

1931

Political intelligence then and now

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POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

by
Walton S. Hall.

1931.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE, THEN AND NOW

by

Walton Shepard Hall.

(A.B., Tufts College, 1914)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts.

1931.

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POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

THEN AND NOW.

(Based upon a study of Malden, Mass., during 1881-1890
and 1921-1930)

Part I. Introduction and Background, p. 1 - 19.

1. Political Intelligence.

- a. The Growth of Democracy, p. 1.
- b. Is Intelligence Also Increasing? p. 3.
- c. What is Political Intelligence? p. 5.

2. The Scope and Methods of This Study.

- a. Suggested by the "Middletown" Project, p. 8.
- b. The Selection of Place and Periods, p. 9.
- c. The Sources of Information, p. 10.

3. Historical Background.

- a. Malden, 1634-1880, p. 12.
- b. Malden, 1881-1890, p. 15.
- c. Malden, 1891-1921, p. 18.

Part II. Comparative Study of Political Intelligence in Malden During the Two Periods, 1881-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 21-122.

1. Interest in Elections.

- a. An Objective Measure of Political Intelligence,
p. 21.
- b. Registration Compared with Population,
1880-1890 and 1920-1930. p. 22.

- c. Registration of Women, 1920-1930, p. 24.
 - d. Size of Vote Compared with Registration, 1880-1890 and 1920-1930, p. 25.
 - e. Number of Women Voters Compared with Number of Men Voters, 1920-1930, p. 27.
 - f. Comments of the Contemporary Press, 1881-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 30.
 - g. Efforts to "Get Out the Vote," p. 32.
 - h. Factors Favoring the Present Day Voter, p. 33.
2. Tickets and Ballots Considered as Tests of Intelligence.
- a. The Variety of Tickets in 1881-1890, p. 35.
 - b. The Introduction of the Australian Ballot, 1889, p. 37.
 - c. Present Day Ballot - Referenda and Public Policy Questions, p. 39.
 - d. The Increase in Blank Voting, p. 41.
 - e. The Significance of the Blanks; Ballot Form Too Difficult, p. 42.
3. Independent Voting.
- a. Vote-splitting As an Indication of Intelligence, p. 46.
 - b. Party Loyalty, 1881-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 47.
4. Summary of Conclusions from Study of Election Statistics, p. 51.
5. How the Voters Have Obtained Their Information.
- a. First Hand Information, p. 53.
 - b. The Role Played by the Press; Criticisms of the Press, p. 54.

- c. Malden Newspapers, 1881-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 56.
 - d. Political News, and Advertising, 1881-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 59.
 - e. Other Means of Spreading Information, p. 61.
6. Appeals to Emotion and Prejudice.
- a. Emotion Versus Intelligence, p. 63.
 - b. Difficulty of Obtaining Evidence, p. 65.
 - c. Appeals to Party Spirit, 1881-1890, p. 66.
 - d. Appeals to Other Prejudices, 1881-1890, p. 69.
 - e. Appeals Fewer and More Moderate, 1921-1930, p. 71.
 - f. Mass Meetings, Rallies, and Parades, p. 73.
7. Local Politics, 1881-1890.
- a. Mayoralty Campaigns, p. 77.
 - b. The "Police Row," the Dominant Issue of 1876-1883, p. 79.
 - c. The "School Row," the Dominant Issue of 1883-1887, p. 81.
 - d. Voters Eventually Solved Problem with Intelligence, p. 87.
8. Local Politics, 1921-1930.
- a. New factors Appear, Racial and Religious Prejudice, p. 90.
 - b. The Devir Campaigns; Evidence of Racial and Religious Cleavage, p. 91.
 - c. Conclusions from These Campaigns, p. 98.

6. Political movements, 1921-1930 and 1931-1940, p. 32.

7. Political movements, and activities, 1921-1930, p. 33.

8. Other forms of expression, 1921-1930, p. 34.

9. Methods of thought and expression.

10. The Social Science Movement, p. 35.

11. Development of political movements, p. 36.

12. Methods of party politics, 1921-1930, p. 37.

13. Methods of other parties, 1921-1930, p. 38.

14. Methods of other parties, 1921-1930, p. 39.

15. Social Science, politics, and literature, p. 40.

16. Social politics, 1921-1930.

17. Development of movements, p. 41.

18. The "Social Movement" and the Social Science of 1921-1930, p. 42.

19. The "Social Movement" and the Social Science of 1921-1930, p. 43.

20. Methods of Social Science, 1921-1930, p. 44.

21. Social politics, 1921-1930.

22. New factory, labor, racial and religious movements, 1921-1930, p. 45.

23. The Social Movement; influence of Social and Religious Movements, p. 46.

24. Development of Social Science, p. 47.

9. The Direct Primaries.

- a. Lack of Interest on the Part of the Voter, p. 100.
- b. Confusion of Names: Proposed Remedy, p. 101.

10. The Rise of Woman Suffrage.

- a. Beginnings in 1881-1890, p. 103.
- b. Women voters and office holders, 1921-1930, p. 104.
- c. Appeals to Women voters, p. 105.
- d. The Influence of Women Suffrage, p. 108.

11. The Liquor Question.

- a. The "Wet" and "Dry" Votes, 1880-1890 and 1921-1930, p. 111.
- b. Difficulties of Law Enforcement, p. 112.

12. Education for Democracy.

- a. The Role of Education, p. 115.
- b. Social Science Curriculum, 1880 to 1890, p. 116.
- c. Progress Since 1890, p. 119.
- d. Results of This Education, p. 121.

Part III. Summary and Conclusion, p. 123-130.

- 1. Opinions of Competent Observers, p. 123-130.
- 2. The Writer's Conclusions, p. 126.
- 3. Re-statement of the Problem and Its Solution, p. 129.

Part IV. Bibliography, p. 131-138.

- 1. Special references, p. 132.
- 2. General references, p. 135.
- 3. Incidental quotations, p. 138.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.

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1. Political Intelligence.

a. Growth of Democracy.

Democracy as a fundamental theory of government has experienced its greatest expansion during the last generation. Roughly defined in Lincoln's phrase, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people,"^{1.} it has been accepted in almost every nation, at least in principle. The World War was fought, according to Woodrow Wilson, to make the world safe for democracy^{2.} and even in those countries which were self-governing before the war there has been a wide extension of the suffrage and the introduction of measures calculated to bring the electorate into more direct control of the processes and personnel of the government. "It is probable," writes Munro, "that the total number of qualified voters both in America and in Europe has been doubled since the close of the World War,"^{3.} and Lippmann, speaking specifically of the United States, says, "The eligible vote has trebled since 1896; the direct action of the voter has enormously extended."^{4.}

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1. Lincoln, Abraham. Address at Gettysberg, July 4, 1864.
 2. Wilson, Woodrow. Speech before Congress, Apr. 2, 1917.
 3. Munro, William Bennett "Intelligence Tests for Voters," Forum, Dec. 1928. p. 825.
 4. Lippmann, Walter. "The Phantom Public" p. 36.

Political Philosophy

A. Theory of Democracy

Democracy as a fundamental theory of government has experienced the greatest expansion during the last century. It is defined in its broadest sense, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." It has been recognized in almost every nation, at least in principle. The state has been found, according to modern theory, to be the only valid form of society. In those countries which were self-governing before the war there has been a wide extension of the suffrage and the introduction of measures calculated to bring the administration into more direct contact with the processes and personnel of the government. "It is probable," writes Sumner, "that the final number of qualified voters will in America and in Europe have been doubled since the close of the war." and likewise, speaking specifically of the United States, says, "The eligible vote has doubled since 1900, the direct action of the voter has enormously increased."

1. Lincoln, Abraham. Address at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.
2. Wilson, Woodrow. Speech before Congress, Jan. 13, 1918.
3. Sumner, William Graham. "The American Voter for Women," *North American Review*, Vol. 102, p. 211.
4. Lippmann, Walter. "The American Voter," p. 22.

The progress of democracy has been in a series of waves. In 1776 when Jefferson wrote that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed"⁵ hardly one-fifth of the adult male inhabitants of the thirteen independent colonies had the right to vote. Not until the Jacksonian revolution of 1828 did the common people of America come into their own. Not until the ratification of the fifteenth amendment in 1870 was the right of the colored males to vote recognized even as a matter of principle. A fourth great wave of democracy was marked by the direct election of senators (seventeenth amendment, 1913), by woman suffrage (nineteenth amendment, 1920), and by the Wilsonian doctrine of autonomy for small nations. Since the World War there has been a reaction at home and abroad. What Munro calls the "pendulum of politics"⁶ has swung in the direction of autocracy, several nations adopting dictatorships, and there has arisen a general feeling that "democracy is on trial."

Democracy has never been without its critics. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787 Alexander Hamilton spoke as follows: "The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God: and however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact."⁷

5. Declaration of Independence.

6. Munro, William Bennett. "Pendulum of Politics," Harper's, May, 1927.

7. Hamilton, Alexander. Speech before the Federal Convention, June 19, 1787.

Contemporary critics have been more unsparing in their observations regarding democracy. It would be a simple matter to multiply quotations from Walter Lippmann, Frank Kent, William Bennett Munro, Everett Dean Martin, Carl C. Brigham, and others. But it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the general merits of democratic doctrine.

b. Is Intelligence Also Increasing?

A few selections will suffice to give the viewpoints of this group and will also indicate the specific problem which is about to be discussed. Walter Lippmann, ex-editor of the former New York World, believes that democracy, while it may once have been adequate to the needs of a simpler age, is unequal to the demands of our increasingly intricate modern society. He writes, "He (the voter) will be as bewildered as a puppy trying to lick three bones at once."⁸ And again, "The private citizen today has come to feel rather like a deaf spectator in the back row, who ought to keep his mind on the mystery off there, but cannot quite manage to keep awake."⁹ A more extreme view is taken by Frank Kent, a political reporter of clarity and vigor, whose felicity of phrase sometimes leads him into generalizations which would be difficult to defend. The latter says, "Not more than one in sixty of those who go to

8. Lippmann, Walter. "The Phantom Public." p. 25.

9. Ibid. p. 1.

100

the polls knows clearly what it is all about." ^{10.} He elaborates upon this idea as follows: "To approximately 119,000,000 people politics is a closed book. Many of course think they know something about it, just as they always think they know something about everything. Actually the great bulk of the 119,000,000 are thoroughly muddy-minded about politics, swayed by feeling rather than by reason, really incapable of clear-headed thought or understanding. That may appear rather a sweeping indictment but any fair analysis of the voters in any precinct in any section will bear it out." ^{11.}

The words underscored in the quotation from Kent point to one of the chief aims of this thesis, namely to make a fair analysis of the voters of one typical community and attempt to determine whether they are swayed by their feelings rather than by reason. Democratic government is predicated upon the reason of the voter. Felix Frankfurter writes, "Democracy is the reign of reason on the most extensive scale....We now know that democracy is dependent upon knowledge and wisdom beyond all other forms of government.....If the continuance of our civilization is to be based upon democracy, obviously knowledge and the capacity for judgment must permeate the whole community." ^{12.}

10. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior" p. 79-80.

11. Ibid. p. 8.

12. Frankfurter, Felix. "Democracy and the Expert." Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1930, p. 659.

It is precisely at this point that the critics of democracy believe it is breaking down. Not the ideals, not the good intentions, not the moral character of the voter, but his intelligence is declared to be unequal to the demands of self-government. The intelligence tests given to the United States soldiers at the time of the World War are still quoted as proof that American citizens are at a low mental level. From these tests Brigham concludes flatly, "American intelligence is declining..... If all immigration were stopped now, the decline of American intelligence would still be inevitable." ^{13.}

¹⁴
Brigham and MacDougall ascribe this alleged decline to the negro and immigrant strains in America. Unfortunately for their argument the results of the Army intelligence tests are no longer universally respected by students of psychology.

c. What is Political Intelligence?

A theory is arising that men possess not just intelligence but intelligences. Some kinds of intelligence, such as mechanical intelligence for example, are not measured at all by the tests now commonly in use. For the purpose of self-government, men do not need every kind of intelligence, but chiefly what may be called "political intelligence." The writings of Lippmann and others will be

13. Brigham, Carl C. "A Study of American Intelligence,"

p. 124.

14. MacDougall, William. "Is America Safe for Democracy?"

p. 213.

examined in vain for any definition of political intelligence; it may be taken, however, as distinct from general intelligence and as akin to social intelligence. That is the sense in which the phrase will be used hereafter.

One attempt to measure social intelligence objectively by means of written tests has been made by the psychology department of George Washington University.¹⁵ This was given to approximately 12,000 people in 52 educational institutions. Neither the problems nor the results have any close relation to the matter of government, and the entire test has been strongly attacked on the grounds that it lacks validity, is much the same as a general intelligence test, and does not correlate with the executive experience and success of the individuals tested.¹⁶

Without further attempt to define or measure what other writers have carefully avoided defining and measuring, we proceed to the main question of this thesis, namely, "Is political intelligence on the decline, as some critics of democracy maintain it is, or is it holding its own or increasing?" To obtain the proper perspective for answering this question it is necessary to choose two different periods of time during which the intelligence of the voters may be studied. For the purpose of comparison it seems wise to select one period after the Wilsonian wave of

15. Moss, F.A., and Hunt, T. "Are You Socially Intelligent," Scientific American, August, 1927.

16. Strang, Ruth. "Relation of Social Intelligence to Certain Other Factors." School and Society, Aug. 23, 1930.

democracy, that is to say after 1920, and the other period before the introduction into American political life of those factors and elements which have in the opinions of Brigham and MacDougall had such detrimental effects, namely before 1890. To sum up, then, this is to be a study of political intelligence as manifested in one particular community at two different periods of time separated by thirty years.

democracy, that is to say after 1900, and the other period
before the introduction into American political life of
these factors and elements which have in the opinion of
historians and social scientists been the cause of the
changes between 1900. To sum up, then, this is to be a
study of political institutions as manifested in the
political community at the different periods of time referred
to by these names.

2. The Scope and Methods of This Study.

a. Suggested by the "Middletown" Project.

This method of studying political intelligence was suggested by certain portions of the "Middletown" project as described in "Middletown" by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd (Harcourt, Brace, and Company, New York, 1929). The book gives the details of a "study in contemporary American culture" financed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. "Middletown" is the pseudonym for a typical American community, middle-sized, middling in industrial importance, and located somewhere in the Middle West. The writers, assisted by a secretarial staff, resided in the city for over a year, and made so far as possible an objective analysis of its life and thought. They studied the way in which the citizens made their living, how they spent their leisure, how they were educated, how they governed themselves, and how they were roughly divided into certain social, racial, and economic groups. The chapters dealing with government, education, and group consciousness were in particular the inspiration for the present study.^{17.}

The methods of the "Middletown" project have been followed on a small scale. Where it was possible the

17. Lynd, Robert S. and Helen Merrell, "Middletown."

Lyndas obtained statistical data; otherwise they relied upon excerpts from the press and interviews with representative members of the different groups. The fact that some of these people did not realize that they were being "interviewed" only increased the frankness with which they expressed their opinions. While the authors made their study in the year 1925, they refer back constantly to the year 1890, which marked the beginning of "boom times" in Middletown and of radical changes in the life of the community. They make many comparisons between these two years.

b. The Selection of Place and Periods.

This thesis is based upon a study of Malden, Massachusetts, a middle-sized community in what is now called Metropolitan Boston and about five miles north of Boston proper. Malden was selected because it is "in the middle of the path" as regards size and wealth. Some of the citizens are native born and some of them are immigrants or the children of immigrants. Some of them work in Boston and some are in the local commercial and manufacturing establishments. In short, Malden has nothing either in its past history or in its present condition to mark it off as peculiarly different from other suburban communities.

The choice was also influenced by the writer's acquaintance with the community, which enabled him to place

his hands readily upon needed material and assured him of assistance from local government officials, school and library administrators, and several old and representative members of the community. He is much indebted to all of these people for their kind co-operation.

The periods chosen for study and comparison were the decade from 1881 to 1890 and the decade from 1921 to 1930. These are somewhat more than a generation apart and are likely to bring out whatever changes have been caused by immigration, by the enfranchisement of women, by modern educational methods and by such changes in election procedure as the introduction of the secret ballot and the direct primary. As Malden became a city in 1882, there is an opportunity to compare the last year of town government with the first nine years of city government as well as the earlier years of city government with the last ten years.

The presidential elections of 1880 and 1920, while not within the indicated periods of time, were also studied in order that there might be opportunity of comparing three recent national political campaigns with three campaigns conducted forty years previous.

c. The Sources of Information.

First and chief reliance for information was placed upon the local newspapers, of which complete files are available. From 1881 to 1890 there were two weekly journals,

the Malden City Press and the Malden Mirror, in simultaneous existence. Every edition of both papers for the entire decade has been examined. From 1921 to 1930 the only newspaper in Malden, excepting for an occasional short-lived "fly-by-night" publication, has been a daily, the Malden Evening News, which has been made use of for the last ten year period.

Statistics regarding population have been obtained from the Board of Assessors and from the State and Federal Censuses. Election returns and registration of voters have been obtained from the Office of the City Clerk, from old Town and City Reports, and from newspapers. Complete data regarding courses of study in the public schools were obtained from old reports of the School Committee and from the present Superintendent of Schools.

The "Middletown" investigators, while they used the questionnaire method freely in other parts of their work, did not find it suited to a study of government and it has not been used here. They made use of informal interviews with old inhabitants and with competent observers of political affairs.

the National City Trust and the National City Bank, in a statement
 existence. Every addition of both banks for the entire
 decade has been examined. From 1911 to 1920 the only new-
 bank in which, excepting for an occasional short-lived
 "City-County" institution, has been a failure, the National
 City Bank, which has been one of the last and
 best.

Statistics regarding population have been obtained
 from the Board of Assessment and Taxation and the
 Bureau. Election returns and registration of voters
 have been obtained from the Office of the City Clerk, from
 the City and City Register, and from newspapers. Complete
 data regarding names of study in the public schools were
 obtained from the reports of the School Board, and from
 the present Superintendent of Schools.

The "National City" investigation, while true, and the
 questionnaire asked freely in other parts of the city,
 had not been as varied as a study of the present and it has
 not been used here. They were used in other laboratories
 with old institutions and with constant observation of
 political affairs.

3. Historical Background.

a. Malden, 1634-1880.

A very brief sketch of Malden's history is included at this point for the better understanding of the two decades which are to be examined intensively. Much of the following information is derived from the writings of the late Deloraine P. Corey. The first volume of his "History of Malden," published in Malden in 1899 by the author, covers the period from 1633 to 1785 in 834 thoroughly documented pages. The manuscript notes for his second volume are in the possession of the Malden Historical Society. To complete the history to the present date would be a thesis in itself.

According to the city seal, Malden was "Settled 1634, Town 1649, City 1882." The first of these dates is dubitable, as the earliest proven settler was in 1640 and he did not live within the present boundaries of the city. The last two dates are correct, and they are the ones most germane to our study. Malden was at first a part of that indefinitely extensive territory known as Charlestown, but between 1633 and 1640 the land north of the Mystic River was divided among the freeholders of Charlestown and called by the name of Mystic Side. Mystic Side included most of what is now Everett, all of Malden, Melrose and Medford,

and part of what is now Wakefield. Medford was set apart first in 1652, some boundary adjustments being made at a later date. Some of the northern portions of Malden were annexed to Reading in 1727 and to Stoneham in 1734, and finally the whole of North Malden was incorporated under the name of Melrose in 1850. South Malden waged a century-long war for independence; it became the South Parish in 1737 and attained the dignity of the South-West School District in 1842, but was not incorporated as the Town of Everett until 1870. Thus by the time the curtain rises for the first act of our political drama, all these separation issues and boundary disputes had been settled, Malden had been delimited to its present area and was already debating whether or not to adopt the city form of government.

Some idea of Malden's political background may be gained from the following table of Malden's electoral vote from the beginning of the Federal government to the year 1880. For the years 1800, 1808, and 1816, the gubernatorial vote is substituted, no vote being cast for electors in those years.

and part of what is the Sheffield. Sheffield was not again
first in 1883, some twenty thousand being sent at a
later date. Some of the greatest numbers of English
were annexed to England in 1871 and in 1881, in 1884,
and finally the whole of North Wales was incorporated in
the same of England in 1886. South Wales joined a
century later was the independent; it became the South
Wales in 1871 and retained the identity of the South-Wales
Royal District in 1886, but was not incorporated as the
Town of Cardiff until 1900. From the time the British
place for the first set of our political system, all these
unincorporated places and boroughs have had their political
rights and been admitted in the present time and are all
ready debating whether or not to adopt the city form of
government.

Some idea of Wales's political system may be
gained from the following table of Wales's electoral vote
from the beginning of the 19th century to the year
1880. For the years 1801, 1802, and 1810, the electoral
vote is substantially, no vote being cast for electors
in those years.

18.

Malden's Electoral Vote.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Democratic.</u>	<u>Federalist.</u>		
1788	22			
1792	22	13		
1796	37	12		
1800	72	23		
1804	116	26		
1808	153	50		
1812	86	77		
1816	195	88		
1820	115	55		
1824	102	26		
1828	108	47		
1832	101	74		
	<u>Democratic.</u>	<u>Whig.</u>	<u>Liberty.</u>	
1836	140	116		
1840	255	233	4	
1844	298	208	38	
1848	240	262	136	
1852	209	218	106	Webster - 4
	<u>Democratic.</u>	<u>Republican.</u>	<u>Union.</u>	
1856	159	425	137	
1860	105	489	208	Breckenridge - 15
1864	221	693		
1868	298	809		
1872	243	752		
1876	586	1004		Labor-reform - 4
1880	719	1360		Greenback - 44

This table shows that Malden remained consistently in the Democratic column until the rise of the slavery issue, and after that it remained with equal consistency in the Whig and Republican column. It is an ironic sidelight upon the intelligence of Malden voters in the year 1852 that four of them cast their ballots for Webster, who had died in Massachusetts on the 24th of October, a week or two prior to the election.

