bureau of Street Cleaning and the name only of the contractors, and the number, painted on each side, with letters of a size to be easily read, and shall be of a uniform color in each district.

REMOVAL OF ASHES AND HOUSEHOLD WASTE.

Ashes, sweepings, cut grass and weeds, that are placed on sidewalks near building line in tight receptacles (4 each week from one

building allowed) shall be removed once each week. All ashes and waste spilled on footways or gutters must be removed by contractors.

All household waste (excelsior, paper, rags, tin cans, bottles, old shoes, etc.) shall be called for and removed, *separate from garbage and ashes*, from all buildings occupied as dwellings, once each week.

Proper provision shall be made that said waste does not blow over streets or property adjacent to dumping ground.

All ashes shall be removed from Walnut to Arch Street, east of Broad, and on all of Broad Street, *before* 8 A. M.

All wagons for removing ashes, when loaded must be tightly covered, so that contents does not blow over adjacent land or streets in carrying.

Contractor shall issue cards giving name and address of Bureau of Street Cleaning and stating days for collection of ashes, rubbish, etc., in particular streets or districts.

REMOVAL OF GARBAGE.

Kitchen garbage must be called for and removed without charge 6 times each week, between the hours of 6 A. M. and 5 P. M. Each collector must wear a brown uniform, including cap, and have a large water-tight bucket, and the carts must be of metal, water-tight, and marked with the name and address of the contractor and have their given numbers.

The contractor shall issue cards giving the name of the Bureau of Street Cleaning and its address, designating between what hours the collection is to be made. These cards are to be left at each building.

Garbage wagons must be covered when loaded and in motion.

Dead animals lying on public highways or elsewhere must be removed to the disposal plant within *three* hours of discovery.

For failure to keep to the specifications given above, fines varying in amount from \$1.00 to \$20.00 are imposed on the contractor, and are clearly stated in the specifications as printed and issued by the Department of Public Works.

THE CUSTODY
AND
GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

A PAPER BY

A. BAKER, F.R.G.S.

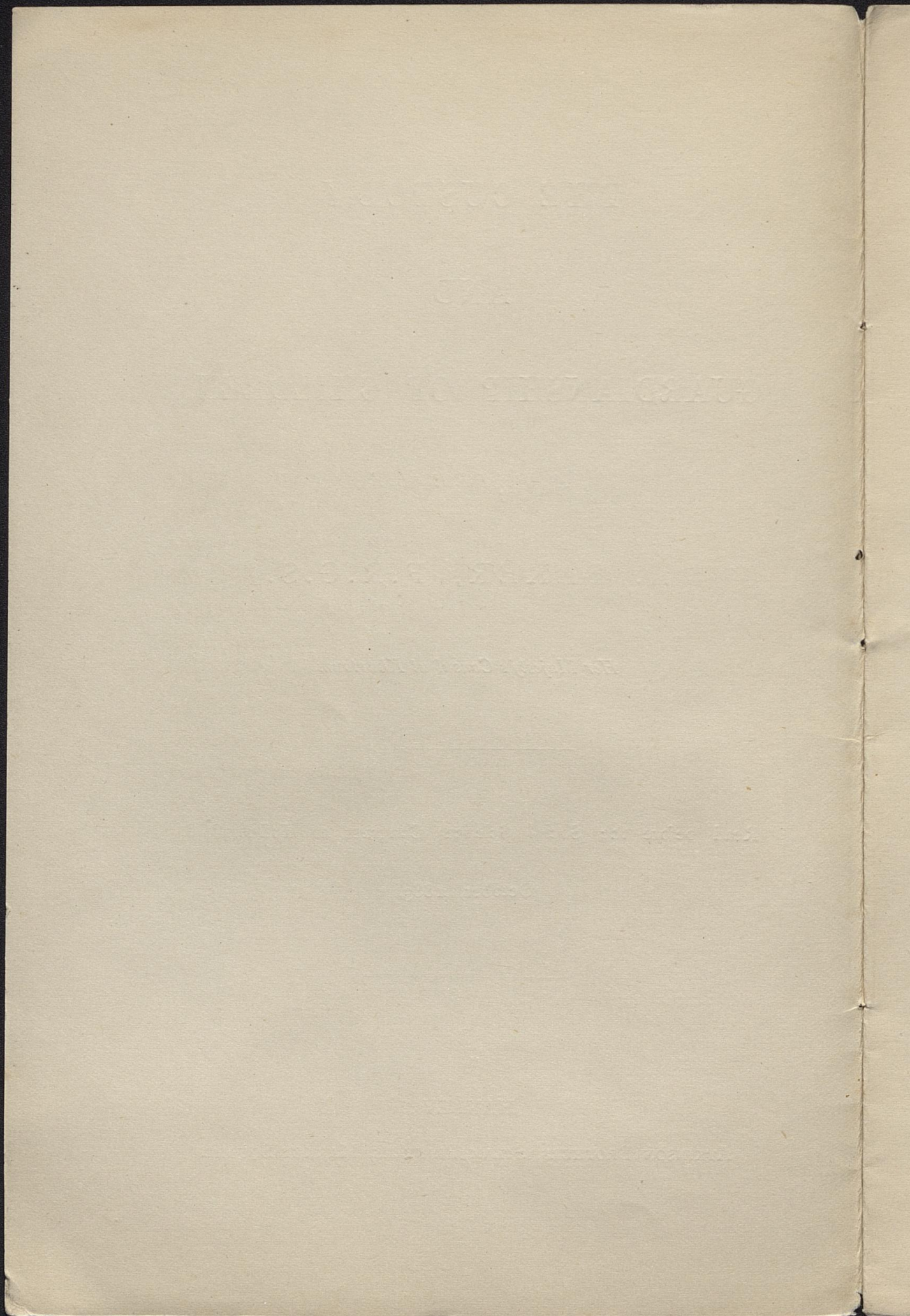
Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum.