Walter's Personal Notes

<u>Date</u>	<u>Personal Note</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1938	101	101
1939	112	112
1940	113	113
1941	114	114
1942	115	115
1943	116	116
1944	117	117
1945	118	118
1946	119	119
1947	120	120
1948	121	121
1949	122	122
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1954	127	127
1955	128	128
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2080	253	253
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2082	255	255
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2095	268	268
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2100	273	273
2101	274	274
2102	275	275
2103	276	276
2104	277	277
2105	278	278
2106	279	279
2107	280	280
2108	281	281
2109	282	282
2110	283	283
2111	284	284
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2167	340	340
2168	341	341
2169	342	342
2170	343	343
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2240	413	413
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2329	502	502
2330	503	503
2331	504	504
2332	505	505
2333	506	506</

b. Malden, 1881-1890.

By the year 1881, with which this study commences, the population of Malden, in spite of the loss of the North and South districts had reached about 12,000. Of these, 2685 were registered voters, and anywhere from 600 to 2000 votes were cast in the elections. Most of the inhabitants were of English or Anglo-Saxon descent. They were not all born in Malden; many came from other parts of New England and a few from the Canadian provinces. The only separate racial and religious group was the Irish. The latter came during the migration of 1840-50 and might already be considered among the oldest families in the town. No reliable estimate of their numbers can be made, but they occupied practically all of Edgeworth, or about one-seventh of Malden's area.

Malden had already passed out of the agricultural stage of its development. Several small factories had been started fifty years before. The biggest single industry was the Boston Rubber Shoe factory, built in the Edgeworth district in 1853 by Elisha Slade Converse. More must be said later about Mr. Converse, who was by far the town's most influential citizen. In his factory 1500 hands were employed, and other Malden people worked in another factory of his located just across the Melrose line. The value of Malden's manufactured products exceeded \$6,000,000 a year.

W. Wilson, 1881-1882.

By the year 1881, with which this study commences, the population of Wales, as well as the loss of the North and South Wales districts had reached about 12,000. These, 6000 were scattered about, and another 6000 to 8000 were sent in the meantime. Most of the inhabitants were of English or Anglo-Wales descent. They were not all born in Wales; many came from other parts of New England and a few from the Canadian provinces. The only separate social and religious groups were the Irish. The latter were during the period of 1880-85 and still almost as concentrated among the Irish families in the town. The reliable estimates of their numbers can be made, but they had been practically all of English, or about one-third of Welsh descent.

Wilson was elected mayor of the city in 1881, and in the following year of the development. Some of the first as had been started thirty years before. The oldest textile industry in the Boston Harbor area, which is the Massachusetts State in 1881 by Charles F. Johnson. This town is said to have about 10,000 people, and was by far the largest manufacturing district. In the twenty years before 1881, it had placed, and other textile people worked in another factory of the district that covered the Boston area. The value of Wilson's manufacturing production exceeded \$2,000,000 a year.

Malden was served by the Boston and Maine Railroad; the Western Division of the B. & M. was laid through the town in 1845, followed a little later by the Saugus Branch. There were also several lines of street railways, and quite a number of Malden people commuted daily to Boston on these and on the steam trains. The city had not yet become a trading center for neighboring communities, as it is today, but it had enough stores to serve the needs of its own citizens.

Buildings were almost all of wood, sidewalks were mostly of gravel, and the streets were lined with trees. There were as yet no sewers, and the last report of the Selectmen, 1881, dealt largely with the need for stricter regulation of cess pools, slaughter houses, and piggeries. There was a volunteer fire department, and the police department consisted of ten men, besides the chief. This department, incidentally, was the center of political contention during the final years of the town and the first years of the city. The men were discontented with their salary, \$800, and with their hours; they disobeyed regulations regarding the wearing of uniforms while on duty. The chief was changed frequently and seemed to be in continual hot water with the press, the public, and the political leaders.

In 1881, after thorough discussion in press,

committee meetings, and public hearings, Malden decided to adopt a city form of government with a mayor, a board of aldermen, and a common council. There were six wards, later increased to seven. No other change of importance has been made in the charter to this day. Every proposed alteration has been rejected with overwhelming conservatism.

The new government went into operation with the beginning of the year 1882. Elisha Slade Converse, who was "nominated by acclamation"^{19.} at a citizens' caucus, received 1521 of the 1550 votes cast for mayor.^{20.} Mr. Converse was president of the Malden National Bank, deacon and chief supporter of the First Baptist Church, Treasurer and Manager of the Boston Rubber Shoe Company, and had already served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Massachusetts Senate. He is thus eulogized in the City Press: "The veneration and profound esteem in which he is held by all his employes, even to the small boy in the office, is the best evidence of the true character of the man."^{21.} He affords the sole instance in Malden history of a local captain of industry standing as a dominant political figure. He appeared to be really reluctant to assume the office, and he did not run for re-election.

19. Malden Mirror, Nov. 30, 1881.

20. Malden Mirror, Dec. 3, 1881.

21. City Press, Nov. 19, 1881.

c. Malden, 1891-1921.

An attempt has been made to check up on the personnel of this first city government,^{22.} which appears to have been of a high order. Two of its members had served on the Board of Selectmen; one of these two, John M. Devir, Alderman from Ward Two ~~of~~ Edgeworth, was father of the John D. Devir who was mayor for five terms during the 1921-30 decade. Most of the seven aldermen and eighteen councilmen were small business men in Malden or in Boston. Data cannot be obtained about several of them, but approximately one-half were born in Malden. Of one of them it was printed, "He is a high school graduate;" the assumption might be made that the rest of them were not.

The political contests and controversies of 1881-1890 will be discussed further on, where they can be compared with those of 1921-30.

During the thirty year intermission before the curtain rises in 1921 on the second act of Malden's political history, the city doubled its population (24,626 in 1890; 50,119 in 1921). Several new racial groups appeared. The most important racial addition was Jewish. Jews began to be noticed in Malden about the beginning of the century; their numbers were greatly augmented as a result of the Chelsea Fire in 1908. Mayor Richards extended the hospital-

22. Malden Mirror and City Press, editions throughout December, 1881, and January, 1882.

of which, 1931-1932.

An attempt was made to secure up to the end-

of this first of the Government, which appears to

have been of a high order. The of the Government had given

on the basis of the Government; and of these two, John W.

Levy, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was better at

the term, and was more so than the other two during the

1931-32 decade. Most of the other members and officials

connected with the War Relocation Authority in Japan or in Japan.

There seems to be a general feeling of being at a disadvantage

and the half were born in Japan. Others of them it is

believed, "He is a high school graduate, the education

is not so high as that of the rest of them, but not.

The following, however, and the remainder of 1931-

1932 will be discussed in the next section, which may be con-

sidered as the end of 1931-32.

During the thirty year independence before the present

there in 1931 on the second day of the War Relocation Authority

and the day ended its population (2,000 to 1930)

20,119 in 1931). Several new local groups were formed.

and important local institutions were formed. These began to

be noted in Japan about the beginning of the century.

They include the newly organized as a result of the

War Relocation Authority, which began in 1931.

W. R. Leary, Secretary of the War Relocation Authority, was born in 1900, and died in 1931.

ity of the city to the refugees, hundreds of whom accepted it and settled in the Suffolk Square and Faulkner districts. By the year 1921 they had pre-empted Ward Seven. Scarcely a Gentile could be found in some of the schools of the district, and the members of the City Government from this ward were generally Jewish.

A small colony of negroes and a small Swedish colony must be noted, although they seem not to have figured in city politics. A few Greeks and Italians had also appeared, and some of them were already among the substantial business men of the community. They did not segregate themselves into distinct districts and gave no evidence of political cohesiveness.

The economic development of Malden during this period was so similar to that of any other suburban community that it needs no elaboration. Many citizens worked in Boston; many worked in local factories. Malden had also become a shopping center for Everett, Melrose, Medford, and Saugus. Its business interests were therefore diversified and well balanced.

The political history of Malden from 1921 to 1930 will be given further on in this thesis under the heading of "Local politics, 1921-1930."

it of the city in the morning, hundreds of them accepted
it and settled in the British Empire and British districts.
By the year 1881 they had increased to 100,000.
A British could be found in some of the suburbs of the dis-
trict, and the members of the City Government from this
time were generally British.

A small colony of Europeans and a small British colony
next to each other, although they were not to have figured in
city politics. A few British and British had also appeared,
and some of them were already among the substantial business
and a few community. They did not separate themselves in-
to distinct districts and gave no evidence of political
consciousness.

The economic development of London during this period
was so similar to that of any other modern community that
it needs no elaboration. Many citizens worked in London;
many worked in local factories. London has also become a
shopping center for Europe, Africa, India, and China.
The business interests were therefore diversified and well
balanced.

The political history of London from 1801 to 1880 will
be given further on in this thesis under the heading of
"Local politics, 1801-1880."

PART II.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE IN MALDEN.

DURING THE TWO PERIODS, 1881-1890 AND 1921-1930.

PART II

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOREST INSECTICIDES IN KENYA
DURING THE PERIODS, 1961-1962 AND 1962-1963

1. Interest in Elections.

a. An Objective Measure of Political Intelligence.

Objective measurement of political intelligence is very difficult. The only mathematical data available are the registration of voters and the election returns. Of course these indicate interest in politics rather than political intelligence; it might even be argued that some really intelligent people consider it useless to exercise the suffrage. Nevertheless, from a pragmatic viewpoint intelligence which does not function might as well be non-existent. Critics of democracy usually begin by pointing out the general neglect of the suffrage; frequently their criticisms also end at the same point.

Lord Bryce wrote: "The will of the sovereign people is expressed.....in the United States.....by as large a proportion of the registered voters as in any other country."²³ On the other hand Walter Lippmann writes: "Of the eligible voters in the United States less than half go to the polls even in a presidential year. During the campaign of 1924 a special effort was made to bring out more voters. They did not come out. The Constitution, the nation, the party system, the presidential succession, private property, all were supposed to be in danger. One party prophesied

23. Bryce, Viscount. "Modern Democracies" Vol. II, p. 52.

red ruin, another black corruption, a third tyranny and imperialism if the voters did not go to the polls in greater numbers. Half the citizenship was unmoved." 24.

b. Registration Compared with Population.

1880 - 1890 and 1920 - 1930.

We shall consider first, then, what has been the practice of Malden citizens with reference to registering and voting and we shall try to compare the figures for 1881-1890 with those for 1921-1930. The following statistics have been compiled from several different sources, principally the city clerk's office, the assessors' office, and newspaper files. No one source could supply complete information. The figures have been checked against each other wherever possible, and, in case of disagreement, the most probable figure has been selected.

24. Lippmann, Walter. "Phantom Public." p. 16-17.

and this, another black destruction, a third burning and
destruction of the city did not do to the city in
general manner, but the situation was changed.

2. Materially changed with population,
1901 - 1905 and 1905 - 1910.

The small number of the city, that was not the
practice of the city with reference to population
and nothing was done to change the figures for
1901-1905 and 1905-1910. The following table
has been taken from the census of 1905, and
materially the city is still the same, and
the population of the city is still the same.
The figures have been taken from the
census of 1905, and the figures are the same.
The figures have been taken from the
census of 1905, and the figures are the same.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Registration.</u>	<u>Population.</u>		
1880	Lacking.	12, 017	(National census)	
1881	Lacking.	12, 367	(Assessors' figures)	
1882	2595	12, 779	"	"
1883	2983	13, 464	"	"
1884	3109	14,244	"	"
1885	3007	16,407	(State census.)	
1886	3212	17,326	(Assessors' figures.)	
1887	Lacking.	17,964	"	"
1888	Lacking	19,617	"	"
1889	3816	22,506	"	"
1890	3970	24,626	(National census.)	

1920	15,599	50,012	(Assessors' figures.)	
1921	14,848	50,119	"	"
1922	15,343	50,468	"	"
1923	15,202	50,686	"	"
1924	17,382	50,877	"	"
1925	17,774	52,221	"	"
1926	17,265	53,181	"	"
1927	17,804	54,216	"	"
1928	23,051	55,222	"	"
1929	22,247	56,356	"	"
1930	22,441	57,622	"	"

Year.	Headquarters.	Post-Office.
1900	Lackawanna.	12, 017 (Lackawanna, N.Y.)
1901	Lackawanna.	12, 027 (Lackawanna, N.Y.)
1902	2026	12, 028
1903	2027	12, 029
1904	2028	12, 030
1905	2029	12, 031
1906	2030	12, 032
1907	2031	12, 033
1908	2032	12, 034
1909	2033	12, 035
1910	2034	12, 036
1911	2035	12, 037
1912	2036	12, 038
1913	2037	12, 039
1914	2038	12, 040
1915	2039	12, 041
1916	2040	12, 042
1917	2041	12, 043
1918	2042	12, 044
1919	2043	12, 045
1920	2044	12, 046
1921	2045	12, 047
1922	2046	12, 048
1923	2047	12, 049
1924	2048	12, 050
1925	2049	12, 051
1926	2050	12, 052
1927	2051	12, 053
1928	2052	12, 054
1929	2053	12, 055
1930	2054	12, 056

c. Registration of Women, 1920 - 1930.

In the earlier decade, if calculations be based upon the seven years for which both registration and population are known, the average annual registration amounted to 18.7% of the population. For the ten years from 1921 to 1930 inclusive, the average annual registration amounted to 35.0% of the population. In other words, the registration almost but not quite doubled after the adoption of woman suffrage. That this increase was due to the feminine vote is proven by the following table.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Men registered.</u>	<u>Women registered.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1920	9146	6453	15,599
1921	8719	6129	14,848
1922	9006	6337	15,343
1923	8819	6383	15,202
1924	Lacking.	Lacking.	17,382
1925	9660	7668	17,774
1926	Lacking.	Lacking.	17,265
1927	10,040	7764	17,804
1928	11,698	11,353	23,051
1929	Lacking.	Lacking.	22,247
1930	11,746	10,695	22,441

c. Registration of Women, 1927 - 1930.

In the earlier decades, if calculations be based upon the given years for which both registration and population are known, the average annual registration amounted to 15.7% of the population. For the ten years from 1927 to 1930 inclusive, the average annual registration amounted to 25.0% of the population. In other words, the registration almost had doubled after the year 1910 at which time the increase was due to the census data as shown by the following table.

Year.	Pop. registered.	Pop. total.	Total.
1920	414	262	14,222
1921	419	269	14,340
1922	424	277	14,458
1923	429	285	14,576
1924	434	293	14,694
1925	439	301	14,812
1926	444	309	14,930
1927	449	317	15,048
1928	454	325	15,166
1929	459	333	15,284
1930	464	341	15,402

Complete statistics are available for only seven years of the decade, namely 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1928, 1930. For these years, 52% of the registered vote was male and 48% was female.

During the last decade the registration has been noticeably heavier in the even years, when state elections are held. In 1928, the year of the Smith-Hoover campaign, it reached the high point of 41.7% of the entire population. Almost exactly two-thirds of the 5247 increase in registration in that year were women.

d. Size of Vote Compared with Registration.

1880 - 1890 and 1920 - 1930.

More significant than the proportion of citizens who register is the proportion of registered voters who go to the polls. The following table gives the total for each year.

Complete statistics are available for only some years
of the decade, namely 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965,
1966. For some years, 1967 of the registered vote was
also not available.
During the last decade the registration has been ex-
tremely uneven in the even years, when there is a slight
increase. In 1965, the year of the 1965-66 election,
it reached the high point of 41.7% of the adult popula-
tion, almost exactly the same as in 1964. In 1966 it
reached 41.7% of the adult population.

2. Size of vote compared with registration.
1961 - 1962 and 1963 - 1964.

There is a significant difference between the proportion of citizens who
register and the proportion of registered citizens who go to
the polls. The following table gives the data for each
year.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>City election.</u>	<u>State election.</u>	<u>State primaries.</u>	<u>Registration.</u>
1880	Lacking.	2123		Lacking.
1881	1523	Lacking.		Lacking.
1882	1806	2157		2595
1883	2269	2717		2983
1884	2143	2764		3109
1885	2362	2805		3007
1886	2150	2642		3212
1887	2587	2511		Lacking.
1888	2756	3389		Lacking.
1889	2310	2590		3816
1890	2739	3206		3970

1920	7932	13,067	3,911	15,599
1921	5781			14,848
1922	6681	11,570	7,178	15,343
1923	9282			15,202
1924	13,829	15,263	6,197	17,382
1925	12,397			17,774
1926	12,032	13,268	13,268	17,265
1927	13,133			17,804
1928	14,007	21,757	8,690	23,051
1929	17,060			22,247
1930	17,163	16,720	8,804	22,441

Year	City	State	Population	Year
1900	Lansing	Michigan	115,000	1900
1901	Lansing	Michigan	118,000	1901
1902	Lansing	Michigan	122,000	1902
1903	Lansing	Michigan	126,000	1903
1904	Lansing	Michigan	130,000	1904
1905	Lansing	Michigan	134,000	1905
1906	Lansing	Michigan	138,000	1906
1907	Lansing	Michigan	142,000	1907
1908	Lansing	Michigan	146,000	1908
1909	Lansing	Michigan	150,000	1909
1910	Lansing	Michigan	154,000	1910
1911	Lansing	Michigan	158,000	1911
1912	Lansing	Michigan	162,000	1912
1913	Lansing	Michigan	166,000	1913
1914	Lansing	Michigan	170,000	1914
1915	Lansing	Michigan	174,000	1915
1916	Lansing	Michigan	178,000	1916
1917	Lansing	Michigan	182,000	1917
1918	Lansing	Michigan	186,000	1918
1919	Lansing	Michigan	190,000	1919
1920	Lansing	Michigan	194,000	1920

Complete data are available for only seven years of the earlier decade, namely 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1889, 1890. For the purpose of comparison we shall select the last six years in which both city and state elections were held, namely, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1930. The following percentages are based upon the above years.

	Percent of registered voters going to the polls.		
	<u>City election.</u>	<u>State election.</u>	<u>State primaries.</u>
Earlier decade.	69.0%	83.2%	
Recent decade.	64.5%	83.3%	43.3%

Voters apparently take as much interest in state and national elections as they ever did. In neither decade have they taken as much interest in city elections as in state and national elections; interest in city elections has fallen off somewhat in recent years. The figures for the state primaries confirm what has been frequently charged and generally believed, namely that the voters do not interest themselves in selecting the candidates of their own party.

e. Number of Women Voters Compared With Number of Men Voters.

Through a fortunate accident, the numbers of men and women voters can be given for several years. The City Clerk is not required to tabulate the vote by sexes and he

does not ~~not~~ do so. In each polling place, however, there are separate tally sheets for men and for women. Realizing the great interest in woman voters just after the adoption of woman suffrage, the Malden Evening News on several occasions took the pains to obtain these separate returns and to total them. The results follow.

City Elections.

	<u>Men.</u>		<u>Women.</u>	
	<u>Registered.</u>	<u>Voting.</u>	<u>Registered.</u>	<u>Voting.</u>
1920	9146	4899	6453	3033
1921	8719	3779	6129	2002
1922	9006	4329	6337	2352
1923	8819	5458	6383	3824
1928	11,698	7589	11,353	6518

State and National Elections (final).

	<u>Men.</u>		<u>Women.</u>	
	<u>Registered.</u>	<u>Voting.</u>	<u>Registered.</u>	<u>Voting.</u>
1920	9146	7485	6453	5582
1922	9006	7195	6337	4375
1926	9660	7567	7668	5701

The above tables are reduced to percentages as follows.

Percentage of registered voters who go to the polls.

	<u>Men.</u>	<u>Women.</u>
City elections.	54.9%	48.4%
State elections.	80.0%	76.5%

have not yet been made. The next polling place, however, there are separate tally sheets for each of the wards. Results for the great majority of wards were sent after the election of women officers, the women winning seats on several occasions took the pains to obtain these separate returns and to total them. The results follow.

City Elections.

Year.	Registered.	Abstained.	Registered.	Abstained.
1900	27,48	42,09	34,85	32,72
1901	28,70	42,74	41,04	30,01
1902	30,00	42,80	42,87	30,10
1903	31,10	44,73	43,00	33,84
1904	31,038	45,00	44,308	33,10

State and County Elections (1904).

Year.	Registered.	Abstained.	Registered.	Abstained.
1900	31,40	44,00	34,85	32,72
1902	30,00	42,80	42,87	30,10
1904	32,00	42,00	44,00	32,00

The above tables are reduced to percentages as follows.
Percentage of registered voters who go to the polls.

Year.	City elections.	State elections.
1904	51.92	77.94
1900	51.92	77.94

Since a smaller number of women register than men, and since a smaller proportion of the registered women voters go to the polls than of the registered men voters, it follows that the feminine vote, considered in its relation to the total vote cast, is still smaller.

City Elections.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Men voting.</u>	<u>Women voting.</u>	<u>Total votes.</u>
1920	4899	3033	7932
1921	3779	2002	5781
1922	4329	2352	6681
1923	5458	3824	9282
1928	7589	6518	14,007

State and National Elections (final).

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Men voting.</u>	<u>Women voting.</u>	<u>Total votes.</u>
1920	7485	5582	13,067
1922	7195	4375	11,570
1926	7567	5701	13,268

These tables reduce to the following percentages:

Percentage of total vote.

City elections.	<u>Cast by men.</u>	59.7%	<u>Cast by women.</u>	40.3%
State elections.	" " "	58.7%	" " "	41.3%

Apparently the male and female vote in Malden during the years for which information is available has been almost in 3 to 2 ratio, indicating a greater interest in political matters on the part of the males. No conclusion can safely be drawn, however, from such scanty data.

Since a smaller number of women register than men, and since a smaller proportion of the registered women vote as to the ratio than of the registered men voters, it follows that the feminine vote, considered in its relation to the total vote cast, is still smaller.

CITY ELECTIONS.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Men voting.</u>	<u>Women voting.</u>	<u>Total votes.</u>
1920	4902	2025	6927
1921	5775	2002	7777
1922	4902	2025	6927
1923	6424	2664	9088
1924	7200	3119	10,319

State and National Elections (1924).

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Men voting.</u>	<u>Women voting.</u>	<u>Total votes.</u>
1920	7082	2802	9884
1922	7123	2876	10,000
1924	7607	3001	10,608

These tables pertain to the following percentages:

Percentage of total vote.

<u>City elections.</u>	<u>Cast by men.</u>	<u>Cast by women.</u>	<u>43.75</u>
<u>State elections.</u>	<u>" " "</u>	<u>" " "</u>	<u>41.42</u>

According to the male and female vote in United States the years for which statistics are available are shown almost in 2 to 3 ratio, indicating a greater interest in political matters on the part of the males. In comparison with male, he shows, however, from such scanty data.

f. Comments of the Contemporary Press.

1881 - 1890 and 1921-1930.

The comments of the press on these elections are illuminating; they show how much importance was attached to the act of voting, what efforts were made to get out the vote, and whether these efforts were thought to have been successful.

Concerning the last town meeting ever held in Malden, the following is printed: "It would puzzle the oldest inhabitant to show the time when less interest was manifest and less enthusiasm shown at an election in this town."²⁵ That could be ascribed to the lack of competition for the various town offices that year and to the fact that the town form of government was already moribund. Compare it, however, with the comments upon the state election of the same year, "The election in this town was unprecedentedly quiet, and the vote thrown was the lightest in a number of years, less than one-third of the voters registered appearing at the polls, which had a deserted appearance throughout the entire day.....There seemed to be a very little interest manifested by the voters as they straggled into the almost empty hall one by one and deposited their votes. The rain kept many away, but the vote would have been small had the weather been

25. Malden Mirror, March 5, 1881

propitious, for there was no issue before the people to
 26.
 arouse any enthusiasm."

These echoes from the elections of 1881 have a familiar ring; similar comments have been heard in recent years. The Malden News, for example, following the election of 1922, printed this headline: "General Apathy Is
 27.
 In Full Command."

On the other hand, some years have been signalized by great activity on the voters. The quiet election of 1881 was the one which re-elected Governor Long. The very next year, when Benjamin F. Butler ran for governor we read that the vote was "the largest ever cast in Malden,"
 28
 and in the following year, 1883, when Butler sought re-election we again read, "The vote was the largest ever
 29.
 polled in Malden", and "Verily the people were awake this year, and both sides voted valiantly for victory."
 30.
 The campaigns of 1882 and 1883 were conducted at white heat; in those years "every voter who was able to go or be
 31.
 dragged to the polls got there and deposited his ballot."

26. Malden Mirror, Nov. 8, 1881.

27. Malden News, Dec. 12, 1922.

28. City Press, Nov. 11, 1882.

29. Malden Mirror, Nov. 10, 1883.

30. City Press, Nov. 10, 1883.

31. Malden Mirror, Nov. 1, 1884.

g. Efforts to "Get Out the Vote."

Perhaps the greatest effort ever made to poll the vote of Malden was in the state election of 1926, when Alvan T. Fuller, a native son of Malden, was running for governor. The plans are described in the Malden News under the heading "Supreme Effort To Be Made to Get Out Vote." Rallies were held the night before election, followed by an auto parade. Early on election morning church bells were rung throughout the city. All the Boy Scouts were on duty from 7 to 9 A.M. and distributed to everyone cards bearing the legend, "Good morning! This is Election Day. Please Vote." The service clubs of the city presented every person who voted with a tag on which was printed, "I have voted. Have you?" and the ten Boy Scouts who could turn in the largest number of these tags at the end of the day were rewarded with prizes. As a result of all this activity, "nearly 80% of the voters of Malden went to the ballot box, a great outpouring for an off year."

Only a few weeks after this "great outpouring" the city primaries were held, attended by about one-third of the registered voters.^{33.} The electorate had apparently experienced a relapse after the artificial stimulation of interest. Two years later, when Smith and Hoover were candi-

32. Malden News, Nov. 1, 1926.

33. Malden News, Nov. 23, 1926.

dates for president, the vote was about 30% larger than in 1926, when such prodigious efforts were made to "get out the vote."

We may conclude from the foregoing that the voters will go to the polls when there is an issue or a contest in which they are interested and that no effort to "get out the vote" will be very successful in the absence of such an issue or contest. Furthermore, there seems to be little or no difference in this respect between the voters of a generation ago and the voters of today. Both generations took more interest in national elections than in state elections, and more interest in state elections than in city elections.

h. Factors Favoring the Present Day Voter.

Several factors favor the voter today over the voter of the previous generation years ago. There are more polling places, so that he does not have to walk so far. The hours of voting are more convenient, allowing him to vote after his day's work, and the heaviest voting usually takes place at that time. Finally, there is more free transportation offered to the voter in recent years.

The changes in the places of voting and in the time of opening and closing the polls is indicated below.

	<u>1885</u>	<u>1925</u>
Ward I	1 precinct	3 precincts
Ward II	2 precincts	3 "
Ward III	2 "	3 "
Ward IV	2 "	3 "
Ward V	2 "	3 "
Ward VI	2 "	3 "
Ward VII	(not created yet)	2 "
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total polling places	11	20
Hours for voting	6 A.M. to 4 P.M.	8 A.M. to 8 P.M.

2. Tickets and Ballots Considered as Tests of Intelligence.

a. The Variety of Tickets in 1881 - 1890.

Registering and going to the polls, while they are the most readily measurable manifestations of political intelligence, are by no means its most important manifestations. Suppose the voter has been induced to enter the polling place; the question remains, what will he do after he gets there? In this connection, one may well give preliminary consideration to the different types of ballots which were in use from 1881 to 1890 and from 1921 to 1930. Some of these ballot forms were so ingeniously bewildering that they might be classified as intelligence tests.

In earlier days a voter was offered not one ballot nor two ballots but a large assortment of ballots. The common practice was for Candidate Jones to prepare a number of different ballots in which his name appeared together with the names of Candidates Smith and Brown, with Candidate Smith minus Brown, with Candidate Brown minus Smith, and so on in every probable and improbable combination. If none of the printed ballots satisfied the voter's fastidious taste, he was at liberty to use shears and paste and prepare himself a new ballot out of the pieces of several old ones. A few voters did so.

During the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884 we are told that "there were many varieties of ticket, straight, independent, mixed, bogus, counterfeit, and otherwise.... all sorts of irregular ballots calculated to deceive the unsuspecting voter."^{34.}

Local elections were not less puzzling. In the same year, 1884, the candidates for alderman in Ward Six prepared six different tickets: one was called "The Regular Ticket," another was "The Citizen's Ticket," another was "Regular Citizen's," another was "Independent Citizen's" and two others styled themselves "Regular Independent," whatever that might be. Yet there were only two candidates for alderman from that ward. Each of these was simply giving his fellow citizens the opportunity to vote for him in conjunction with three different sets of candidates for mayor and common council.^{35.}

In Ward One the confusion that year was even worse. There were six straight tickets in the field, namely "The People's Ticket," "The People's Nomination," "The Independent Ticket," "The Independent Nomination Ticket," "The Citizen's Independent Ticket," and "The mugwump Ticket." Besides these, there were five "split" tickets and a profusion of "stickers."^{35.}

34. City Press, Nov. 1884.

35. Malden Mirror, Dec. 6, 1884.

Despite this complicated situation the press of that day had not a word to say about any voter being misled or confused. In the absence of contemporary comment to the contrary, one is forced to assume that the voters of that day managed somehow to pick their way through the political maze and to vote for the candidates whom they really wanted to vote for. Their intelligence was apparently equal to the test.

b. The Introduction of the Australian Ballot, 1889.

In the fall of 1889 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts made use for the first time of what was called the "Australian system" of voting. The voters received a ballot form, containing the names of all the candidates who had complied with nomination requirements and he marked it in the privacy of the voting booth. This freed the voter from influence and intimidation, and encouraged him to think independently. It also made bribery unprofitable, since it was impossible to determine whether a paid voter had "delivered the goods."

The press of the day was at first opposed to this innovation. "The more the Australian system of voting is considered, the more serious are the objections." Among the

36. City Press, Jan. 5, 1889.

Despite this complicated situation, it seems that
they had not a word to say about the voting system
used. In the absence of a satisfactory system, it was
necessary, and in fact, to assume that the voters of the
district would be able to elect their representatives
and to vote for the candidates who they really
wanted to vote for. Their intelligence was apparently
equal to the task.

The introduction of the Australian system,
in the fall of 1901, was a result of the
fact that the first time it was used the
"first system" of voting, the voters received a ballot
containing the names of all the candidates who had
been nominated, and the voters were to mark it by
drawing a line through the names of the candidates
for whom they voted. This system was found to be
inconvenient and inefficient, and was replaced by the
"secret ballot" system. It was also found that the
secret ballot was not always used, and that the
voters were sometimes influenced by the names of the
candidates who were on the ballot.

The purpose of the system was to give the voters
the right to vote for the candidates of their
choice, and to prevent the influence of the
candidates who were on the ballot.

objections noted were the expense, the inconvenience, the increased power of the caucus, the difficulty of obtaining the necessary signatures for a nomination, and an arbitrary ruling of the attorney-general to the effect that a vote was invalid if the cross was hastily or incompletely made.^{37.} After the election, the same newspaper admitted editorially that it was happily disappointed in the working of the "Australian system," stating that it was much simpler than many had been led to believe, it gave each voter a feeling of unusual independence, it did away with a multitude of ballots and ballot distributors, and it made the polling places quiet and orderly.^{38.}

It may or may not be significant that 1890, the year following the state-wide adoption of the secret ballot, was marked by a Democratic landslide. William E. Russell was the first Democratic governor elected since "Ben" Butler had had the endorsement of two other parties besides the Democratic. Malden, which was habitually Republican, gave Russell the unusual number of 1387 votes against 1603 for the Republican candidate, and sent to the General Court one Democratic and one Republican representative instead of the customary two Republicans. The Malden Mirror attributed the Democratic victory, among other factors, to "the secrecy of the Australian ballot."^{39.}

37. City Press, Oct. 26, 1889

38. City Press, Nov. 9, 1889.

39. Malden Mirror, Nov. 8, 1890.

objectors noted were the expense, the inconvenience, the
 reduced power of the census, the difficulty of obtain-
 ing the necessary information for a modification, and the
 arbitrary ruling of the minority-party in the event
 that a vote was given to the census was not to be
 completely reliable. After the election, the census is
 admitted reluctantly that it was largely discredited in
 the opinion of the "unbiased" voters, stating that it was
 much cheaper than any yet been put in before, it gave
 each voter a feeling of personal independence, it was
 with a minimum of delay and delay distribution, and
 it made the voting process quiet and orderly.
 It may or may not be sufficient that in 1900, the year
 following the election, a number of the census takers
 were noted by a few hundred people, William A. Russell
 and the other Democratic members noted a large "No" vote
 for and the endorsement of the census by the people
 the Democratic, which was especially noticeable,
 gave itself the unusual number of 1000 votes against the
 for the Republican candidate, and went to the Democrat, and
 the Democrats and the Republican representatives
 of the majority, the Republican, the National Union
 used the Republican voters, among other factors, to the
 success of the Republican cause.

City House, Oct. 20, 1899
 City House, Nov. 1, 1900
 City House, Nov. 1, 1900

c. Present Day Ballot - Referenda and Public Policy Questions.

The ballot form used during the last ten years differs from that used in the 1890's chiefly by the addition of the initiative, referendum, and public-policy features. A generation ago the only direct legislation expected of the voters was to decide whether or not the city should license the sale of intoxicating liquors. This "local option" question was included in the ballot at each city election; it was not combined with other and irrelevant matters. Nowadays the voters are expected to express their opinions at the biennial state election upon a considerable number of problems, ranging from matters of purely local interest to matters of state, national, and even international importance.

During the last ten years the citizens of Malden have been asked to vote upon the following questions: Sunday Sports, Plan D of municipal government, the two-platoon system for firemen, one day off in eight for policemen, biennial city elections, a state boxing commission, daylight saving, repeal of Prohibition, repeal of the State Volstead Act, legalization of light wines and beer, capital punishment, the League of Nations, and many others. The last two were "public-policy questions" and Malden was probably the only city in the Commonwealth to vote

of the present day. The subject - between the two policy questions.

The policy for the last ten years has been

to have been the same as the 1950's, namely, by the addition

of the initiative, referendum, and public-policy question.

A general election was held in 1950, and the initiative

was not passed. The initiative was not passed in 1950.

The initiative was not passed in 1950.

The initiative was not passed in 1950.

The initiative was not passed in 1950.

The initiative was not passed in 1950.

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The initiative was not passed in 1950.

The initiative was not passed in 1950.

upon them. For the purpose of illustration the last of these is quoted in full.

"Shall Malden's Representatives in the General Court be instructed to vote for Resolutions Requesting the President and Senate of the United States to take steps to bring the United States into full co-operation, participation and membership in the League of Nations with the explanatory reservation that the United States shall not engage in war with any nation except by vote of Congress as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and such other explanatory reservations as they deem wise?"

Disregarding the merits of the movement to join the League, and disregarding also effectiveness of such a circuitous method of influencing legislation, the inclusion of the foregoing question in the ballot takes several things for granted: first, that the voters understand the wording of the question, with its reservations; second, that they are interested enough to vote upon it; and third, that they are possessed of a mature and informed opinion regarding the international policy of the United States. That seems to be assuming a good deal.

So far as legal phraseology is concerned, the question just quoted is one of the simplest. Many of the referenda are incomprehensible to a layman. That this difficulty is realized by the state authorities is shown

upon them. For the purpose of illustration the fact of
them is noted in this.

"Chief Justice's representation in the general

view of the situation is that the American people

are not in a position to take any action at this

stage so long as the United States is not

politically and economically in the hands of the

the extreme of conservatism that the United States

not ready to go into any action until it is

ready to proceed in the direction of the United States

and even after that the representation is that the

disposition of the matter of the movement is to

be made, and the disposition of the matter of the

national matter of the American people, the

of the American people is the matter of the

which the American people, and the American

matter of the American people, and the

that the American people, and the

that the American people, and the

regarding the American people, and the

that the American people, and the

so far as the American people is concerned, the

the American people is one of the

the American people is one of the

the American people is one of the

the American people is one of the

by the biennial distribution to each voter of a pamphlet explaining the referenda in non-technical language and containing arguments pro and con. Nobody knows, of course, how many voters take the time and trouble to read this pamphlet, or how many have the intelligence to understand it.

d. The Increase in Blank Voting.

We do know, however, that a large proportion of the electorate simply ignore these questions when they are marking their ballots. Consider, for an example, the year 1922. In that year the ballot contained five referenda, and the explanatory pamphlet contained forty-four pages of fine print. More than eleven thousand voters went to the polls in Malden, and between seven and eight thousand of them voted on each question. The three or four thousand blanks might in many cases have turned the decision if they had all been voted the same way. The two-platoon system for firemen, a local problem which had been persistently agitated and advertised for three years, drew 658 blanks in 1919, 1925 blanks in 1920, and 2300 blanks in 1922, the year in which it was finally adopted. The so-called "Baby Volstead Act" was also on the ballot in 1922 and was the subject of keen controversy. 4897 voted "Yes," 4706 voted "No", and over two thousand did not vote at all. Obviously the blanks held the balance of power.

by the physical distinction to each copy of a paragraph
 explaining the relevance to non-physical language and
 containing arguments for and against. Finally, however, of course,
 let's not forget that the line and circle to read is
 highlighted, and that only have the intelligence to understand it.

4. The Issue as it stands today.

As the issue, however, with a large proportion of the
 electorate clearly having been questioned who have not
 marked their ballot. Therefore, for an example, the year
 1982. It is that year the ballot contained the relevant
 and the electorate expressed a negative reaction to the
 time order. Now that shows important values went to the
 point of the matter, and indeed have not slight movement of
 their votes as seen previously. The issue of the election
 is the right to vote once more during the election of
 their own will with the new way. The two-thirds vote
 for the issue, a total number which has been previously
 is rejected and overturned for those years, from the election
 in 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1974, and 1975. It is 1975, the
 year in which it was finally accepted. The so-called "body
 vote" was also on the ballot in 1982 and was the
 subject of the "body vote". Body vote "Yes", 4708 votes
 "No", and over the 100,000 that was at all. Obviously
 the election is the balance of power.

At the last state election, 1930, when 16,720 voters went to the polls, the following votes were cast on the referenda.

	<u>Yes.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Blanks.</u>
Division of representative districts.	5146	1966	9608
Repeal of the liquor law.	7458	5609	3653
Steel trap law.	7972	2872	5876

The first of these referenda, on which more than half of the voters declined to express an opinion, contained by count over six hundred words. Certainly it could not be studied and understood in the ten minutes (five minutes if the other booths are filled and voters are waiting to use them) which a citizen is allowed by law for the act of voting.^{40.}

At the same election exactly 18,000 blanks were cast for representative in the General Court, the voters being permitted to vote for three.

That represents the high water mark in blank balloting, and seems to indicate that the proportion of blanks is, if anything, on the increase.

e. The Significance of the Blanks; Ballot Form Too Difficult.

What is the significance of these blanks? May they be ascribed to lack of interest, of information, or of

40. Cook, Frederick W. "The Massachusetts Voter" p. 11.

At the last state election, 1950, when 18,700 voters
cast their ballots, the following votes were cast on the

referendum,

Year	For	Against
1950	14,482	4,218
1952	15,000	3,700
1954	15,700	3,000

The first of these referendums, on which was cast

half of the voters qualified to express an opinion, was

passed by a vote of 14,482 to 4,218. Certainly it seems

that as of this and subsequent in the last election (1954)

against it the vote was 15,000 to 3,700 and against the vote

in 1954 was 15,700 to 3,000. It is evident that the vote

has not changed.

At the same election, 1954, the voters were asked

for referendum in the general election, the voters being

permitted to vote for either.

That represents the high water mark in black ballot-

ing, and seems to indicate that the proposition of blacks

is, if anything, on the increase.

2. The significance of the election; failure to indicate

that in the significance of these figures, they may

be regarded as lack of interest, or indifference, or of

intelligence? The Boston Herald discussed this question in a recent editorial entitled "Prohibition Blanks," from which the following excerpts are taken.

"Most of the intelligent people of the community are presumed to have reached definite conclusions on the merits of prohibition. If not in public, at least in the seclusion of the balloting booth they are supposed to be willing to be wet or dry on such a sharply defined issue..... But evidence to the contrary is strong here in Massachusetts.....What is to be said when, on a phase of prohibition, the blank ballots are in the hundreds of thousands?

"Take, for example, the 1928 election, in which the Massachusetts ballot contained a proposal to memorialize Congress for the repeal of the eighteenth amendment. The number of blanks was 392,000. That is an astonishing total in a grand vote of 1,610,000, especially when compared to the 73,000 blanks in the vote for governor and the 85,100 in the contest for senator.

"The figures of 1930 are not so striking, but yet are surprisingly large. As against 25,100 voters who did not express their preference for either Gov. Allen or Mr. Ely, and 43,100 who voted neither for William M. Butler nor Marcus A. Coolidge, 232,000 of the 1,225,000 visiting the polls did not go to the trouble of voting on the question of repealing the state enforcement act. In 1928, that is,

intelligent? The Boston Herald discussed this question
in a recent editorial entitled "Prohibition Status,"
from which the following excerpts are taken.
"Most of the intelligent people of the community are
prepared to have reasoned definite conclusions on the merits
of prohibition. It not to public, at least in the near-
past of the national health they are supposed to be will-
ing to be set on fire or such a sharply defined issue....
But evidence to the contrary is strong here in Massachu-
setts.....What is to be said then, on a basis of proba-
bility, the black belts are the most numerous of Americans;
there, for example, the 1900 election, in which the
Massachusetts Relief Committee a proposal to amend the
Constitution for the repeal of the prohibition amendment. The
number of votes was 300,000. That is an extraordinary re-
sult in a grand vote of 1,000,000, especially when compared
to the 75,000 votes in the vote for Governor and the
the 100 in the election for Senator.
"The figures of 1900 are not to be forgotten, but yet
are remarkably large. As against 25,000 votes who did
not express their preference for either Mr. Allen or Mr.
Ly, and 25,000 who voted neither for William D. Allen nor
for Mr. A. J. Thayer, 250,000 of the 1,000,000 voting the
votes did not go to the trouble of voting on the question
of repealing the above amendment etc. In 1900, then, is

the blanks on prohibition were 22 per cent. of all ballots cast, and last year 19 per cent.

"When the most controversial issue which has arisen in a decade.....interests only 80 per cent. of the people who vote on other matters, what is the explanation? Did they have no interest in prohibition?.....Did the wording of the referendum deter them, or did it escape them because of the position which it occupied on the ballot? Or were they so wearied of the whole subject that, in disgust, they ignored it?

"Clearly enough, then, the excellent groups who desire to have public opinion assert itself in full force have three difficult problems. One is to register all persons who are eligible to vote. Another is to get them to the polls regularly. The third is to induce them to vote on every subject when they take up their pencils." 41.

The foregoing editorial has been quoted extensively because it shows that the situation which has just been described as existing in Malden is also state-wide. The editorialist raises the same questions concerning it that we have raised, but does not suggest any answers.

Walter Lippmann declares that the same indifference to the initiative and referendum is to be found in Switzerland, where they have been in use for many years. 42.

41. Boston Herald, January 1931.

42. Lippmann, Walter, "Phantom Public" p. 19

The blanks on production were 25 per cent, of all blanks
sent, and last year 15 per cent.

"When the most successful leave which has arisen
in a decade.... In fact, only 15 per cent, of the blanks
the rate of other matters, and in the explanation, all
they have no interest in production.... Did the results
of the production matter then, or did it matter the amount
of the production which is necessary to the industry? It was
not so much of the whole subject that, in fact,
that is the point?"

"Of course, when, the subject is not the
also to have a similar opinion about it in the future
have some different problems. The is to produce all the
some who are eligible in the, and it is to be done in
the public service. The third is to reduce the rate
of the subject and the rate of the service."