Read before the Social Science Congress at Huddersfield,

October, 1883.

HANLEY :

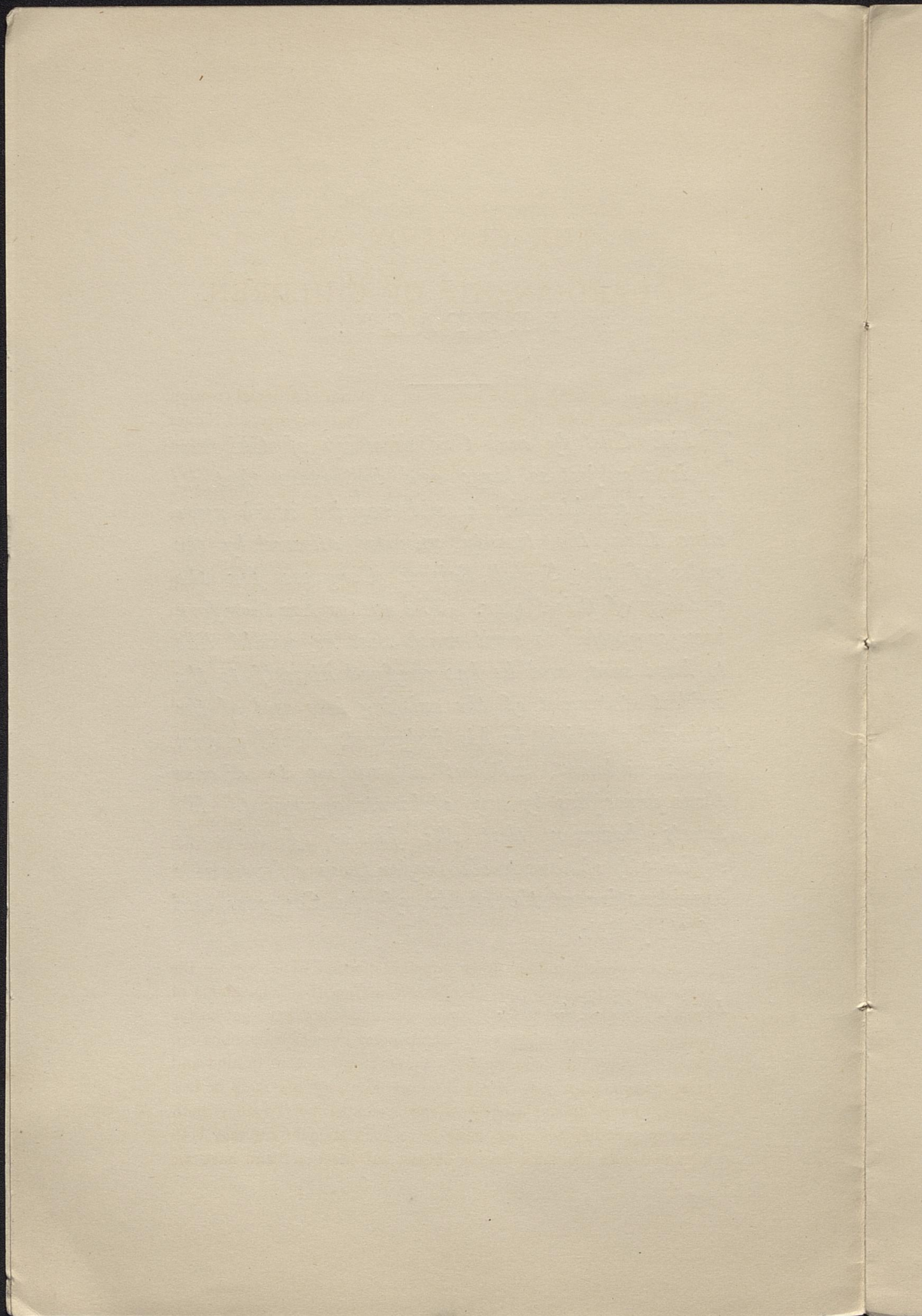
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P R E F A C E .