The foregoing statement has been quoted extensively
because it shows that the situation which has just been
mentioned as existing in Britain is also existing in
Australia. It raises the same question concerning it that
we have raised, but does not suggest any answer.
The speaker suggests that the same indifference
to the initiative and responsibility to be found in Britain
also, where there have been in our own history."

Comparing the last decade with 1881-1890, we find that very few blanks were cast during the earlier period, either in electing candidates to office or in deciding the question of local option. Never were these blanks numerous enough to have affected the decision if they had been cast.

On the whole, it seems that the ballot form in use today makes greater demands upon the intelligence of the voter than did the ballot form in use a generation ago. That is due chiefly to the addition of the referendum, initiative, and public policy features.

Comparing the last decade with 1961-1960, we find
that very few kinds were lost during the earlier period,
either in electing candidates to office or in deciding
the results of local option. Never were there
elections enough to have affected the results if they had
been any.

On the whole, it seems that the ballot box is not
today more honest than the intelligence of the
voter. There is the ballot box in use a generation ago,
that is the only one in the history of the country, the
initiative, and public policy, limited.

3. Independent Voting.

a. Vote-splitting As an Indication of Intelligence.

Before leaving the study of voting statistics in Malden, we must also consider the evidence of vote-splitting or "scratching the ticket." The willingness to desert, temporarily at least, one's usual political affiliations and cast a vote for the candidate of another party when the latter individual possesses qualifications clearly superior to the nominee of one's own party has generally been regarded as an indication of independent thinking and broadmindedness. During the last decade the ballot form used in this state and nationally known as the "Massachusetts type of ballot" was designed to foster such independence. It does not group all the candidates of a party under one heading so that the sluggish voter may easily check the whole slate with a single cross; it lists all candidates alphabetically with the party labels following the names so that the voter is forced to mark each name separately. Has this device been effective in encouraging independent voting?

The authors of "Middletown" write, "A person's party is usually determined, like his religion, by his family."^{43.}

43. Lynd, Robert S. and Helen Merrell. "Middletown" Ch. 24.

Independent Voters

1. Voters/There is an indication of indifference.

While knowing the state of affairs situation is

being, we also consider the evidence of vote-

giving or "voluntary" the time. The willingness to

hear, especially at last, one's usual political atti-

tion and not a vote for the candidate of another party

and the latest political processes complicated along

by reaction to the number of men's own party and generally

been reported as an indicator of independent thinking and

independence. During the last years the belief has

been in this state and nationally known as the "Newman-

state" of belief and reaction to the state and indepen-

dence. It has not only all the conditions of a party

but the reaction to that the elected voter may easily

be known and state with a little more it lists all the

of other circumstances and the state's history and

more to that the state is known as with some measure

2. The state's past attitude is becoming more

independent voters

The nature of "independent" voters, a person's party

is usually determined, like his politics, by his family.

3. The state's past attitude is becoming more

They found in their typical midwestern community little or no tendency to jump over the party lines. Whole families tended to vote the same way; the son inherited the father's or even the grandfather's party beliefs and prejudices and clung to them tenaciously all his life. Kent defines a party man as "one who regardless of his party's sins and shortcomings, regardless of its record, regardless of its principles and politics, regardless of everything and everybody, with unvarying regularity and unshakable loyalty supports his party candidates after they are nominated and votes his party ticket on election day."⁴⁴

b. Party Loyalty, 1881 - 1890 and 1921 - 1930.

Are these assertions true of Malden voters, and, if so, do they apply with equal force to both 1881-1890 and to 1921-1930? The national political parties have never been involved in the city elections of Malden, and presidential elections are infrequent, so attention may be confined to the state elections. As these used to take place annually, the last five state elections of the earlier decade will be selected for comparison with the five biennial elections of the later decade. The gubernatorial vote follows:

44. Kent, "Political Behavior" p. 19.

They found in their typical adolescent community little
or no tendency to jump over the party lines. When
factions tended to vote the same way; the two
factions of the party or even the general public's beliefs
and preferences and along to their commonality all the time.
They believed a party was an "old" who represented an
idea, a plan and a philosophy, regardless of the person,
representative of the principles and policies, regardless of
everything and everybody, with many things representing and
unrepresentable things. They said his party could be an idea
that was dominant and vote in his party stood on their
own feet.

II. Party System, 1901 - 1920 and 1921 - 1930.

For these reasons, some of the party system, and, it
is, the party system which came to this party system and
in 1901-1920. The party system had never
been involved in the party system of the party, and party-
based elections are important, so attention may be
confined to the party system. In these years to take
place annually, the party system election of the party-
based election will be selected for comparison with the party-
based election of the party system. The party system
will vote for the party.

	<u>Republican.</u>	<u>Democratic.</u>
1886	1524	1060
1887	1509	905
1888	2002	1371
1889	1403	968
1890	1603	1197

1922	6469	4606
1924	9933	4847
1926	9387	3555
1928	11,304	9430
1930	8609	7485

During the years 1886-1890 the proportion of three to two seems to be fairly constant. The same proportion held for other offices besides that of governor, the variation being usually only a few votes. The introduction of the Australian ballot in 1889 apparently made no difference. In 1890, however, when there was a democratic landslide throughout the state, Malden voters broke away from party lines in electing representatives to the General Court, the vote being as below.

Barrett	(Democrat)	1614)) elected.
Turner	(Republican)	1525)	
Cobb	(Republican)	1194	

This was the only time in the five years that party lines were effectively broken.

During the last ten years the irregularity has been much more marked than in the 1880's. For example, the years 1924 and 1926 show a heavy vote for Alvan T. Fuller (Republican), a native son of Malden and a great favorite with its citizens, for the office of governor, and at the same time a heavy vote for David I. Walsh (Democrat) for the office of United States senator. Both were elected. The senatorial vote follows:

	<u>Republican.</u>	<u>Democratic.</u>
1924	7726	6334
1926	6394	6406

The year 1930 was marked by further irregularity, resulting in the election of a Democratic governor and a Republican lieutenant-governor; the United States senator elected that year was Democratic, the Congressman from Malden district was Republican, the state senator was Republican, and the Malden representatives were divided, as were also the minor elected state executives. The vote in Malden follows. Stars mark those who were elected.

	<u>Republican.</u>	<u>Democratic.</u>
Governor	8608	7485 *
Lieutenatn-governor	8617 *	7010
Secretary	8408 *	6726
Treasurer	7025	7930 *
Auditor	8098	7026 *
Attorney-General	8643 *	6528
U. S. Senator	7920	8087 *
Congressman	8468 *	7411
State senator	8241 *	7247
State representatives	7556	8877 *
" "	7673 *	(no candidate)
" "	7817 *	" "

Voters who cross party lines as easily as that cannot be called party-bound. Nothing to match this as an exhibition of independent voting can be found in the 1881-1890 decade.

4. Summary of Conclusions from Study of Election Statistics.

What conclusions, if any, may justifiably be drawn from this section of the thesis? Of course, no conclusions based upon such meagre data can have very widespread validity; they would need to be confirmed by the study of other communities besides Malden. But the following facts seem to be suggested.

1. About the same proportion of eligible males registered in 1921-1930 as in 1881-1890, and about the same proportion of registered voters went to the polls.
2. A somewhat smaller proportion of women registered in 1921-1930 than men, and a somewhat smaller proportion of women voters went to the polls than registered men voters.
3. In both periods the greatest interest was shown in presidential years, and more interest was shown in state than in city elections. The least interest of all was shown in primary elections.
4. The ballot form of 1921-1930 was more difficult than that of 1881-1890, and that is shown by the greater number of blanks cast.
5. Party lines were generally observed in both periods, but with less regularity in recent years.

1. Summary of findings in the study of the 1950-1954 period.

From this study of the 1950-1954 period, it appears that the number of cases of disease has been relatively stable, but the incidence of disease has been increasing. This is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing.

2. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing.

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5. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing. The incidence of disease has been increasing from 1950 to 1954, and this is due to the fact that the population has been increasing, and the incidence of disease has been increasing.

Up to this point there is nothing to indicate that the voters of today do not possess as much interest and intelligence in political matters as did the voters of a generation ago. On the contrary, several things may be said in favor of the present. First, a large portion of the population, the women, are taking an interest in politics which their mothers never took; the intelligence of the feminine vote will be discussed later. Second, the voters are now struggling with problems of direct legislation which were never presented to a previous generation. Finally, there is an increasing amount of independent voting.

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the voters of today do not possess as much talent and
intelligence as political matters as did the voters of a
generation ago. On the contrary, several things may be
said in favor of the present. First, a large portion of
the population, the women, are having an interest in
politics which their fathers never had; the intelligence
of the American vote will be increased later, doubtless.
The voters are now struggling with problems of almost
legislative scope which were never presented to a previous gen-
eration. Finally, there is an increasing number of edu-
cated voters.

5. How the Voters Obtained Their Information.

a. First Hand Information.

Interest and intelligent judgment in political affairs are necessarily dependent upon the quantity and character of information available to the voters. How have Malden people obtained their political information in both decades? Some of it has been from direct, personal contact, but the chief sources seem to have been conversation with fellow citizens and reading the newspapers. Speeches, handbills, posters, and similar devices of the political campaigner have held, we believe, a subordinate position.

Prior to 1882 citizens could obtain much information at first hand from attending the town meetings. As the town's business increased, meetings were held more and more often, reaching a total of ten in the year 1881. Voters were beginning to lose interest in them, although a few score could be counted upon to attend any meeting. Perhaps they had nothing else to do. Today very few people attend the meetings and hearings of the city government; they learn about them, if at all, from reports in the daily papers. Probably every member of the first

2. How the Veterans Obtained Their Information

a. First Hand Information

Interest and intelligent judgment in politics will
leave no man uninterested in the question of
character of information available to the voters. The
have always been interested in political information
in both directions. Some of it has been from direct per-
sonal contact, but the most common source is from
communication with fellow citizens and reading the news-
papers. The news, however, is not always the same
from all sources. The political campaign has been
a subject of discussion.
Prior to 1900 citizens would obtain their information
from at first hand from attending the town meeting. At
the town's business increased, meetings were held more and
more often, reaching a peak of ten in the year 1911.
Veterans were considered to have interest in them, especially
the more so as they were to attend and assist.
Perhaps they had nothing else to do. They were the people
attending the meetings and the men of the 11th November.
They were about 100,000 in all. They were in the
daily papers. Probably every member of the 11th

city government in 1882 was known personally to all his fellow citizens, at least by sight. That is not true of the present city government.

In earlier days, when life was more leisurely and the community was more neighborly, conversation may have played a more important part. Such, at least, is the opinion of old residents, who recall that men and measures were freely and frequently discussed on street corners, in waiting rooms and trains, in taverns, barber shops, and at the cobblers, wherever men were accustomed to congregate. Nowadays sport, movies, radio, and business competition are thought to divide the field of interest. All of this, however, is conjectural.

b. The Role Played by the Press; Criticisms of the Press.

The most tangible, if not the most important, agent for spreading political information and forming public opinion has been the newspapers, and their influence seems to be on the increase. "The press," write the Lynds, "becomes more and more an essential community necessity in the conduct of group affairs."⁴⁵ The following tribute is paid by David Snedden, "In spite of instances and occasional tendencies of a harmful character, the American press has contributed immeasurably to the upbuilding of intelligent

45. Lynd, Robert S. and Helen Merrell, "Middletown" ch. 24.

civic consciousness and ideals." ^{46.} On the other hand, the press has been the subject of un-sparing criticism. Here are some typical selections.

"The leader in crowd-thinking par excellence is the daily newspaper. With few exceptions our journals emit hardly anything but crowd-ideas. These great 'moulders of public opinion' reveal every characteristic of the vulgar mob orator. The character of the writing commonly has the standards and prejudices of the 'man in the street'Newspaper democracy demands that everything more exalted than the level of the lowest cranial altitude be left out. The average result is a deluge of sensational scandal, class prejudice, and special pleading clumsily disguised with a saccharine smear of the cheapest moral platitude.....Our mob today is no longer merely tramping the streets. We have it at the breakfast table, in the subway, alike in the shop and boudoir and office -- wherever, in fact, the newspaper goes." ^{47.}

A political reporter of long experience speaks thus; "The number of newspapers which supply even reasonably accurate, adequate, and fair political information can be counted on the fingers of one hand.....The space given to crime, comics, sport, fiction, and features has increased; that to Congress and even to local politics has decreased...

46. Snedden, David, "Civic Education" p. 8.

47. Martin, Everett Dean, "Behavior of Crowds" p. 45-47.

There is in the United States today hardly a paper that does not give four times the space to sports that it does to national and international politics."^{48.}

Do these descriptions fit the Malden newspapers? A careful examination of every edition from 1881 to 1890 and of many editions between 1921 and 1930 leaves this writer quite clearly of the opinion that the foregoing criticisms are not justified, at least in Malden.

c. Malden Newspapers, 1881 - 1890.

The Malden City Press, published weekly in Malden from October 2, 1880, to August 24, 1895, was owned by Benjamin Johnson, a Malden man who also published "The New England Grocer" in Boston and had other newspaper ventures, and edited by Aaron C. Dowse, another Malden man who had had experience on several different papers. The first edition contains this editorial leader: "While possessing opinions of our own on political and religious matters, we shall not intrude them upon our readers, but shall accord to every man, be he Republican or Democrat, Calvinist, Liberal, or Catholic, the same conscientiousness of purpose and honesty of motive which we claim for ourselves."^{49.}

Within a year this policy of the City Press was tested

48. Kent, Frank, "Political Behavior." p. 77-78.

49. City Press, Oct. 2, 1890.

in a heated local controversy. The Press reasserted its impartiality with the words, "We have freely opened our columns for the presentation, by both parties at issue, of the facts connected with the school trouble at Maplewood. This we have done because the Press is a newspaper."^{50.} There followed two columns of letters from citizens favoring both sides of the dispute, and the next week's edition contained three columns more. The same policy was observed, with a few exceptions, throughout the paper's existence.

The Malden Mirror, published weekly in Malden from May 17, 1871 to March 14, 1914, and then continued under the name of the Malden Free Press until March 18, 1921, was edited for many years by H. C. Gray. It was more of an example of personal journalism than the City Press. It contained no editorials as such, but editorial comment was indistinguishable from news matter, and the vitriolic pen of the editor was evident throughout. Here is a specimen of his writing:

"Frederick M. Noyes was first appointed chief of police of the town of Malden in May, 1876. At the end of eleven months from that time he retired in disgrace, March 27, 1877, after repeated demands for his resignation by the board of selectmen of that year. During his brief

50. City Press, March 5, 1881

official term he gained a reputation for untruthfulness, trickery, deceit, and incompetency equalled by few and we think excelled by none. The feeling against him at that time was so strong that at a town meeting he was greeted with a perfect tornado of hisses, which ceased only when he withdrew. Through some mysterious means and to the surprise of every good citizen this obnoxious individual was again appointed chief of police by the present board of selectmen, by removing an official of unquestioned ability.^{51.}"

That was going rather far, even for the strongly partisan Mr. Gray, and, a little later, after accusing the chief of improper relations with his female prisoners, the editor became involved in a libel suit and found it expedient to sell his paper and leave town. He returned, however, after things had quieted down, repurchased the Mirror, and resumed his reign of personal journalism. Anything comparable to Mr. Gray and his paper would be difficult to discover nowadays.

The Malden Evening News, published daily excepting Sundays since March 23, 1893, has had practically undisputed control of the newspaper field in Malden during the last fifteen years. Its editor, Frank A. Bayrd, has

51. Malden Mirror, Nov. 5, 1881.

served as representative in the General Court, and always shown keen interest in political matters. In local politics, however, the attitude of the News is strictly impartial. Neither the editorials nor the news columns expresses any preference among the local candidates. On the morning of the day before election, Mr. Bayrd is accustomed to summon the leading candidates to his office for the purpose of examining each other's advertisements, thus preventing any "roor-backs" or last-minute charges that cannot be answered.

d. Political News and Advertising,

1881 - 1890 and 1921 - 1930.

In national politics all three of these newspapers have been Republican and "dry." In these respects they seem to have respected the existing sentiment of the community rather than to have attempted to mould it. In recent years, since the sentiment of the city has seemed doubtful and changeable, the News has been less aggressive in its opinions.

During the 1880's temperance and liquor reform could command any amount of space in the Malden papers. Proceedings of temperance societies were reported in full, and they were usually "front page stuff." One edition of

the City Press gave over the entire first page to a temper-^{52.}ance address of some six thousand words. Neither of the weeklies ever printed a line of liquor advertising, although such advertising was always well and promptly paid and must have been a temptation when money was scarce.

Other matters of political interest were given generous publicity. During 1881, the proposed city charter was published in full, together with letters for and against it, interviews with leading citizens favoring it or disapproving of it, and reports of hearings on the matter at the town hall and at the state house. The "police row" and the "school row" which dominated the politics of the period as will be related further on, were more than adequately aired in print. Almost anyone apparently could get a letter printed on any subject. Many of these letters, by the way, were anonymous; the News today refuses to print any communication without including the writer's name.

So far as newspapers have been concerned, no one in Malden who has wanted to get his facts and opinions before the public has ever had anything to complain of. When no information was volunteered, the papers have been enterprising enough to solicit it, and they have, on the whole, exercised a commendable impartiality in their method of

52. City Press, Nov. 4, 1882.

presentation. Meetings, hearings, and rallies have been thoroughly reported, although in recent years the election campaigns have had to surrender most of the front page to news of football, which unfortunately comes at the same season.

A noticeable difference between the previous weeklies and the present daily is in the political advertising. From 1881 to 1890 scarcely an inch of advertising was purchased by local candidates and there was very little advertising paid for by the national political parties, although the papers printed many catch lines, such as "Vote for Lodge," on their own responsibility. Nowadays the local candidates are eager to pay for the privilege of telling the public all about their lives, principles, and personal opinions.

e. Other Means of Spreading Information.

The radio has not yet been used in any local Malden campaign and the only Malden candidate to speak over it was Ex-Mayor John D. Devir in his unsuccessful attempt to obtain the Republican nomination for governor in 1930. How many Malden people listen to the broadcasts of state and national politics and how much influence these broadcasts have with their hearers is of course wholly incalculable.

Posters and circular letters are used more and more because of the increase in the population and the difficulty of coming into contact with all of its members. Their character and appeal are about the same, however, as in the 1880's.

Not only has information been available for the voter who sought for it, but much information and perhaps some mis-information has been thrust at him whether he wanted it or not. Appeals have been made to his intelligence, to his prejudices, and to his emotions. Which kind of appeal has predominated, the intellectual or the emotional? Which kind is on the increase? Which is apparently the most successful? While these questions cannot be answered very objectively, they are most critical and will be ^{the} subject of the next section of this study.

6. Appeals to Emotion and Prejudice.

a. Emotion Versus Intelligence.

"A self-governing individual," writes Arthur T. Hadley, "is one who.....is trained to use his intelligence... Any other form of government leaves them (the citizens) a prey to emotion instead of making them capable of intelligent choice for themselves."^{53.}

Frank Kent states bluntly that "the great mass of voters must be reached through their emotions,"^{54.} and he adds, "It can be proved in a hundred ways that the voters are reached almost exclusively through their prejudices."^{55.} He believes with Barnum that the American people like to be fooled and that the politician who loses sight of that principle is doomed to failure. Of course the candidate for office must seem to appeal to the voters' intelligence in order to flatter them and also because there really is an intelligent minority in the community, whose votes might be the deciding factor in a close campaign. "There is no greater political mistake than to over-estimate the intelligence of your constituents. It is all right-- perhaps it is necessary-- to tell them that they are intelligent, but it is a mistake to proceed upon that theory.

53. Hadley, Arthur T., "Training in Political Intelligence" Yale Review, July, 1928, p. 628.

54. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior" p. 104.

55. Ibid. p. 278

They do not want to be instructed. They do not want information or argument or facts. They want hokum."^{56.} "The voters always want hokum and their capacity for its absorption is practically without limit. They would like it even if they recognized it as hokum, but they never do. It is literally amazing the sort of stuff that can be fed to the average American audience without straining its credulity or causing it to gag."^{57.}

Others have stated the case with the same emphasis. Everett Dean Martin says, "The councils of democracy are conducted on about the psychological level of commercial advertising and with about the same degree of sincerity."^{58.} "The feelings of the crowd are dulled, since it is only the obvious, the cheaply sentimental, which easily moves it."^{59.}

Not logic or sincerity but showmanship, it is claimed, is the appeal that wins votes. "As a political asset the ability to dramatize your issue or yourself is hard to beat. It is worth any amount of arguments, statistics, facts."^{60.} "One of the surest ways to succeed in politics, one of the most effective ways of overcoming odds in a political campaign, is to give the people a good show. Give them a really good show and they will warm to you, rally around you, support you. At the bottom what they want is

56. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior" p. 149.

57. Ibid. p. 148

58. Martin, Everett Dean. "Behavior of Crowds" p. 7.

59. Ibid. p. 19

60. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior." p. 101.

to be amused, not instructed...Personalities and prejudices are the two things that in normal times really stir their blood and other things being relatively equal it is the candidate who gives the best show who brings home the bacon."^{61.}

b. Difficulty of Obtaining Evidence

Newspaper reports of recent mayoralty campaigns in Chicago and other big cities might incline one to believe that these statements are not much overdrawn. This study, however, is limited to the one community of Malden. What evidence can be found in Malden for the truth of these assertions? This writer can only say that a diligent search of newspaper files covering a period of twenty years has brought to light very little that can be called significant. Kent put his finger on the difficulty when he said, "It is not possible openly and grossly to appeal to prejudice through the newspapers, through the mails, or on the stump, without outraging the decent elements of the community."^{62.}

For example, this writer is convinced and the citizens of Malden generally believe that a prominent candidate for mayor of the city was defeated in 1924 by a "whispering campaign." He was the son of a former mayor, had

61. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior." p. 97-98.

62. Ibid. p. 278.

served with distinction in the city council, and was logically an aspirant for promotion, but word was passed around that he was addicted to liquor and enough of the church and prohibition element turned out to defeat him. Yet not a word as ^{to} the real reason for the first man's defeat was ever printed, nothing was said about it from the platform, and no responsible person can be found to sponsor the statement that he was defeated on account of alleged personal habits. It is one of those things that are true but cannot be proved.

We are confined perforce to cases for which evidence can be found in printed form, and these are rather few.

c. Appeals to Party Spirit, 1881 - 1890.

One recognized way of appealing to the emotions and prejudices is to invoke the name of party spirit and party loyalty. Such appeals have been common in the state and national campaigns of both decades, although they have been rather thinly disguised under the garb of reason, with an apparent show of impartiality. Thus the City Press could print in 1888: "The Press is an independent paper and is the organ of no party. We believe, however, that it is the duty of every patriotic American to rise up and protest against the free trade tendencies of the

served with distinction in the city council, and was logical
ally an advocate for promotion, but was passed around
that he was entitled to it only because of the amount
and production of work done. He was not to be defeated here. Yet not
a word as to the real reason for the first man's defeat was
ever mentioned, nothing was said about it from the district,
and no responsible person was found to answer for
statement that he was entitled to a salary of \$10,000 per
month salary. It is one of those things that are true
but cannot be proved.
We are concerned with the cause for which evidence
can be found in public records, and there are many ways.

c. Appeals to Public Opinion, 1901 - 1902.

The recognized way of appealing to the masses and
prejudices is to touch the sense of right and wrong
of the people. Some appeals have been made in the state and
national campaigns of both decades, although they have
been rather lightly discussed within the last of them.
with an important sense of responsibility. Thus the city
could prove in 1902: "The issue is an independent power
and in the eyes of no party. We believe, however, that
it is the duty of every citizen to maintain it as
and protect against the true trade monopolies of the

Cleveland administration." ^{63.}

This "independent paper" which claimed to be "the organ of no party" never once during the years from 1881 to 1890 failed to support whole-heartedly all of the nominees of the Republican Party. An amusing example occurred when Mr. Converse, the "first citizen" of Malden, ran for Congress. His opponent for the Republican nomination was Henry Cabot Lodge of Nahant, then a newcomer in politics. The Press said, "We express the belief that it is business men who are needed today in Congress." ^{64.}

That was in 1882, but it sounds a good deal like the Harding campaign of 1920. Then the Press assailed Mr. Lodge with crude sarcasm: "The aesthetic H. Cabot L. is holding receptions and tea parties in the southern part of this district. Too transparent. Hobnobbing with a few politicians and drinking from blue decorated china is not a spectacle to win favor in the eyes of the plain people. If Henry had begun as a poor boy and worked his way up, that would have been another thing....We want a practical man, a man who has built his own fortune, a man of the people, by the people, and for the people. That man is Elisha S. Converse." ^{65.} Mr. Converse, by the way, was much wealthier than Mr. Lodge.

63. City Press. July 21, 1888,
 64. City Press, July 15, 1882.
 65. City Press. July 29, 1882.

Cleveland administration.

This "statement" which claimed to be the
organ of the party, never once during the years 1892
to 1896 failed to support wholeheartedly all the
members of the Republican Party. It was always
correct when Mr. Brewster, the "Chief of Staff" of
Mr. McKinley, was opponent for the Republican
action was taken. Indeed, it was a
in politics. The press said, "We expect the
it is business and not politics in Cleveland."
that was in 1892, but it was a good deal like
Brewster's strategy of 1892. Then the press
Brewster with a new name: "The Republican
holding positions and the party in the
of this district. The Republican
two politicians and holding them in
not a Republican in the eyes of the
people. If they had been a poor boy and
way up, that would have been another thing. It was a
practical man, a man who built his own
of the people, by the people, and for the people. That man
a Lincoln & Co. man. Mr. Brewster, by the way, was
such a man as Mr. Lodge.

57. City Press, July 21, 1892.
58. City Press, July 18, 1892.
59. City Press, July 22, 1892.

The convention was held in Charlestown and rivaled the Democratic convention of 1924 for tenacity of purpose. At the end of 130 ballots Mr. Converse succeeded in wresting the nomination away from Mr. Lodge, but he was less successful in the election, which he lost. Converse supporters freely charged that he had been "knifed" by Lodge supporters. At any rate, Mr. Converse then retired permanently from politics. Two years later Mr. Lodge was nominated unanimously, and the Press reversed its position without shame and apparently without sense of humor: "The Press has no hesitation in saying that it shall support Henry Cabot Lodge. A man of culture and refinement; a scholar and a historian, he ranks among the foremost of our public men.....We shall not indulge in partisan personalities or campaign slanders. Vote for Henry Cabot Lodge."^{66.} A week later the Press endorsed Lodge again in almost the same words used against him and in favor of Converse only two years before: "The workingmen desire a man to represent them who understands the complex tariff question. Such a man is Mr. Lodge."^{67.}

The ownership and management of the City Press had not changed; only receipt of the Republican nomination had transformed Mr. Lodge from an esthete drinking off blue

66. City Press. Sept. 13, 1884.

67. City Press. Sept. 20, 1884.

china into a man of culture and refinement, from a man whom the plain people would not favor into a workingman's candidate. This tergiversation seemingly passed unnoticed by the community; probably it only reflected a change in the attitude of the community.

d. Appeals to Other Prejudices, 1881 - 1890.

Two years later with Mr. Lodge seeking renomination, the Press forgot its resolution against "partisan personalities and campaign slanders" to call the attention of its readers to the fact that Henry Cabot Lodge owned 25 out of the 1500 shares in the Point of Pines property, then a popular Sunday resort, and that "Sabbath desecration and liquor drinking have been carried on there to a most demoralizing degree."^{68.} To that, Mr. Gray, the frank and caustic editor of the Malden Mirror, replied the next week that Mr. Johnson, editor of the City Press, had been in trouble with the police at Point of Pines, and demanded, "If the Sabbath is so awfully desecrated there, why is Mr. Johnson so fond of patronizing it on Sunday? It is just possible that Mr. Johnson was slightly 'off his base' by indulging in too much conviviality or what he is pleased to term 'Sabbath desecration.' What does Mr. Johnson want?

68. City Press. Oct. 23, 1886.

China into a man of culture and refinement, from a man
 whom the plain people would have looked upon as a
 candidate. This transformation was accomplished
 by the community; probably it only reflected a change in
 the attitude of the community.

5. Japanese in Other Professions, 1895 - 1900.

Two years later when Mr. Dodge came to Japan, the
 the first thing that the Japanese noticed "business men"
 and called them "business men" to call the attention of
 the world to the fact that they were not only
 but of the 1890s were in the field of their activity, then
 a regular business man, and that "business men" were
 Japan's business men were then called in their own
 country "business men". To that, Mr. Dodge, the first and
 second editor of the Japanese Mirror, reported the next week
 that Mr. Johnson, editor of the City News, was seen in
 trouble with the police at Tokyo at 11:00, and arrested,
 for the Japanese is so easily disgusted with, and in Mr.
 Johnson as well as representing it in January. It is just
 possible that Mr. Johnson was slightly "off the beat" by
 inclusion in the book committee or what he is pleased
 to term "Japan's business men". That does Mr. Johnson want!

A large advertising contract?"^{69.} Thus the assault upon Mr. Lodge degenerated into a squabble between rival publishers, with both sides appealing to the strong "dry" sentiment of the community. Needless to add, both papers and the community joined again in the support of Mr. Lodge after he was nominated, regardless of his ownership of shares at Point of Pines.

Another appeal to the church and anti-liquor element in Malden was in the election of 1883, after which the Mirror printed, "In Massachusetts the whole liquor interest was united in an endeavor to re-elect Mr. Benjamin F. Butler, Governor of Massachusetts. The church going element were working as they never worked before to defeat him. And they did this, not as Republicans but as Christians."^{70.}

An appeal to the emotions of the Civil War veterans is found in the Mirror in 1886, when Mr. Lovering of Lynn received the Democratic nomination for Congress against Mr. Lodge, the Republican candidate. "Mr. Lovering has loudly and persistently proclaimed himself the champion of the soldier.....yet Mr. Lovering never joined the Grand Army until July 1, 1880, after he actively entered politics."^{71.} Both Mr. Lovering and his Republican opponents were evidently struggling for the possession of what politicians called

69. Malden Mirror. Oct. 30, 1886.
 70. Malden Mirror, Nov. 24, 1883.
 71. Malden Mirror, Oct. 30, 1886.

A large advertising campaign was conducted by the
 Mr. Lodge suggested into a readable business plan
 with both sides appealing to the same "big"
 sentiment of the community. The result was a
 pure and the community joined again in the support of
 Mr. Lodge after he was nominated, regardless of his
 kind of matter at point of time.

Another appeal to the public was made in 1907, after which
 went to the public was in the election of 1907, after which
 the money printed, "The Republican Party" the whole thing
 interest was united in the support of the party. The
 James F. Butler, Governor of Massachusetts. The
 going ahead with nothing as they never seemed to
 defeat him. And they did this, but no Republican
 Chris. Sullivan.

An appeal to the members of the Civil War Veterans
 is found in the money in 1907, when Mr. Lovering of
 received the Democratic nomination for Governor against Mr.
 Lodge, the Republican candidate. Mr. Lovering has finally
 and persistently promised himself the election of the
 soldier.... That Mr. Lovering never joined the United Army
 until July 1, 1900, after he actively entered politics.
 Both Mr. Lovering and his Republican opponents were
 by struggling for the possession of what politicians called

80. Walter Miller, 1901, 1902, 1903.
 90. Walter Miller, 1904, 1905, 1906.
 75. Walter Miller, 1907, 1908, 1909.

"the bloody shirt," symbolizing the war passions of the North.

Such appeals did not, however, get into print very frequently from 1881 to 1890. They appear even less frequently from 1921 to 1930.

e. Appeals Fewer and More Moderate, 1921 - 1930.

In 1920 the Malden News is found supporting Senator Lodge, now seventy years of age, in his campaign against the League of Nations, and Senator Harding in his promises of "normalcy" and prosperity. "Election day is only about a week away. Apparently, there is little interest on the surface, but underneath there is a groundswell that will make itself felt in no uncertain way. The American people desire a change. One man government must be abolished. There is every indication of a clean republican sweep and a resultant return to the old days of prosperity."^{72.}

This is much milder than the diatribes of Messers Gray and Johnson, although Editor Bayrd of the News flares up a little in 1924: "The silent vote is with him [Mr. Coolidge] .. The people who are making all the noise are the professional politicians, the candidates, their friends, the Hessians, side-walk orators, and denizens of the soapbox."^{73.} In

72. Malden News. Oct. 23, 1920.

73. Malden News. Oct. 31, 1924.

"The bloody shirt," symbolizing the war passion of the

North.

Such appeals did not, however, get into print very

frequently from 1861 to 1865. They appear even less fre-

quently from 1865 to 1870.

c. Appraisement and more moderate, 1871 - 1880.

In 1870 the United States is found regarding Southern

policy, the new policy of peace, in his campaign against

the banner of peace, and Southern feeling in his promises

of "peace" and "prosperity." Election day is only about

a week later. Apparently, there is little interest on the

subject, but certainly there is a tremendous shift with

the election of 1870. The reaction was

the reaction of change. The new government must be established.

There is every indication of a clean reputation as yet and

a peaceful return to the old days of prosperity.

There is now rather than the situation of Southern Union and

reaction, although Editor Bayly of the New Statesman

little to 1870: "The silent vote is with him [Mr. Governor]

The people who are making all the noise are the profession-

al politicians, the candidates, the friends, the enemies,

and the whole of the people."

78. United States, Oct. 25, 1865.
79. United States, Oct. 25, 1865.

1926 the News, although still republican, speaks thus of Senator Walsh, "David I. Walsh has the two greatest assets for a successful campaign. He has a most winning personality and is a great orator. The American people have always been drawn towards men with these assets."^{74.}

The only advice that Mr. Bayrd had to offer his readers that year was that they should take their hats off while voting in order to show their respect for the ballot box.^{75.} In

the close and bitter campaign of 1928, the News had but one criticism of its democratic opponents, namely that they "booed" the name of Hoover. "We regret to see that at about every Democratic rally of importance the name of Hoover is booed. We regret, too, that the Democrats appear to have a monopoly of this booing method of disapproving a candidate. We have yet to hear a Republican audience booing the name of Governor Smith....We are astonished that Gov. Smith has not shown the courtesy to his opponent to request that it cease, for the Governor's audiences will do anything he asks of them."^{76.}

Near the conclusion of the campaign the News published the following editorial: "Never before in the history of our country have so many people been so intensely interested in a campaign..... maintained on a wonderfully high and clean level. The two

74. Malden News. Nov. 3, 1926.
 75. Malden News. Nov. 4, 1926.
 76. Malden News. Nov. 3, 1928.

1988 the House, although still Republican, appears to be
 Senator White, "David L. Walsh has the two greatest
 assets for a successful campaign. He has a good timing
 personality and is a great orator. The American people
 have always been drawn towards men with these assets."
 The only advice that Mr. Walsh had to offer his readers that
 year was that they should take their time and vote wisely
 in order to show their respect for the ballot box.
 The close and bitter campaign of 1987, the House has not
 one criticism of the Democratic campaign, namely that
 they "forgot" the name of Hoover. He failed to see that
 at about every Democratic rally of importance the name of
 Hoover is heard. He forgot, too, that the Democrats always
 to have a monopoly of this boring method of campaigning.
 candidates. We have not to hear a Republican candidate but
 and the name of Governor Walsh.... We are satisfied that
 Gov. Walsh has not shown the courtesy to his opponent to
 request that he name the Governor's audience all
 do anything he asks of him." Now the conclusion of
 the campaign the House published the following editorial:
 "Hoover before in the history of our country have so many
 people been so intensely interested in a campaign....
 maintained on a consistently high and clean level. The two

76. United News, Nov. 2, 1987.
 77. United News, Nov. 4, 1987.
 78. United News, Nov. 2, 1987.

or three percent of our people who through intolerance and misrepresentation are disturbers in our American campaigns failed to materialize in this city." ^{77.}

Judging by the newspapers, which is all we have to judge by, the state and national campaigns of recent years have indulged somewhat less in personality and appealed less to prejudice than did the campaigns of 1881-1890, at least so far as Malden is concerned. If there have been such appeals, they have not found their way into print. Certainly the tone of the editorials has been more moderate.

An adverse interpretation could be placed upon this moderation of the press. Modern editors are possibly beginning to realize that partisanship does not pay, especially when the community is rather evenly divided, as Malden is beginning to be. Violent editorial opinion is likely to alienate readers, and, more important, advertisers. The Middletown observers remark that partisanship and prosperity exist in inverse ratio to each other in the case of local newspapers. Without doubt the Malden News today is both more impartial and more prosperous than either of the weeklies of 1881-1890.

f. Mass Meetings, Rallies, and Parades.

A well recognized means for stirring up emotion and enthusiasm is the mass meeting or rally. These have been held before all popular elections during both decades.

77. Malden News. Nov. 5, 1928

During the 1881-1890 period these were intensely partisan affairs; they were held "in the interest of" certain candidates and probably no one attended who had not already decided to vote for those candidates. In the last ten years there has appeared the non-partisan meeting. Various civic organizations are accustomed to invite all the candidates to speak before them on the same evening, allotting the same time to each one and occasionally allowing time also for rebuttal. Among these are such societies as "The Olive Avenue Improvement Association," "The Faulkner Citizens' Association," "The Forestdale Association," and "The Oak Grove Improvement Association." Several women's clubs and racial organizations do the same thing. The most important group of the kind is the "Malden Deliberative Association," a men's debating club of long standing; it flourished in both decades and almost all citizens interested in politics in Malden have belonged to it. During the last decade "The Deliberative" as it is called, has invited both mayoralty nominees to a joint debate a few days before election. The nominees, together with two friends, make up the opposing teams, and the debate is followed by general discussion, open to all members, which often lasts until the morning hours.

Political meetings of the non-partisan type have

several points of superiority. They give voters a chance to hear and compare the claims and personalities of different candidates. They give the candidates a chance to answer one another on the spot. They restrain candidates from making unwarranted statements, since their opponents may check them up at once. Generally they tend to eliminate personalities, since candidates hesitate to make unsportsmanlike statements in each other's presence, knowing that they will meet again in a few evenings at some other rally. Thus they favor the intellectual rather than the emotional appeal.

Parades with bands and red fire and transparencies were common during the years from 1881 to 1890; they generally were held before national elections and not at all before the city elections. There were marching clubs, equipped with uniforms and torches, which used to join forces on important occasions, visiting each other's communities. Some of these earned quite a reputation for themselves and were in great demand in neighboring cities and towns. Malden had a bicycle club in the early eighties, organized in the interests of the Republicans. Citizens were urged to "illuminate" their premises along the routes of the parades.

several points of similarity. They give values a chance
to hear and compare the claims and counterclaims of
different candidates. They give the candidates a chance
to answer one another at the spot. They testify to the
fact that many voters are interested, since they
opponents say they know what they are doing. Generally, the
to eliminate possibilities, since candidates have to
make unambiguous statements in each other's presence,
knowing that they will meet again in a few months at
the next rally. When they hear the information rather
than the emotional appeal.
Topics with facts and not the emotional
very common during the years 1951 to 1953; they
generally tell the facts before making their own and not at
all before the city elections. There were many other
exposed with names and figures, which had to be
known on the spot, especially, which were often
checked. Some of these were given a reputation for
themselves and were in great demand in neighboring cities
and towns. When a candidate gives in the early election,
organized in the interest of the candidates. Citizens
were urged to "inform" their neighbors about the names
of the candidates.

After a lapse of many years, the red fire parades have been revived, only the bicycle has given way to the automobile and the oil torch has been replaced by the electric bulb. Also these parades are likely to occur before city elections as well as during state and national campaigns. It is doubtful whether such parades have ever affected the vote in any election, and a tendency is now noticeable to hold them after election instead of before it. Whereas the winning candidates used to hold "open house" and serve refreshments to their supporters, they now head an auto parade, sometimes planned but oftener impromptu, as a means of expressing their joy at victory.

The oldfashioned mass meeting and the political parades are the only evidences in Malden of what Frank Kent called "putting on a good show." The only case of genuine hokum discoverable in print was afforded just before the mayoralty campaign of 1923, when Mayor Kimball, seeking re-election, boldly denounced the Ku Klux Klan, which no one seriously intended to organize in Malden anyway. 78.

78. Malden News. Dec. 1, 1923.

7. Local Politics, 1881 - 1890.

a. Mayoralty Campaigns.

The local contests and controversies, especially in the 1881-1890 period, have been very involved affairs, and are less easily understood by the general reader who is not familiar with Malden history than are the state and national campaigns. Therefore the wisest plan seems to be first to narrate them chronologically and then discuss them with a view to discovering what degree of political intelligence was used by Malden people in solving their problems.

As a background, here are the votes received by the leading candidates for mayor during the first ten years that Malden was a city.

	<u>Converse</u>	<u>Sleeper</u>	<u>Fuller</u>	<u>Coggan</u>	<u>Wiggin</u>
1881	1523				
1882		1031	772		
1883		1083	1105		
1884			1146	882	
1885				1291	1070
1886				2047	
1887				676	1911
1888					2747
1889					1735
1890					1939

This table does not by any means tell the story. It does, however, indicate that Converse was almost the unanimous choice for first mayor and did not run for re-election. It shows that Coggan was practically unopposed for mayor in 1886, and that Wiggin was re-elected without serious opposition in 1888, 1889, and 1890. The greatest competition was in the years 1883 and 1887, for reasons which will appear hereafter. There was also a curious tendency for a man to run unsuccessfully one year and then to obtain the office a year or two later. Perhaps the voters became accustomed to seeing his name on the ballot and decided to give him a chance.

The politics of this period was dominated by two major issues, which may for brevity be named "The Police Row" and "The School Row." Other problems, to be sure, faced the inhabitants of Malden. There were streets to be built and lighted, sewers to be laid, and constant difficulty about the water supply. But those were not the issues which interested and aroused the citizens. Such matters of administration were left largely to the members of the City Government without much advice or interference from their constituents, and the city officials seem on the whole to have solved the problems satisfactorily.

This table does not by any means tell the story. It does, however, indicate that Congress was almost the same choice for first runner and did not for the second. It shows that Congress was practically unanimous for choice in 1888, and that it was re-elected in 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, and 1898. The President's opposition in 1890, 1892, 1894, 1896, and 1898, for reasons which will appear hereafter. There was also a certain tendency for a man to run unopposed in one year and then to obtain the office a year or two later. For example, the voters became accustomed to seeing his name on the ballot and hesitated to give him a chance.

The politics of this period are dominated by two major issues, which may be briefly be called "The Foreign Issue" and "The Domestic Issue." Other problems, to be sure, faced the incumbents of each year. There were always to be built and repaired, new roads to be laid, and numerous other things about the water supply. But these were not the issues which interested and aroused the citizens. Such matters of administration were left largely to the members of the City Government without much advice or interference from their constituents, and the city officials seem on the whole to have solved the problems satisfactorily.

b. The "Police Row," the Dominant Issue of 1876 - 1883.

The "Police Row began in the days of town government and was inherited by the newborn city. At this distance in time and in the absence of nonpartisan records, it is hard to see what it was all about. The force consisted in 1881 of ten policemen, receiving \$800 and serving mostly in the nighttime. They seem to have been constantly dissatisfied with their wages, their beats, their hours, and also with their uniforms, which they sometimes refused to wear. The chief of police received \$1000 and was continually under criticism for not enforcing the liquor laws, for enforcing the laws too severely, and for allowing insubordination among the officers.