THE Custody and Guardianship of Children is a subject so large and important that its detailed consideration would require much more time than the twenty minutes allowed by the rules of the Social Science Congress for the reading of this Paper. The author has therefore been compelled to omit much that he would like to have said, and he has confined himself to the baldest statement of the existing law and of the principles which, in his judgment, should govern its amendment, without attempting to discuss those principles by any elaborate argument. He trusts however that the justice of them is sufficiently obvious to obtain for them a favourable consideration at the hands of the Congress and of the public.

London, 16th Sept., 1883.



THE CUSTODY AND GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

THE guardianship of children is not a matter of artificial creation or a mere legal "presumption": it is a real necessity, for Nature has not endowed the young of the human species with the power of feeding and taking care of itself from birth or even early infancy. In the brute creation the helplessness of infancy is by no means so prominent: the chicken begins to feed itself when it is only "just out" of the egg-shell, and the young of some mammalia even, are able to shift for themselves in a few weeks, or even days after their first appearance on the stage of life. But in such cases it will be found that the animal belongs to a species comparatively low in the animal kingdom. The higher we go the greater we find the helplessness of infancy until we reach its *ne plus ultra* in man.

Nature, ever wise in her dispensations, secures the protection of the young of the animal kingdom by inspiring the parents with the instinct of parental affection, which is greater or less, lasting or fleeting, in direct proportion to the degree and duration of the infant's helplessness: and this degree being highest, and this duration longest, in the case of the human species, we find man's parental affection a matter of life-long duration: whilst the parental affection of other animals ceases in a few short months, and leaves behind it perfect oblivion of the relationship between parents and offspring.

But, notwithstanding, it is parental affection which secures the protection of the young of all animals during the helplessness of infancy, whether of short or long duration. We have got so far without "colliding" against any sharp point on which opinions are likely to differ, but now we are approaching delicate ground and must make comparisons, which however necessary, are more or less odious. Every animal must have two parents; but do they both stand in precisely the same position to such animal? are they both animated with the same degree of parental affection? and have we

come in contact with a truth, which I will not stay to explain, because it is so generally admitted that it goes without saying viz. that things easily obtained are little prized, whilst things which we only achieve after a period of pain and anxiety are just those things which, be their intrinsic value great or small, we prize highly and study to protect and preserve? Has this truth no application to the question of the comparative degree of parental affection in father and mother? Does it not help us to explain the anxiety with which a lioness will hide her cubs from her hungry husband lest he should eat them? She has had all the pain of bringing them into the world, and she is still willing to let them suck away her strength; whilst her husband who has had no particular trouble about their birth and breeding, is more anxious about his own dinner hour than their very existence. Well, fortunately, we are not all lions and lionesses, and I am not going to contend that there are many human or inhuman fathers who would sacrifice their children to an appetite for meat or drink, or even "play"; but I *do* say, and most emphatically, that a mother's parental love is much more intense, and much more self-sacrificing than that of a father, and that there are natural reasons why that should be so. No greater master of human nature ever existed than Shakspeare; and he put into the mouth of even his most unwomanly of women "I know how tender a thing it is to love the babe that milks me"; and indeed this love is so natural to woman that it is the last good thing she loses, be she ever so abandoned.