Frederick M. Noyes was appointed Chief of Police in 1876 and removed by the selectmen the following year. His successor, Chief C.E. Rhoades, was in turn removed in 1881^{79.} and Noyes was again appointed. Noyes was again removed near the end of 1881 after bitter criticism by the newspapers^{80.} and Captain Harris B. Mitchell was made chief. The Noyes and Rhoades supporters, who had been quarreling with each other, agreed in disliking Mitchell. They said that he spent his time arresting small boys for snowballing^{81.} and let drunken brawls alone. Accordingly, Mayor Sleeper

79. Malden Mirror, Nov. 5, 1881.

80. City Press, Dec. 27, 1881.

81. City Press, Dec. 9, 1882.

replaced Mitchell with Charles B. Foster in 1883.^{82.}

But Mitchell had made many vigorous liquor raids which endeared him to the temperance people of Malden, and the latter were not satisfied with his successor. They were shortly complaining of an "alarming increase in liquor

traffic in Malden,"^{83.} and a few months later Chief Foster resigned, Feb. 11, 1884, giving as his reason that he

"felt that an office so much criticized and maligned was no place for him."^{84.} The next chief, Lyman H. Richards, managed to keep his position but found it no bed of roses.

The force had been disorganized by the frequent changes^{85.} and the officers were rebellious. He discharged one of them for working in a blacksmith shop while on sick leave^{86.} and another for not wearing his uniform while on duty.

By such steps he re-established the authority of his office, and the citizens of Malden gradually lost interest in the police controversy and turned their attention to other matters, soon becoming absorbed in a heated fight over the public schools.

82. City Press, June 16, 1883.

83. Malden Mirror, Oct. 24, 1883.

84. City Press, Feb. 16, 1884.

85. City Press, April 11, 1884.

86. City Press, April 26, 1884.

replaced Mitchell with Charles S. Foster in 1882.
But Mitchell had made many vigorous efforts which
enabled him to win the support of the people of Maine, and the
latter were not satisfied with his conduct. They were
strongly dissatisfied of an "alarming increase in the
number of crimes in Maine," and a few months later they
for resigned, Feb. 11, 1884, giving as the reason that he
"felt that an office as high as his should be held by
no man for him." The next year, James E. Folsom,
managed to keep his position but found it no bed of roses.
The force had been reorganized by the frequent changes
and the officers were rebellious. He discharged one of
them for working in a blacksmith shop while on duty.
and another for not wearing his uniform while on duty.
By such steps he re-established the authority of his office,
and the citizens of Maine gradually lost interest in the
police conspiracy and turned their attention to other
matters, and nothing happened in a better light than the
public affairs.

- 80. City Press, June 10, 1882.
- 81. Maine Mirror, Oct. 22, 1882.
- 82. City Press, Feb. 12, 1884.
- 83. City Press, April 11, 1884.
- 84. City Press, April 12, 1884.

c. The "School Row," the Dominant Issue of 1883 - 1887.

The "School Row" completely eclipsed the "Police Row" in bitterness, duration, and political potency. In fact it dominated the local politics of Malden for the better part of ten years and was twice a major issue in city elections, namely in 1883 and 1887. In the former of these two campaigns Mayor Sleeper failed to be re-elected by a narrow margin; the deciding factors might easily have been his attitude in the school controversy and his appointment of an unpopular Chief of Police. In the latter campaign, Mayor Coggan's failure to be re-elected was universally conceded to be due to his stand with reference to the appointment of a Superintendent of Schools. To explain these matters, we must first go back a few years.

The entire "School Row" centered about the work and personality of Mr. Charles A. Daniels. Mr. Daniels first came to Malden in 1861 as principal of the Center Grammar School. Ten years later, in 1871, he was made principal of the High School. He served in this position in 1871-2, left to teach at Dean Academy, and then returned to the principalship of the Malden High School in 1873.^{87.} From 1880 to 1884 the superintendent of schools was a Mr. Lambert, between whom and Principal Daniels there was considerable friction. On July 23, 1883, the School Board held a

87. City Press, Sept. 15, 1883.

hearing at which some citizens criticized Mr. Daniels for having lax discipline and for permitting the high school to become inferior scholastically to the high schools of neighboring cities.^{88.} Both newspapers opened their columns freely to critics of the school system throughout the summer vacation. On the fifteenth of September of the same year, just as the schools were re-opening, the City Press gave over to the Daniels controversy, which now had the entire city by the ears, the whole of its front page, exclusive of advertising, a total of five columns of fine type or about 7500 hundred words. This time Mr. Daniels' critics asserted that he was too strict as a disciplinarian and that he maintained such high scholastic standards as to make the school "unpopular."^{89.} This was a complete reversal of the charges made at the beginning of the summer, which leads an impartial mind to believe that they wished to get rid of Mr. Daniels at any cost.

If that was their aim, they won immediate success-- and ultimate failure. In October of 1883, Mr. Daniels resigned from the School Department and purchased the Malden Mirror, of which he at once became editor and publisher.^{90.} Henry C. Gray, the former editor and owner, had become involved in a lawsuit growing out of his unrestrained

88. City Press, July 24, 1883.

89. City Press, Sept. 15, 1883.

90. City Press, Oct. 6, 1883.

hearing at which some citizens of Lincoln, N. H., had been
 having in the office and the possibility of the high school
 to become inferior voluntarily to the high schools of
 neighboring cities. Both newspapers carried their col-
 umns freely in criticism of the school system throughout

the summer vacation. In the fifteenth of September of the
 same year, just as the schools were re-opening, the city
 press gave over to the Lincoln controversy, which now has
 the entire city by its ears, the whole of its front page,
 exclusive of advertisements, a total of five columns of type
 space of about 7500 printed words. This time Mr. Daniels'
 position asserted that he was not a student at a Lincoln

school and that he maintained such high academic stand-
 ings as to make the school "unpopular." This was a mis-
 statement of the charges made at the beginning of the
 summer, which facts are repeated with no belief that they
 related to the fall of Mr. Daniels at any time.

It was their aim, they were Lincoln's success--
 and ultimate failure. In October of 1903, Mr. Daniels
 resigned from the school department and purchased the Lin-
 coln Mirror, of which he at once became editor and publisher.
 Henry C. Gray, the former editor and owner, had become in-
 volved in a lawsuit growing out of his unscrupulous

Oct. 1903, Gray Press, Oct. 6, 1903.
 Sept. 1903, Gray Press, Sept. 10, 1903.
 July 1903, Gray Press, July 12, 1903.

criticisms of Chief of Police Noyes and had found it expedient to confine his attention, for a while at least, to his other two newspapers, the Chelsea Record and the Revere Journal. After a prolonged struggle, Mr. George E. Gay was elected principal of the high school.^{91.} But the matter did not end there; it became an issue in the December election. George W. Copeland and David Ayers ran for the School Board on a pro-Daniels platform and defeated their opponents, J.M. Corbett and A.J. Freeman,^{92.} anti-Daniels candidates, by more than two to one, while another Daniels man, Mr. Fuller, was elected to the office of Mayor and Chairman of the School Board. As a result, Superintendent Lambert resigned in January, 1884, and his resignation was accepted by the Daniels' faction^{93.} of the committee by a vote of six to three. A few weeks later by the same vote of six to three, Mr. Daniels was elected Superintendent of Schools.^{94.} Mr. Gray repurchased the Malden Mirror, and there was a lull in the controversy.

The grand climax of the "School Row" came in 1887. Early in that year Superintendent Daniels recommended that the marking system be abolished. He said that one boy had received "zero" in his work for omitting the period after

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- 91. City Press, Oct. 27, 1883.
 - 92. City Press, Dec. 8, 1883.
 - 93. City Press, Jan. 19, 1884.
 - 94. City Press, Feb. 2, 1884.

criticism of Chief of Police Myers and had found it an-
nounced to continue his attention, for a while at least,
by his other two newspapers, the Chicago Record and the
Revere Journal. After a prolonged struggle, Mr. George
E. Day was elected president of the Irish school. But
the matter did not end there; it became an issue in the
December election. George E. Day and David Myers
ran for the School Board on a pro-Irish platform and
defeated their opponents, E. J. O'Connell and A. J. Brennan.
anti-Irish candidates, it says from the same
while another Irishman, Mr. Fisher, was elected to the
office of Mayor and Chairman of the School Board. As a
result, Superintendent Lambert resigned in January, 1884,
and his resignation was accepted by the Board. Then
of the committee by a vote of six to three. A few weeks
later by the same vote of six to three, Mr. Lambert was
elected Superintendent of Schools. Mr. Day represented
the United States, and there was a split in the controversy.
The final climax of the "School Row" came in 1887.
Early in that year Superintendent Lambert recommended that
the existing system be continued. He said that one boy had
received "zero" in his work for writing the period after

91.	City Press,	Nov. 27, 1887.
92.	City Press,	Dec. 2, 1887.
93.	City Press,	Jan. 19, 1888.
94.	City Press,	Feb. 2, 1888.

the abbreviation "Ans." for "Answer." Another had received "zero" because he had done his home work on the Sabbath. The School Board did not concur in his recommendation, but did vote that no deductions be made for lack of neatness, poor penmanship, etc..^{95.} In April of that year, when Mr. Daniels came up for re-election, five of the members voted for him, and the other four, disliking Daniels but having no candidate of their own, cast blanks. Mayor Coggan, who was ex officio chairman of the board and also was an anti-Daniels man, declared that there was no election.^{96.} Mayor Coggan also took occasion to criticize Mr. Daniels bitterly for incompetency and inefficiency, as well as for his personality. "His presence has a depressing influence upon the scholars," declared Mayor Coggan, "He has not sunshine enough in him, but too much gloom."

Both newspapers in 1887 were opposed to Mr. Daniels, but especially the City Press. The Press refused to publish an unsigned letter from a friend and admirer of Mr. Daniels, saying with great show of indignation that it had no use for anonymous communications.^{97.} During the previous few weeks the Press had published several anonymous attacks

95. City Press, Feb. 19, 1887.

96. City Press, April 28, 1887.

97. City Press, May 14, 1887.

the abbreviation "Am. V. for 'Amster.' Another had re-
ceived "Amster." because he had done the same work on the
Sabbath. The school board did not consent in his case.
mentation, but did vote that no reduction be made for
least of reference, your correspondence, etc. In April of
that year, when Mr. Daniels came up for re-election,
five of the members voted for him, and the other four, dis-
liking Daniels but having no candidate of their own, cast
blank. Mayor Rogers, who was an official opponent of the
board and also an anti-Daniels man, declared that there
was no election. Mayor Rogers also took occasion to ex-
plain Mr. Daniels' election as incompetency and lack of
clarity, as well as for his personality. "His presence has
a depressing influence upon the school," declared Mayor
Rogers. "He has not sufficient strength in his, but too much
egoism."
Both newspapers in 1887 were opposed to Mr. Daniels,
but especially the City Press. The Press refused to pub-
lish an analyzed letter from a friend and adviser of Mr.
Daniels, saying with great show of indignation that it had
no use for anonymous communications. During the previous
few weeks the Press had published several anonymous attacks

98. City Press, Feb. 10, 1887.
99. City Press, April 20, 1887.
97. City Press, May 12, 1887.

upon Mr. Daniels without any apparent qualms of conscience. The secret of the Press's attitude is found in the fact that its editor, Aaron C. Dowse, was a member of the School Board and one of the leaders in the anti-Daniels faction. In June the City Press, that is to say Editor Dowse, called upon the School Board "to rise above personal prejudice and party jealousy" and discharge Superintendent Daniels.^{98.} Nevertheless, the choice of a new superintendent was postponed from one meeting to the next, until the schools opened in the fall with Mr. Daniels still acting as superintendent.

A petition in favor of retaining Mr. Daniels was gotten up by George Howard Fall, a scholarly lawyer who was later professor of Roman Law at Boston University and later still was twice Mayor of Malden.^{99.} By the end of October the superintendency was definitely the issue of the city campaign. The Daniels candidate for mayor was Judge J.F.Wiggin, and the Daniels candidates for the School Board were George Howard Fall, Dr. C.B.Shute, and George D. Ayers. The anti-Daniels candidate for mayor was Mr. Coggan, and for the School Board Alfred R. Turner, Jr.,^{100.} Anthony B. Palmer, and William B. Atwood.

98. City Press, June 4, 1887.

99. City Press, Oct. 1, 1887.

100. City Press, Oct. 19, 1887.

The arguments for and against Mr. Daniels were thoroughly aired, so thoroughly that the Mirror spoke in disgust of "that stale and profitless subject of the superintendency of schools" and added that "the matter will be settled by ballot this December, and every voter having the common sense which all voters should possess has had his mind made up for months."^{101.} His friends produced letters from five college presidents testifying to the thoroughness with which Mr. Daniels had prepared his pupils for higher education, and declared that "no similar school in Massachusetts can present a more flattering record."^{102.} His opponents made charges that Mr. Daniels was in his dotage, that he was behind the times, that he did not attend educational meetings and conventions. Finally Superintendent Daniels broke the silence which he had maintained during these attacks to state that he was only fifty-three years old, and that he had attended seventy-five percent of all conventions held in Malden or Middlesex County since his first election. He denied that his presence cast a gloom over the class room, and he added that "nearly all my active opponents are politicians and most of them are office holders."^{103.}

101. Malden Mirror, Oct. 15, 1887.

102. Malden Mirror, Nov. 12, 1887.

103. Malden Mirror, Nov. 19, 1887.

d. Voters Eventually Solved Problem with Intelligence.

Right here, perhaps, is the key to the contest, which, to one who did not live during it, seems to have been without adequate excuse. Dr. Roy A. Daniels of Melrose, son of the late Superintendent, explained to the writer that the attacks upon his father were fostered by some of his scape-grace pupils who grew up to become petty bosses and ward heelers and who cherished a grudge against their former strict school master. It is a plausible explanation.

Almost on the eve of the city election the School Board proceeded to elect William C. Bates of Canton to the office of Superintendent. This was brought about by one member changing sides at the last moment. The member was Dr. C. Maria Nordstrom, the first woman elected to public office in Malden, who was at once assailed publicly for exercising her woman's prerogative of changing her mind, stigmatized as a weak and changeable woman, and compared to Delilah who betrayed Samson. On the other hand, Judge Wiggin, a fellow member of the Board and candidate for mayor, who attempted to win her back to Mr. Daniels, was accused of using threats and duress.^{104.} The campaign closed with the exchange of such epithets as "men destitute

104. City Press, Nov. 26, 1887.

104. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Education.

At the meeting of the Board of Education, held on the 10th day of January, 1904, the following resolutions were adopted: That the Board of Education do hereby resolve that the following persons be appointed to the various committees of the Board of Education, to-wit: The Committee on the Curriculum, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Text-books, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Teachers, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Schools, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Finance, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Buildings, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Equipment, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Transportation, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown; the Committee on the Miscellaneous, to consist of Messrs. J. H. Smith, J. W. Jones, and J. K. Brown.

of principle," "desperate schemers," and "political charlatans."

The Daniels adherents were again victorious, as they were in 1883, the votes being as follows:

	<u>Daniels vote.</u>	<u>Anti-Daniels vote.</u>
1883	1530	692
1887	1541	1029

Extracting a melancholy satisfaction from Mr. Daniels' diminished majority, the City Press summed up the contest with a belated attempt at calm judgment: "The citizens of Malden have expressed their satisfaction with Supt. Daniels' administration of school affairs. Majorities are not always right; minorities are not always wrong; this question should never have been made an issue at the polls."¹⁰⁵

The new School Board promptly re-instated Mr. Daniels as^{106.} superintendent, and he continued in the service of the Malden School Department for a quarter of a century longer. In his later years he was universally praised and toasted under the title of "The Grand Old Man of the Malden Public Schools." His subsequent success and popularity seem ample proof that the citizens of Malden exercised good judgment in 1883 and 1887 when they decided to retain Mr. Daniels.

105. City Press, Dec. 10, 1887.

106. City Press, Jan. 2, 1888.

Both newspapers and nearly all the political leaders were against him. Deliberate attempts were made to deceive the voters, yet the latter eventually solved the problem with political intelligence.

8. Local Politics, 1921 - 1930.

a. New Factors Appear, Racial and Religious Prejudice.

If the citizens of 1881-1890 finally showed political intelligence in their solution of the "Police Row" and the "School Row," the citizens of 1921-1930 showed greater intelligence by not having any such controversies. There is absolutely nothing in recent Malden history to compare with the struggles which have just been described. During the last ten years Farnsworth G. Marshall has been Superintendent of Schools and Thornton Jenkins has been Principal of the High School; there has been no talk of changing them and the schools have been completely out of politics. The Police Department has been run during the last decade by three different men: by Capt. Foley, who died; by Capt. Powers, who retired on account of ill health; and by Capt. Aylward, who is now in office. Being under civil service, these men have not been removable, and everyone seemingly has agreed to omit appointing a Chief of Police, who might become the football of politics. There is a Police Commissioner nowadays, but changes in that office have not such a direct effect upon the department as would a change in the office of Chief.

F. Local Police, 1901 - 1902.

1. New Police Station, Police and Police Station.

It is the object of this report to show the

history of the Police Station in the Police

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Chief.

On the other hand, there has appeared in the city elections the factors of race and religion, which were not noticeable in the more homogeneous population of the 1880's. When John M. Devir from the Irish district of Edgeworth sat in the Board of Selectmen and in the Board of Aldermen his presence was tolerated as the representative of a group so far in the minority that it was not feared. But when his son, John D. Devir, united the Irish of Ward Two and the Hebrews of Ward Seven together with other elements of the community and got himself elected mayor five times there was quite a different feeling in the city. It is impossible to find overt expressions of racial or religious prejudice during the campaigns of 1921-1930, but it is possible to show, indirectly, that lines of racial and religious cleavage exist. With that in mind, let us examine the recent mayoralty campaigns.

b. The Devir Campaigns; Evidence of
Racial and Religious Cleavage.

In 1924, Mayor Kimball decided to retire from City Hall after serving four years almost without opposition. A three-cornered fight ensued. The most prominent candidate was Howard Fall, who was son of former Mayor George Howard

On the other hand, there was a general feeling in the city
elections the factors of race and religion, which were
not noticeable in the more homogeneous population of the
1880's. When John A. Davis took the Irish district of
Baltimore and in the hands of Baltimore and in the
Board of Aldermen his first and was followed by the rep-
resentative of a group as far as the district was
not feared. But when his son, John A. Davis, joined the
Irish of Baltimore and the Board of Board of Aldermen
with other elements of the community and got himself
elected mayor five times more with a difference
feeling in the city. It is impossible to find exact ex-
pressions of racial or religious prejudice during the
centuries of 1880-1900, but it is possible to show, how-
ever, that lines of racial and religious differences
were that in mind, but no feeling, the recent movement
unavoidable.

J. C. Davis Campaign: Evidence of
Racial and Religious Chicago.

In 1904, Mayor Elihu Davis decided to retire from city
Hall after serving four years almost without opposition.
A three-cornered fight ensued. The most prominent candidate
was Howard Hall, who was son of former Mayor George Howard

Fall and was then President of the Common Council. Another candidate was Elos A. Ray, a business man and prominent member of the First Baptist Church. The third was John D. Devir, son of ex-Alderman Devir of Ward Two. The Protestant and temperance element centered its support upon Ray and there were whispered allegations concerning the personal habits of Mr. Fall. Nevertheless, Mr. Fall's political position and connections won him a place in the primaries together with Mr. Devir, Ray being eliminated. The feeling of the Ray supporters was expressed in a political advertisement inserted in the News by Eugene A. Perry, founder of "Perry Pictures," active member of the First Baptist Church, and constant advocate of reform movements. Mr. Perry indicated in his advertisement which aldermanic candidates he favored but omitted to name any mayoralty candidate, saying sadly, "The day was the day of the primaries. That fact was emphasized then. It is too late now."^{107.} The result of the final election is given, and also the vote of Ward Two, to indicate the solidarity of that ward.

1924	<u>City</u>	<u>Ward Two</u>
John D. Devir	7579	1882
Howard Fall	6124	133

107. Malden News, Dec. 8, 1924.

The News stated frankly that "the greater portion of the Ray votes went to the winner," i.e., to John D. Devir.^{108.} There seems to be no doubt that the church friends of Mr. Ray "knifed" Mr. Fall. At the same time it may not be out of place to add that the citizens of Malden showed good judgment in eliminating Mr. Ray, as he was shortly thereafter compelled to leave the city permanently because of family difficulties.

In 1925 the dry Protestant party laid plans to regain the mayoralty by the nomination of Mr. Artemas B. Sweezey, who was alderman and Superintendent of the Baptist Sunday School. Devir ran for re-election, his principal argument being that he had cut the tax rate by \$1.90, which had great weight with the property owners. Sweezey claimed that the reduction was really due to an increase of \$3,312,600 in the assessed valuation of the city. The two also clashed over the appointment of Joseph Hoffman, a Hebrew from Ward Seven, to the office of Street Commissioner. Hoffmann was nominated by Devir and opposed Alderman Sweezey. Devir said, "The opposition to my appointment by Alderman Sweezey is a personal measure, not political."^{109.} Sweezey also had some personal trouble about erecting houses on Washington street in violation of the building line ordinances, and replied by saying that the building inspector appointed by Devir was formerly a barber and in-

108. Malden News, Dec. 10, 1924.

109. Malden News, Dec. 4, 1925.

The first night following the first session of the
New York State Legislature, 1894, the Hon. John L. Davis,
their house to be no doubt that the absence of Mr.
Davis "indicated" his fall. At the same time it was not an
at place to see that the absence of Mr. Davis was not
judgment in declining to go, as in the matter of the
after compelled to leave the city for personal business of
family difficulties.

In 1895 the day following the first session to re-
tain the majority in the majority of Mr. Davis's
house, who was elected a Representative of the District
of Columbia. Davis was not re-elected, his political
opponents being that he had not the vote of 41, which
had given weight to the majority of the majority of
that the majority was really due to an increase in
the vote in the general election of the city. The day
also claimed that the majority of the majority of
Davis from that day, as the office of State Comptroller.
Holtzman was defeated by Davis and opposed a
measure. Davis said, "The opposition to my appointment"
although Davis is a personal enemy, his political
opponents also had some personal reasons for opposing him
as Washington State in violation of the building law
ordinances, and replied by saying that the building law
properly enacted by Davis was formerly a building and in-

competent to perform the duties of his office. The exchange in personalities ended with the election in which the vote was as below.

1925	<u>City</u>	<u>Ward Two</u>
John D. Devir	8080	1703
Artemas B. Sweezey	4183	66

In 1926 Mr. Sweezey ran again for mayor, this time demanding to know what connection existed between Mayor Devir and several people and firms to which contracts had been awarded, principally Ernest N. Devir and the Devir Motor Sales Company.^{110.} This gave Devir a chance to reply that "there have been Devirs working for the city since 1856....They have given honest and faithful service to Malden." And again, "the Devirs are a line of strong, rugged, virile men, who have earned their bread by the sweat of their brows," etc..^{111.} This campaign resulted in the re-election of Mr. Devir, who found his chief support in Wards Two and Seven, although Mr. Sweezey really carried only one precinct in the entire city.

1926	<u>City.</u>	<u>Ward Two.</u>	<u>Ward Seven.</u>
John D. Devir	7837	1610	945
Artemas B. Sweezey	4063	70	268

110. Malden News, Dec. 8, 1926.

111. Malden News, Dec. 11, 1926.

confronted in person the holder of his office. The statement
in personification must also be taken in this case.

was as follows.

<u>Year</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Year</u>
1900	1900	1900
1901	1901	1901

In 1900 Mr. Sawyer was again for many, this time
determined to have what appeared an extensive business
with the several people and firms to which he had been
connected, especially Street E. Davis and the Davis
Motor Sales Company. This gave him a chance to reply
that "these have been better working for me all along
than... they have given honest and faithful service to
me." And again, "the Davis are a lot of money,
richer, richer, and have more than I have of the
best of their power, etc." This campaign resulted in
the election of Mr. Davis, the former his chief enemy.
In words that are true, although Mr. Sawyer really carried
only one hundred in his pocket.

<u>Year</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year</u>
1900	1900	1900	1900
1901	1901	1901	1901

110. William Davis, Dec. 8, 1900.
111. William Davis, Dec. 11, 1900.

In 1927 Mr. Sweezey made his third and strongest assault upon the mayoralty. He renewed the charge that Mayor Devir was favoring his relatives in the awarding of contracts, and that the cut in the tax rate was due to increase in the valuation,^{112.} and added that the school buildings were improperly constructed, repaired, and cared for.^{113.} He appealed to the people to "vote for a business man who will not pay political debts at the city's expense."^{114.} Mayor Devir spent but little on advertising that year and made small effort to answer his opponent. The following vote resulted.

1927	<u>City.</u>	<u>Ward Two.</u>	<u>Ward Seven.</u>
John D. Devir	7110	1611	1037
Artemas B. Sweezey	5827	145	392

To quote the News after the election, "Mayor Devir carried Wards Two and Seven, while his opponent carried the other five."^{115.}

In 1928 the mantle of Ray and Sweezey fell upon the shoulders of Austin H. Roby, a prominent Methodist. The published endorsements of his candidacy show beyond doubt that he was supported by the same group which had opposed Devir in 1925-6-7. Mr. Roby proved to be a weak candidate, Devir carrying Wards Two and Seven and four precincts in the other wards.

112. Malden News, Dec. 5, 1926.
 113. Malden News, Dec. 8, 1926.
 114. Malden News, Dec. 6, 1926.
 115. Malden News. Dec. 14, 1927.

In 1927 Mr. Weaver made his third and strongest
 assault upon the majority. He renewed the charge that
 Mayor Davis was favoring his relatives in the position
 of contractors, and that the out in the tax rate was the
 to increase in the valuation, and added that the school
 buildings were in a state of disrepair, and that the
 money for the same was being used for other purposes.
 He appealed to the people to vote for a
 candidate who will not pay political debts at the
 city's expense. Mayor Davis spent but little of his
 vacation that year and made small effort to answer his
 opponent. The following vote resulted:

1927	1926	1925	1924	1923
John H. Davis	7100	1251	1797	1797
Alvin H. Weaver	887	143	252	252

No more the year after the election, "Mayor Davis
 carried three two and seven, while his opponent carried
 the other five."

In 1928 the battle of Mr. and Weaver was again the
 showdown of Alvin H. H., a prominent politician, as
 published endorsement of his candidacy from beyond doubt
 that he was supported by the same group which had opposed
 Davis in 1925-26. Mr. H. H. proved to be a weak candi-
 date, Davis carrying three two and seven and four pro-
 vince in the other wards.

1927	1926	1925	1924	1923
Alvin H. Weaver	887	143	252	252
John H. Davis	7100	1251	1797	1797

1928	<u>City.</u>	<u>Ward Two.</u>	<u>Ward Seven.</u>
John D. Devir	7596	1833	1055
Austin G. Roby	6404	157	442

As a result Roby expressed the opinion that Devir was really mayor of only two wards and that he, Roby, was mayor of the other five. That remark was made in the fall of 1929, when Roby was again a candidate, and Devir characterized it as "an attempt to break the unity of Wards Two and Seven," and added that the loyalty of these wards always encouraged him.^{116.}

In 1929, however, Mr. Roby did not win a place, the primaries going to Mayor Devir and William A. Hastings. Mr. Hastings had served one term as mayor of Malden twenty-five years previous and was in 1929 employed as full-time secretary of the Malden Chamber of Commerce, of which Artemas B. Sweezey was president. His chief supporters were Mr. Sweezey and Eugene A. Perry, both of the Baptist Church. Mr. Devir charged that there was a pre-primary agreement to do "anything to beat Devir."^{117.} He reminded the voters that Hastings failed to be re-elected twenty-five years ago and called him the worst mayor that Malden ever had. For the first time in five years, Mr. Devir

116. Malden News, Nov. 19, 1928.

117. Malden News, Dec. 2, 1929.

Year	Age	City	Year
1938	18	St. Louis	1938
1939	19	St. Louis	1939

As a result of the election last year, was really never of only two years and that is, that of the other 19. That number was made in the fall of 1938, when Mr. Heston was again a candidate, and during that time it was an attempt to break the unity of the two and seven, and added that the majority of those who always encouraged him.

In 1938, however, Mr. Heston did not win a place, the primary vote in St. Louis and William L. Heston, Mr. Heston had served one term as mayor of St. Louis from 1935 to 1938 and was in 1938 elected as 1938-1939 member of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, at which time he was elected. His chief opponent was Mr. Heston and Eugene A. Heston, both of the St. Louis. Mr. Heston charged that there was a two-year agreement to be "anything to beat Heston." He remained in the office until he was re-elected in 1939. He was also called in the worst way that Heston ever had. For the first time in five years, Mr. Heston

- 116. Heston, Nov. 15, 1938.
- 117. Heston, Dec. 5, 1938.

ceased to print columns of statistics concerning the tax rate and expenses; he departed from facts and figures and indulged in personal abuse. So, for that matter, did Mr. Hastings, who charged Devir with paying \$11,000 a year of the city's money to members of his own family, and said that he maintained a "Tammany Hall." The result was that "over 17,000 voted, the largest vote ever recorded at a municipal election in the history of the city."^{118.} Devir's plurality was cut down in Ward Seven, owing to the fact that Hastings lived in it, and he lost heavily in other parts of the city.

1929	<u>City.</u>	<u>Ward Two.</u>	<u>Ward Seven.</u>
John D. Devir	8042	1849	1035
William A. Hastings	8875	219	719

One of the first acts of Mayor Hastings was to appoint to the office of Police Commissioner his friend and supporter, Artemas B. Sweezy.

In 1930, Mr. Devir tried unsuccessfully to obtain the Republican nomination for Governor of Massachusetts, and then tried, also without success, to regain the mayor's office. One of his advertisements in that year was signed by 120 citizens of Ward Seven; 104 of the names were obviously Jewish. He wound up his campaign as usual

118. Malden News, Dec. 11, 1929.

seemed to prefer columns of statistics concerning the tax
 rate and expenses; he departed from facts and figures and
 indulged in personal remarks. At the same time, his
 Mr. Hastings, who showed more than saying all, God's
 part of the state's money to support of his own family,
 and said that he maintained a "family bill." The result
 was that (overly) God tried, the largest vote ever re-
 corded at a political election in the history of the
 city. Hastings' record is not good in Ward Seven,
 which is the fact that Hastings lived in it, and he is
 heavily in debt to the city.

1920	1921	1922	1923
John B. Davis	1012	1012	1012
William A. Hastings	212	212	212

One of the first acts of Mayor Hastings was to
 transfer to the office of Police Commissioner his staff
 and supporters, William B. Webster.
 In 1920, Mr. Hastings' personal responsibility to obtain
 the Hastings' suggestion for Governor of Massachusetts,
 and then tried, also without success, to regain the
 mayor's office. Under the circumstances in that year
 was elected by 100 votes of Ward Seven; 100 of the votes
 were given to Hastings. He wound up his campaign as usual

Mr. William Davis, Dec. 11, 1920.

at Hibernian Hall in Ward Two. Wards Two and Seven still supported him but he lost the election to Mayor Hastings, 8878 to 8122.

c. Conclusions from These Campaigns.

Plainly enough, there is a large group of people in Malden who can be counted upon to vote for a Protestant as against a Catholic. Plainly, too, there is a strong racial solidarity on the part of the Irish and Jews. It could be shown that these last two racial groups had formed an alliance years previous to elect Dr. Farrell of Ward Two to the mayoralty. It is also plain that there must be a large number of voters who are unaffected by racial and religious prejudices and are willing to swing from one side to the other. This last group is influenced by such matters as the tax rate and evidence of efficient administration. An open appeal to prejudice would probably repel them; hence such appeals are never made.

Again it is impossible to make a direct comparison between the influence of prejudice in 1921-1930 and in 1881-1890, because the same situation did not exist in the earlier period. For all we know, the voters of a generation ago would have shown more solidarity and more racial and religious prejudice than those of today, if the occasion had ever arisen.

Several other factors, which must be mentioned as important in the last decade, have no parallel in the 1880's. What has been the effect upon political intelligence of the immigrant vote, of the direct primaries, and of woman suffrage? Concerning the immigrant vote in Malden, no data are available, other than that which has just been given under the head of race prejudice. The other two innovations, the direct primaries and woman suffrage, have already been alluded to many times in this study. We shall sum them up briefly.

9. The Direct Primaries.

a. Lack of Interest on the Part of the Voter.

"The primaries," writes Frank Kent,¹¹⁹ "are the key to all politics." Nevertheless the voters consistently ignore them. "The tendency of the people to regard the primary as unimportant, to consider it the particular business of the politician, to believe that it does not specially concern anyone else, to think that they effectively count as voters by participating only in the general election, has undoubtedly greatly increased....Rarely more than twenty-five percent of the party voters and frequently as low as two and three percent participate."¹²⁰

From the tabulation on p.27 we have already shown that only 43.3% of the registered voters of Malden participated in the last six state primaries as against 83.3% who participated in the final state elections of the same years. That, however, is considerably above the estimate of Mr. Kent.

During the years 1881-1890 state nominations were made by party conventions. Preceding city elections there were ward caucuses to nominate ward candidates. Nominations for mayor were made at a city convention. Only one

119. Kent, Frank, "Political Behavior," p. 33.

120. Ibid., p.38.

was nominated for each office, and the one nominated was generally elected. The attendance at these caucuses is not on record, but there are hints in the contemporary press that it was small.

b. Confusion of Names; Proposed Remedy.

One difficulty with the direct primary seems to be that the voters are not well enough acquainted with all the candidates for all the different offices. Sometimes they confuse names which sound alike, such as Frederick W. Cook and Alonzo B. Cook. The former has been Secretary of the Commonwealth during the entire decade and is universally respected. The latter was Auditor for ten years despite criticism and opposition from the leaders of his own party. So long as he obtained the nomination in the primaries he was practically sure of the votes of the Republicans of the state. It took the voters of Massachusetts ten years to learn the difference between the two Cooks, and even in 1930 Alonzo B. Cook succeeded in carrying Malden. A similar confusion existed between Fred J. Burrell and Charles L. Burrill. The former had to resign while Mr. Coolidge was governor because of his conduct of the office of State Treasurer, while Charles L. Burrill had previously conducted the office of Treasurer with honesty and efficiency.

The case against the direct primary has been summed up by Alfred E. Smith, who admits that he was in favor of it when it was first introduced eighteen years ago. Mr. Smith says, "It is a matter of common knowledge that the average man or woman does not become seriously interested politically until after the making of a nomination....Experience shows that as a result of the direct nominating system power is often given to a small but active minority of a party to make the nominations.... It is possible for a convention to draft from among the members of the party men particularly able and qualified who will accept public office out of a spirit of patriotism and devotion to their country, but it is very difficult to induce that type of man to participate in all the ballyhoo and excitement of a primary campaign in order to receive the nomination."^{121.}

There are now pending before the General Court of Massachusetts three different bills which would tend toward a partial re-establishment of party control and party responsibility by permitting a convention to designate before the primary which of the candidates for nomination have the approval of the party.

121. Boston Globe, March 8, 1931.

10. The Rise of Woman Suffrage.

a. Beginnings in 1881 - 1890.

During the years 1881-1890 women were permitted to register and vote for members of the School Board, but very few of them took the trouble to do so. The first women's suffrage meeting was held in 1884.¹²² The next year a women's suffrage convention was held in Malden and addressed by Mrs. Lucy Stone. Mrs. Stone asked that women be given the vote in order to protect their rights, and demanded the municipal vote first. "Women ought to be upon Boards of Health," she said, "for what do men know about keeping clean?"¹²³

In 1886 a meeting was held to stimulate interest in choosing some woman to serve on the School Board. Mayor Coggan gave the principal address, urging the special fitness of the feminine sex for school matters. Edwin S. Blaine, Master Workman of the Knights of Labor in Malden also spoke and advocated that "women should have the universal franchise and be permitted to help make the laws which govern and control their sex."¹²⁴

That fall Dr. C. Maria Nordstrom, doctor of medicine, was elected to the School Board, on which she served for

122. City Press, Jan. 5, 1884.
 123. City Press, March 7, 1885.
 124. City Press, Nov. 26, 1886.

10. The Rise of Women Suffrage

1. Introduction in 1848 - 1850

During the years 1848-1850 women were restricted to
passive and vote for members of the School Board, but
very few of them took the trouble to do so. The first
women's suffrage meeting was held in 1848. The next
year a women's suffrage convention was held in London and
addressed by Mr. J. F. Stowe. Mrs. Stowe asked that
women be given the vote in order to protect their rights,
and suggested the motto: "Women's Rights".
She then said: "The whole of man know
about woman's rights."

In 1852 a meeting was held to discuss the situation in
England and women's rights on the School Board. Mary
Gaskell gave the principal address, during the speech
she said: "The whole of man know about woman's rights."
The meeting was held to discuss the situation in
England and women's rights on the School Board. Mary
Gaskell gave the principal address, during the speech
she said: "The whole of man know about woman's rights."

... Dr. G. Maria ...
... to the School Board, on which she served for

- 1850. City Press, Jan. 5, 1850.
- 1851. City Press, March 7, 1851.
- 1852. City Press, Nov. 23, 1852.

125.
three years. She was the first woman to hold public office in Malden. She was involved in the Daniels controversy, as already indicated, and was instrumental in having home work abolished for children under fourteen years of age on the ground that it was detrimental to their health. From that year until the present time the School Board has seldom been without at least one woman member.

b. Women Voters and Office Holders, 1921 - 1930.

Woman suffrage arrived at the beginning of the last decade. "It is interesting," commented the News in 1920, "to see the women about pulling doorbells and making calls and urging their sisters to register, while their husbands remain at home beside the fire and maybe wash the supper dishes, for, of course, they must be washed.... More power to the women, say we....Already we have put one woman on the School Committee. Why not two or three?.... This is the year to strike for office while the thing is new and novel." 126. The News also suggested that women be placed upon the Board of Health and Street Commission.

Women were not placed upon the last two boards, but two women were elected to the Common Council. They were

125. City Press, Dec. 7, 1886.

126. Malden News, Sept. 24, 1920.

Mrs. Warren Ford Upham and Mrs. Emma Fall Schofield. Mrs. Upham described her situation to this writer as follows. "The men members are uniformly courteous and obliging to me," she said, "and they always try to make me feel at home. I have no complaint about my treatment at the meetings. But a good many important matters are really settled at secret conferences outside the meetings, and I am never invited to attend." Mrs. Schofield's father is George Howard Fall, former mayor of Malden and professor of Roman Law at Boston University. Her mother was Anna Fall, the first woman ever admitted to the bar in Massachusetts. Mrs. Schofield also graduated from Boston University Law School, was admitted to the bar, and, in the fall of 1929 was appointed to the bench by Governor Allen. She thus became one of the first two women ever made judges in this Commonwealth, and has already served several sessions as associate judge in the Malden District Court.

c. Appeals to Women Voters.

Mrs. Schofield was also the author of the only typically feminine appeal, that is, the only appeal to women as such, that could be found in the politics of Malden.

It was printed in 1930 under the heading "A Questionnaire for Women Voters" and was an attempt to compare the operating expenses and necessity for economy in city government with the running of a domestic budget.^{127.}

The feminine element in Malden politics cannot be separated or disentangled from the political situation as a whole. Frank Kent declares that the same is true everywhere. "The most complete mistake that can possibly be made about the female voters is to handle them, think of them, appeal to them, as in any way different from the male voters, to consider them as in any way different from the male voters, requiring special arguments, tactics, treatment or pleading. The only sound practice for the candidate to observe in regard to the woman voter is not to worry about her....There is no such thing as sex solidarity in politics.....There is no such thing as lining the women up on one side. They split on moral issues just as the men split, are influenced by the same arguments, swayed by the same emotions and prejudices, swallow the same hokum and are in the mass considerably less well posted in politics...This is not because they are inherently less intelligent but because they are still in their political infancy."^{128.} "Ninety percent of the women vote as their

127. Malden News, Dec. 1, 1930.

128. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior." p. 281-282.

husbands or male relatives vote, the same emotions and prejudices sway them, there is no way to capture the women except through the men."¹²⁹.

Anna Stease Richardson is even less optimistic about women as voters. Of the 1928 presidential campaign she speaks thus: "Never in the history of suffrage has there been such an opportunity to study the behavior of women en masse in practical politics...The issues appealed overwhelmingly to the imaginations and emotions of women....Their contribution represented quantity rather than quality. They raised the voting score of the nation but not the standard of campaign methods. They lowered rather than raised the ethics of politics.... Women injected religious prejudice into the campaign... The clergymen who preached politics and personalities in their pulpits would not have dared to do so had they not been sure that women would approve, for is it not the women who fill the church pews, raise the salaries of ministers, and mend the parsonage roof?....The mass of women voters....scorning the warnings of their party leaders, talked the issues dearest to their hearts, religious control or religious intolerance, law enforcement or freedom for the individual, Tammany corruption or oil scandals.....

129. Kent, Frank. "Political Behavior." p. 287-288.

The less experienced in politics, the more fanatical were women on these two subjects, religion and prohibition..... One woman worker said, 'The women I worked on were not interested in pamphlets. What they wanted was personal stuff, gossip. You know what I mean. And I gave it to 'em.'.....Alas, the election of 1928 was shown that women are no more political minded than men-- and no better citizens."^{130.}

d. The Influence of Woman Suffrage.

A more dispassionate opinion is expressed by C. Mildred Thompson, Dean of Vassar College and Professor of History. She sums up "A Decade of Woman Suffrage" in the following words: "One of the most general claims made for woman suffrage by its proponents was that it would heighten the quality of political morality, fewer corrupt officials would be elected to office, and local government particularly, where women would be best informed and most active, would be purified and enlightened. In looking back over the ten years past, even the most optimistic interpreter of events cannot say that these hopes and prophecies have been fulfilled....."

130. Richardson, Anna Steese, "Women in the Campaign" Harper's Magazine, April 1929, p. 585-592.

The less experienced in politics, the more interested was
women on these two subjects, religion and constitution....
The women version said, "The women I worked on were very
interested in politics. What they didn't see was that
well, really, for some time I was, and I gave it to
them. Also, the election of 1932 was when that women
and no more political minded than men -- and in better
position."

4. The Influence of Women Politics.

A more representative opinion is expressed by Dr.
William Thompson, Dean of Women's College and Professor
of History. He sums up "A Decade of Women's Influence" in
the following words: "One of the most general ideas
for women influence by the politicians was that it would
heighten the quality of political morality, that women
would be elected to office, and that women
and participation, where women could be best informed and
most active, would be purified and enlightened. In fact
the past over the last years past, and the most political
interest of women cannot say that these hopes are
prophetic have been fulfilled...."