But time presses, and I can pursue this branch of my subject no farther. Having glanced at Nature's dispensations for the protection of helpless infancy, let us look at man's. In the age of muscle when might was the only right, when broad acres were held by broad swords, and sheep-skins were seldom considered necessary to record rights of conquest, which indeed could only be over-ridden, roughshod, by a stronger claimant—in this age, women were consistently held to have no rights, and as a matter of fact they had no means, pecuniary or otherwise, of providing for or guarding their children. It was in this age that the right of the father to the exclusive guardianship of his infant children sprang up—that "sacred right" of which our Courts of Law are now so tender, as the present Master of the Rolls has explained in his able judgment in the Agar-Ellis case, delivered on the 24th of July of the present year of grace. What an anachronism! The sacred right of the father to separate mother and daughter against their will as though the Slavery Abolition law had not passed, though we have

kept its jubilee! Some may be startled at my reference to the Abolition Act, but it is not irrelevant, for since that Act passed the British nation has been distinctly under the impression that no human being could invoke British Law to enforce any property in, or rights over, another human being without his or her consent. And yet the highest Equity Judge in the kingdom is legally protecting the "sacred rights" of a father over a daughter of 16, to whom he refuses the very innocent boon of spending her holidays with her mother—a mother whose only fault seems to be that her theological views are not approved by the father! This case is very shocking to our sense of justice, and to our general notions of the progress of legislation during the last half century, but there can be no doubt that it is good law, although open to such substantial objection on the score of justice; and this case entirely agrees with an exhaustive review of previous cases, which was made by Mr. H. N. Mozley in an able paper read by him in January last before this Society at its Rooms in London.

How has this "sacred right" escaped confiscation at the hands of modern legislative reform? It is difficult to guess; but the most probable explanation is to be found in our habitual conservatism—we would "rather bear those ills we have" etc.: besides, we are so busy with our daily pursuits, if we have any, and if we have none, it is so easy to do nothing, and so difficult to move onward, and it is such a "bother" to choose a direction—especially when learned gentlemen in wigs and gowns tell us (and they ought to know; for they are paid to know) that certain rights are "sacred" and must not be profaned or trampled on in the march of progress and reform; so we stand still until a little body of thinkers for themselves commence an agitation and push us forward till we trample on "sacred" rights whose only consecration turns out to be a long history of shameful injustice. And so it will ultimately be with this "sacred" right of fathers to control the intercourse of mothers with their children—a "right" of which our law has already deprived the white owner of black slaves, who has in fact been legislated out of existence wherever the British Flag flies.

The evil I have alluded to—the exclusive right of a father to the custody of his children is, as I have pointed out, an anachronism: it belongs to an age when the rights of the physically weak were ignored, when freedom was an empty phrase to the great majority of mankind, and slavery was justified by "devils" who quoted scripture in its defence; when women were looked upon as the mere

helpmates and playthings of men, and only received sufficient education to enable them to play their humble parts in the limited sphere men chose to prescribe for them. But that age is gone by, never to return : physical weakness is no longer a crime punished with forfeiture of property, women are claiming a proper amount and kind of education, and although they are still an unrepresented class they are beginning to make their grievances known, and when they shall have succeeded (and it is only a question of time) I am sanguine enough to think, and I have sufficient confidence in human inclination—not to evil, as is often said, but to good—to believe that the evil of which I have been hastily treating will be remedied; and that the question of the immediate future will be, not *shall* it be remedied, but *how* ? And here earnest law reformers—especially those who are lawyers by profession and who are consequently enamoured of theories which they have practised from their youth upwards, may experience some difficulty, but none which cannot be surmounted by a consistent observance of first principles. Let us glance at those which more particularly affect our subject.

1. All men are born free, and no person can have any property in, or rights over, the person of another.
2. Each parent has an equal duty of guardianship toward their common child, for its own good, and so long as by reason of its immature judgment it is unable to exercise a reasonable discretion.
3. Speculative opinions are neither meritorious nor criminal, and one parent has no right to claim a monopoly for his set of speculative opinions as regards the education of a child. If parents differ in religion or any other matter of speculative belief, each must rely on his or her own moral influence and example, without endeavouring to close the mouth of the other parent on the subject as to which they differ.
4. Both parents standing in an equal degree of relationship to a child they should be its joint guardians during their joint lives, and the survivor should be sole guardian, and that unfettered by any rules prescribed by the "dead hand" of the deceased parent.
5. If the joint guardians should be unable to agree as to the education or bringing up of a child, the dispute should be settled in a summary way by the nearest County Court Judge, who should have the power to punish frivolous applications by making the applicant pay the costs of them.

6. Illegitimate children being innocent of their illegitimacy, and their parents being equally responsible the one with the other, such children should enjoy the same rights as legitimate children, and their parents should have the same legal obligations towards them as towards legitimate children. [The present law punishes the innocent children and one, and *only* one of the parents, viz. the mother.]

7. If any guardian should by insanity or crime become unfit to have the custody or control of an infant child, the Court should have power to remove such guardian, on summary application, and in the case of a *sole* guardian to appoint a new one in his or her place.

8. If parents do not live together, and cannot agree as to the custody of their common children, the Court should decide the question in such way as *that the interests of the children themselves may best be served*, and should have the power to order a parent to pay for, or contribute to the maintenance of the children, although removed from his or her custody or control: otherwise the children and the poorer parent may be sacrificed to the selfish interests of the richer parent.

9. Every child on arriving at years of discretion, especially if it be earning its own living, ought to have some right of appeal against the undue exercise of parental authority; and no parent ought to have the power of utterly disinheriting a child.

This last proposition may startle English lawyers, but it is no stranger to other national codes. The law of Scotland does not allow a father to will away the whole of his property from his children; the Code Napoleon insists on adequate provision being made for children; and there is no reason why our law should not accept the principle. Parents are responsible for the existence of their children, and it is manifestly unfair to society that they should be able to evade that responsibility by simply disinheriting their children, or some of them, and leaving the disinherited to be maintained by charity or by the parish.

There are other points I should like to consider, if time would allow. As it is, I must content myself with recommending the remedy I have just proposed, to those present who agree with its soundness: they will I think be able to answer the objections which others may

raise to it, and which but for the limit of time, I should have liked to anticipate, especially as when this paper comes to be read by the friend who has kindly consented to take charge of it for me, I myself shall be far away on the banks of the Nile, or well on my way thither.

This is the last serious word I shall have an opportunity of saying on this grave question, for at least several years; but I do sincerely trust that those years will not pass away without witnessing the erasure from our statute book of that black blot which sanctifies the so-called sacred right of one parent to ignore the other in regard to the custody and control of their common children. This is no mere sentimental grievance; it is one which comes home to many a sad and solitary hearth, in each of the three kingdoms, where Rachel is mourning for her children.

How many women does not the present law compel to live with husbands who have forfeited all right to that love and respect which alone save marriage from the stigma of legalised prostitution? Is this a price which ought to be demanded from a tender mother for the privilege of her children's society? And is it just that the hand of a dead father can snatch children from the bosom of a living mother, and assign them to strangers? Is not this one of the worst features of that hideous traffic in human flesh against which this country raised its unanimous voice, half a century ago? A voice which rang from one shore of Britain to the other, and made her "Great" not only in name, but in deed, for it compelled her Parliament to vote millions for the emancipation of the blacks. Did that voice exhaust itself in shouting for freedom for the blacks? Has it not left so much as its echo behind to plead the cause of the white mother and child? *Their* freedom demands no millions, for no one has bought them with money or money's worth; it can be achieved by a few simple lines accepted by Parliament; and whether any such sentence of freedom shall be pronounced by the highest Court in this country depends on the public opinion of this country and on the leaders of it.

As one of the most powerful of such leaders, this Society has a grave responsibility in the matter, and one which I trust and believe it will adequately fulfil.

Copies of this Paper (*Price 3d., Post Free*) may be obtained from MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, THE LOW, CONGLETON ; who will also be glad to supply further information concerning the movement.

Office of the Secretary of the
Board of Education
New York City
1900