102. Richardson, Anna Stevens, "Women in the Legislature",
Harvard's Magazine, April 1933, p. 32-33.

And yet, in spite of the spectacular failure in the influence of the woman voter in the big cities, credible reports come of the wise and effective influence of women voters in many of the smaller cities and towns. It is not unlikely that at critical moments in local elections, when some question of special interest was before the voter, organizations of women voters may have been able to overthrow a 'political gang' and work together for better government. Still, they are at best only sporadic cases, not permanent conditions....Possibly ten years is too short a period in which to expect results from the votes cast by women, or possibly results in the large will never appear, however long the period of experience in voting. I am inclined to accept the latter hypothesis....We have no statistical evidence at our disposal, and we do not know how women vote, except from general hearsay....With no facts to the contrary, there is no doubt women vote much as men do. For an analysis of any one election or any one issue, the voting may be expected to follow lines of economic interest, of social groups, or geographic sections more than lines of sex indifference. This is a generalization, subject to exception, like all generalizations....In their own groups, in the various suffrage organizations before 1920, in the League of Women Voters, in the National Federation of Women's Clubs and

and yet, in spite of the spectacular failure in the 19-
elections of 1912 women voters in the big cities, credit
reports came to the effect that the effective influence of
women voters in many of the smaller cities was strong.
It is not difficult to see at a glance why the level of
action, when some question of general interest was before
the voter, organization of women voters was very low.
This is especially true in political parties and in the
for general government. Still, they are at least
approach cases, not permanent indifference.... Possibly the
years in the past a period in which the extent of their
from the voter was not by women, or possibly results in the
large will never appear, however long the period of ex-
perience is waited. I am inclined to think that the
hypothetical.... It is hard to state the extent of the in-
crease, and we do not know how much, except from
general reports.... With no data for the present, there
is no doubt women vote much as men do. But we realize
and are affected by the fact, the voter may be ex-
posed to higher lines of economic interest, or social
groups, or perhaps the results may be lines of sex in-
difference. This is a question, subject to question,
the all generalization.... In the two groups, in the
various college organizations before 1912, in the League
of Women Voters, in the National Association of Women's Clubs and

affiliations, and certainly in the Daughters of the American Revolution, women have shown the same organizing ability, the same astuteness, and, at times, the same unscrupulousness that achieve success in political parties....Women are only amateurs as yet in politics, but there is no reason why some of them should not become professionals....The possession of the vote is the first stage. The second is active participation in party organizations, and the third is public office....The practice of voting by women in the past ten years may not have brought betterment in political life. It may not have added distinguished servants to public office. It has given women greater self-respect, more confidence in trusting to their own honesty and worth."¹³¹

Thus we may conclude that, whether or not woman suffrage has lowered the average intelligence of the electorate in Malden, it has at least raised the average political intelligence of the community as a whole. Thousands of women who formerly left politics to the "men folks" and were almost proud to say that they knew nothing about it, are now taking an active part in politics and presumably are acquiring some measure of political wisdom.

131. Thompson, C. Mildred. "A Decade of Women's Suffrage," Current History Magazine, Oct. 1930, p. 13-17.

...and certainly in the Department of the
...women have shown the same strength
...the same strength, the same determination, and, at times, the same
...that women have shown in politics.
...women are only coming to the fore in politics,
...but there is no reason why some of them should not be
...some professional... The question of the role of the
...this stage. The need is for greater participation in party
...and the role of women in politics... The ques-
...tion of voting by women in the past has been
...have brought before the political world. It may not
...have added much to the political world, but it has
...has given women greater self-respect, and confidence in
...themselves to their own strength and courage.
...There is no doubt that, whether or not women
...themselves has lowered the average intelligence of the elect-
...tion in Britain, it has at least raised the average intelli-
...and intelligence of the community as a whole. Thousands of
...women who formerly left politics to the "men of the house" and
...were almost proud to say that they were not doing so, are
...are now taking an active part in politics and community
...are acquiring some measure of political status.

111. Thompson, G. M. (1955). "The Role of Women in Politics".
...The Journal of Political Science, 10, 1-11.

11. The Liquor Question.

a. The "Wet" and "Dry" Votes, 1881 - 1890 and 1921-1930.

All conversational roads lead to Prohibition, and this theme cannot be concluded without reference to the liquor question in Malden, although that subject has been already touched upon several times. In 1887 the City Press said, "Malden is the banner no license city."^{132.} The same could have been said truthfully at any time during a period of half a cantury. The vote for and against the granting of local licenses was very consistent, as may be seen below.

<u>Year.</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>
Yes	775	770	843	838	356	408	613	848
No	869	1208	1144	1329	1513	1912	1808	1186

The apparent decrease in the "dry" plurality for 1889 is explained by a reversal in the form of the question on the ballot, which confused many voters and led them to vote just opposite to their intentions.^{133.}

In 1924, after four years of Prohibition, the people of Malden voted on a referendum as follows: For repeal, 7023; against repeal 4622.^{134.} Sentiment apparently changed soon after it became impossible to obtain a drink legally

132. City Press, Nov. 20, 1887.

133. City Press, Dec. 3, 1889.

134. Malden News, Nov. 4, 1924.

in any of the surrounding communities. In 1930 the referendum on the "Baby Volstead Act" showed 7458 in favor of repeal as against 5609 "drys". See table on p. 42.

Reference has already been made to the strength of the temperance organizations during the 1880's and to the quantities of publicity which the newspapers gave to their activities. A temperance lecture was "front page stuff;" it would be printed in full. But no Malden paper published a line of liquor advertising.

b. Difficulties of Law Enforcement.

Nevertheless, the Malden police had their troubles enforcing the no license laws. It is interesting to note that their problems and the tactics of the bootleggers were very similar to the present day war between police and liquor sellers.

One illicit dealer had barrels buried in the ground^{135.} and connected with a faucet hidden under the counter.

Another dumped beer down the sink before the police could^{136.}

break in, much the same as in recent times. In 1896 Chief of Police Lyman H. Richards reported that he and his men had used 70 search warrants, made 35 seizures, and obtained 48 convictions. He declared that the largest

135. City Press, Nov. 13, 1886.

136. City Press, Nov. 6, 1886.

saloon in town had been made into a tenement and twenty others had "virtually" gone out of business. He was honest enough to add, "At present I have reason to suspect that there are twenty more places where they are endeavoring to do business."^{137.} The raids continued into the spring of 1887, when the Malden Mirror remarked, "Some doubt exists whether the driving of the traffic from the public places, open to inspection, into dark and private retreats, which the officer has no right to enter without a warrant, will result in any benefit to the community and it is feared that it may root the evil of intemperance deeper into the soil."^{138.}

During 1888 the police made 126 arrests for drunkenness and 51 for violation of the liquor law.^{139.} In his second inaugural address, January, 1891, Mayor Wiggin referred to the illegal liquor traffic in the following words: "It is more difficult to enforce the laws against the sale of liquor than to enforce most other laws, for the reason that they do not receive the same moral support from the community."^{140.} That sounds a good deal like 1931.

In short, the entire situation as regards the obtaining of liquor in Malden has changed less in the forty years than any other major problem. The sentiment of the

137. City Press, Nov. 13, 1886.

138. Malden Mirror, March 5, 1887.

139. City Press, Jan. 26, 1889.

140. Malden Mirror, Jan. 10, 1891.

city, however, has been reversed. We do not know whether that indicates an increase or a decrease in political intelligence.

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that indicates an increase in a decrease in political
intelligence.

12. Education for Democracy.

a. The Role of Education.

"It is then to education that logically one turns next," writes Walter Lippmann, "for education has furnished the thesis of the last chapter of every optimistic book on democracy for one hundred and fifty years."^{141.}

Lippmann is undoubtedly correct in stating that the American theory of democracy joins self-government and education very closely together. But Lippmann does not feel optimistic about democracy or education for democracy. He says, "The usual appeal to education can bring only disappointment. For the problems of the modern world appear and change faster than any set of teachers can grasp them, much faster than they can convey their substance to a population of children. If the schools attempt to teach children how to solve the problems of the day, they are bound always to be in arrears."^{142.}

If this were a treatise on education, we might suggest that Lippmann made his error in assuming that the schools must necessarily teach specific solutions to specific problems. The schools cannot remain static in a dynamic world. They must teach civic habits, attitudes

141. Lippmann, Walter, "The Phantom Public" p. 24.

142. Ibid., p. 27

12. Education for Democracy

1. The Role of Education

"It is then to education that logically one turns first," writes Walter Lippmann, "for education is the mainstay of the future of the best of every civilization. It is the only way in which we can hope to secure a better world for our children and for the generations to come."

Lippmann is undoubtedly correct in stating that the American character of democracy is a self-government and education very closely together. But Lippmann does not feel optimistic about democracy as education for democracy. He says, "The social appeal to education has been very disappointing. For the possibilities of the social world appear and change faster than the art of teachers can keep pace, with faster that they can change their objectives as a population of children. If the schools attempt to teach children how to solve the problems of the day, they are bound always to be in error."

If this were a lecture on education, we might say that Lippmann was the first to suggest that the schools must necessarily teach specific techniques to meet the problems. The schools cannot remain static in a dynamic world. They must teach civic habits, attitudes

of mind, ways of approaching the ever changing problems of society. There are certain broad principles of government which do not change, or at least do not change within the span of a few generations. Probably, however, most schools are trying to do just what Lippmann criticizes, namely, to solve the problems of the day, and to that extent his pessimism is justified.

b. Social Science Curriculum, 1880 to 1890.

Without further digression, let us see what the schools of Malden have done and are doing to educate the future citizens for democracy.

The report of the Superintendent of Schools for the year 1881 shows that there was practically no elimination of pupils from school until they reach the age of 14 and the "First Class," which corresponded to the Ninth Grade or last year in Grammar School. Then the number dropped suddenly from 234 to 164. Few, apparently, entered the high school, which graduated only 16 pupils that year. Five pages of the superintendent's report is devoted to a defence of the high school, which some citizens evidently considered a useless and expensive luxury.

For the elementary grades the superintendent stresses reading, language, and arithmetic, which seem roughly to correspond to the traditional three R's. He ordered that the time given to geography be reduced from five hours a week to three. "This is time enough," he curtly observes, "if the instruction is properly directed; and, by the reduction, additional time can be devoted to the study of language, reading, and arithmetic." No mention is made of history or of citizenship in the grades.

Pupils who entered high school had their choice between a four-year general course and a two-year commercial course. In the general course, history was elective in the third year and civil government in the fourth year. There is no way of knowing how many pupils elected these subjects, and we would be completely in the dark regarding their subject matter, were it not for the authorized list of textbooks, which included only the following history books.

"Ancient History, by Thalheimer.

Rome, by Leighton.

Greece, by Smith.

Readings from English History, by Green."

American History is not mentioned anywhere in the high school curriculum, but commercial students, for some unexplained

For the elementary grades the appropriate sciences
 reading, language, and arithmetic, which are usually so
 introduced to the child at an early age. It is desired that
 the child should be introduced to these three subjects
 as early as possible. "This is the reason," he usually observes,
 "if the instruction is properly given; and, by the re-
 sult, additional time can be devoted to the study of
 language, reading, and arithmetic." It appears in order to
 history is an opportunity in the system.

It is also desired that the child should be
 given a fair knowledge of the world and a fair knowledge of
 nature. In the general course, history can be effective in
 the child's mind and civil government in the lower years.
 There is no way of knowing how much of the child's mind
 and body, and we would be completely in the dark regarding
 these subject matter, were it not for the established fact
 of experience, which indicates that the following history
 books,

"United States History," by H. H. H.

"History," by H. H. H.

"History," by H. H. H.

"History from English History," by H. H. H.

American history is not mentioned anywhere in the high school
 curriculum, but some of the following, for some reason.

reason, were required to pursue one course in political economy and another course in civil government, both in their second or last year. Very likely no one had yet thought of anything better with which to fill up the two-year program of commercial students. The textbooks are not named.^{143.}

According to the course of study prescribed in 1890, pupils began American history in the "Fourth Class" or Sixth Grade of today (there were then nine grades in Malden) and continued it throughout the "Third" and "Second" classes, or Seventh and Eighth Grades. In the "First Class," later known as the Ninth Grade, the prescribed text was Scudder's "History of the United States," and the following directions are given:

"Encourage pupils to read other histories and biographies, and to bring items of information to the class. Discuss freely the lives of prominent men, and show their influence upon the country. Require pupils to learn only the most important dates. Dwell less upon events than upon their causes. Compare our history with the history of other nations, and show what causes have always produced prosperity and what have always produced adversity."^{144.}

143. Superintendent's report, 1881.

144. Superintendent's report, 1890.

The above has all the ear marks of having been written by Superintendent Charles A. Daniels. Even in the light of modern educational theory it would be hard to improve upon his directions.

For every grade in the public schools the teaching of Manners and Morals was rigidly prescribed and suggestions were given as to the kind of manners and morals to teach. For the "First Class" or last year of the elementary school, the following was suggested:

"Patriotism, enterprise, and public spirit necessary to secure prosperity to a country. Relations, duties, and responsibilities of nations similar to those of individuals. Topics suggested by the events of the day."

The high school curriculum in 1890 remained identically the same, so far as the social studies were concerned, as it was at the beginning of the decade.

c. Progress since 1890.

The "Middletown" authors, referred to earlier in this paper, found that there had been a great increase in the time devoted to the social studies. Whereas in 1890 the schools offered little or nothing in the social studies, the curriculum of 1924 prescribed history and civics for almost every year of the elementary school, and, in the

The above has all the appearance of being
written by Superintendent Charles A. Smith. When in
the light of modern educational theory it would be hard to
imagine more than a suggestion.

For every child in the public schools the teaching
of manners and habits was rightly prescribed and sug-
gestions were given as to the kind of manners and habits to
teach. For the "moral class" or last year of the elemen-
tary school, the following was suggested:

"Punctuality, neatness, and other habits necessary
to secure proficiency in a career. . . . Punctuality, neatness,
and responsibility of action. . . . In the case of boys,
cleanliness. . . . Boys are expected to be clean at all times.
The high school curriculum in its content should
reflect the same, as far as the social studies were concerned,
as it was at the beginning of the century.

c. Progress since 1900.

The "Middletown" studies, reported to earlier in this
paper, show that there has been a great increase in the
time devoted to the social studies.
social studies in the public schools,
the curriculum of these prescribed history and civics for
almost every year of the elementary school, and, in the

high school, the social studies occupied 16% of the total student hours. Commenting upon this shift in emphasis the Lyndes write, "Second only in importance to the rise of those courses addressed to the practical vocational activities is the new emphasis upon courses in history and civics."^{145.}

They believe, however, that there has been little or no change in the teaching of American History since 1890. "In the case of history, facts presented in the textbooks are, as in 1890, predominantly military and political, although military affairs occupy relatively less than in the nineties. Facts concerning economic and industrial development receive more emphasis than in the earlier texts, although political development is still the core....It is almost impossible to tell whether a history examination is of 1890 or 1924 vintage."^{146.}

That was in the midwest, but the same tendency is noted in Massachusetts. In 1921 the General Court enacted a statute containing this paragraph, "In all public elementary and high schools American history and civics shall be taught as required subjects for the purpose of promoting civic service and a greater knowledge thereof and of fitting the pupils, morally and intellectually, for the duties of citizenship."^{147.}

145. Lynde, Robert S. and Helen Merrell, "Middletown" p. 196.

146. Lynde, Robert S. and Helen Merrell, "Middletown" ch. 14.

147. Course of Study in Community Civics, Malden Public Schools.

high school, the total number enrolled in the total
 student body. According to this shift in emphasis the
 higher school, "Schools only in importance in the case of
 those persons addressed to the practical world."
 activities in the new standards used courses in history
 and civics.

They believe, however, that there has been little
 or no change in the teaching of American History since
 1901. "In the case of history, facts presented as the
 textbook are, as in 1901, predominantly military and
 political, although military affairs being relatively
 less than in the nineteenth. Facts concerning economic and
 industrial development receive more emphasis than in the
 earlier texts, although political development is still
 the core.... It is almost impossible to tell whether a sta-
 tionary or a progressive is of 1901 or 1920 or 1930."

That was in the thirties, but the new standard is
 noted in the introduction. In 1901 the General Board created
 a standard regarding this paragraph, "In all public schools
 and high schools American history and civics shall be
 taught as required subjects for the purpose of providing
 civic service and a deeper knowledge thereof and of fitting
 the pupils, mentally and intellectually, for the duties of
 citizenship."

145. Lundy, Robert S. and Helen Lundy, "Public Schools, p. 12."
146. Lundy, Robert S. and Helen Lundy, "Public Schools, p. 12."
147. Course of Study in Secondary Division, Public Schools.

Hence history and civics are now taught, in some form or other, in practically every grade in the Malden schools. In the high school the law has been interpreted to mean that a pupil must not only study American History but must pass it before he can obtain a diploma. Civics generally occupies what time is left after American history is finished, or it is taught in an incidental way, perhaps in connection with the adoption of the Constitution. It is believed that a Freshman course in Community Civics really covers the legal requirements. The outline for the latter course, by the way, follows chapter by chapter the text of Hill's "Community Life and Civic Problems." It is the usual hash of police department, fire department, street department, sewer department, and the three major departments of government. 148.

d. Results of This Education.

Probably Walter Lippmann was thinking of such courses in American History and Civics when he wrote the pessimistic paragraph already quoted. David Snedden may have had them in mind when he said, "American history study has very slight, if any, bearing on the adult civic behavior of students...When, in adult life, a man...

148. Course of Study in Community Civics, Malden Public Schools.

Hence history and civics are now taught, as were Latin
or other, in practically every grade in the United States.
In the high school and law has been incorporated in such
that a pupil must not only study American history but
must pass its history as one obtains a diploma. Civics
has been incorporated with the Latin after graduation and
Latin is required, as it is taught in an incidental way,
perhaps in connection with the study of the classics.
It is believed that a thorough course in American
history will give the pupil a better understanding of the country
and the history of the world, and will also give
the pupil a better understanding of the history of the world.
It is believed that a thorough course in American
history will give the pupil a better understanding of the country
and the history of the world, and will also give
the pupil a better understanding of the history of the world.

3. Examples of this education.

Probably better examples are following of this
course in American history and civics than in any other
country. In Germany already noted, Latin English and
have had them in mind when we said, "American history
is very high, it is, however, in the world."
This is the case of education. Then, in 1911, a new...

is confronted by social problems he naturally turns to past experience for guidance. Probably almost never does he find that guidance in what he has previously actually learned of American or other history."^{149.}

In short, nothing that the boys and girls of Malden learned in their social science studies in the public schools either in 1881-1890 or in 1921-1930 really did much to fit them for their duties as citizens. Of course there were other agencies. In the earlier period, the home and church had great influence. In our own day there are athletics, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Junior Red Cross, and all the extra-curricular activities of the public schools. All educational agencies, in fact, and many civic organizations are keenly aware of the serious problem which faces them and are making conscious efforts to solve it. These efforts cannot yet be properly measured or evaluated.

149. Snedden, David. "Civic Education" p. 203-4.

PART III.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. Opinions of Competent Observers.

The writer's intention was to interview several citizens of Malden who might be classed as competent observers of affairs in both decades and to check their opinions against his own conclusions. This proved unexpectedly difficult. Very few men have been active politically in both periods; those who were leaders in 1881-1890 are now either dead or, if living, are not trustworthy witnesses. An attempt to reach Aaron C. Dowse, former editor of the City Press and a member of the City Government and of the Legislature, discovered him in a hospital, where he has since died. Hon. George Howard Fall, who could throw a great deal of light upon politics past and present, is in a sanitarium. Others seem to be afflicted with the "golden age complex" which makes them believe that days gone by are necessarily better than the present degenerate times. Horace described such an elderly person as "laudator temporis actae."^{150.}

Frank A. Bayrd, editor of the Malden News and former member of the General Court, although not very old during the 1880's, delivered the following opinion: "Of course people were more intelligent politically then than they are now. They met more, talked more, there was less to

150. Horace, "Ars Poetica" line 173.

distract them and take up their time. Politics was a universal diversion. Everybody knew something about it. They discussed men and measures in barber shops, cobbler shops, wherever they got together. In those years you and I would meet and exchange views probably every day. Now we don't see each other but a few times a year. It's just the same with everyone else. And when we do meet, we don't as a rule talk about politics."

2. The Writer's Conclusions.

In presenting his own conclusions from this study of Malden, the writer wishes to be understood as believing that no very valid or far-reaching generalizations ought to be based upon a study as limited in its scope as this one has been. At most, one can only say that such and such things seem to have been true of the citizens of this specified community during these specified periods of time. Such observations may, however, be indicative and suggestive. Other communities ought to be studied in a similar manner and the results of these "samplings" ought to be checked against each other. If the results of several such studies are in agreement with each other, then the conclusions may be said to have some validity.

Several conclusions, already presented on p. 51, will be included in this recapitulation.

1. Statistics regarding registration of voters and participation in elections shows that the citizens have as much interest in politics now as they did a generation ago. They have never been keenly interested in the making of nominations, and they have had as much interest in local politics as in state and national campaigns.

The Witness's Recollections.

In accordance with the usual practice of the court...

of which, the witness stated, he had no recollection...

leaving that no very definite or far-reaching...

those who he had seen a while he listed as...

people as they had seen, at that time, only...

that now, and even though he had been one of the...

signs of this peculiarly peculiar kind of...

that people of this kind, they observed, they...

indicative and suggestive, their conversation...

also in a similar manner and the words...

"nothing" and he had heard several...

the fact of several such cases in...

and other, that the possibility may be...

...

General conclusion, which is...

will be included in this...

1. Relation between...

relation to the fact that the witness...

much interest in politics...

and. They have never been...

of course, and they have not as much interest...

relation to the state and national...

2. Women are taking less part than men, the ratio being roughly two to three. This may not as yet represent any gain in the intelligence of the electorate; it does indicate a wider dissemination of political knowledge.

3. There are fewer appeals to party spirit and more evidence of vote-splitting, that is, of independent thinking on the part of the voters.

4. More blanks are being cast, owing to the difficulty of the present ballot form with its referenda and public policy questions, in which the voters take little interest.

5. There are more opportunities for the display of race prejudice than a generation ago, but there are very few overt appeals to it.

6. There are plenty of means for the citizen to obtain information, if he desires it, and the press is becoming more and more neutral in its attitude.

7. Appeals to emotion, as compared with appeals to intelligence, seem to be in a diminishing ratio in recent times.

8. Determined efforts are being made to raise the sense of civic duty and the level of political intelligence, but it is not yet possible to measure the results.

1. When the falling rate of profit is the cause of the depression, the only way to escape it is by increasing the productivity of labor. This can be done by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, or by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

2. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

3. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

4. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

5. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

6. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

7. There are two other ways to escape the depression. One is by increasing the amount of capital invested in the industry, and the other is by increasing the amount of labor employed. Both of these methods will increase the total output of the industry, and thus the total demand for goods. This will lead to an increase in the price of goods, and thus to an increase in the rate of profit.

The writer believes that there is no evidence that political intelligence is any less than it was a generation ago, and that there are some signs of political intelligence being on the increase. What gives an illusory impression that intelligence is decreasing is the strong tendency of political problems to multiply in number and to increase in difficulty. The citizens of 1881-1890 did not have to face such formidable situations as the citizens of 1921-1930. With a rough approximation of the truth one might say that intelligence was increasing arithmetically and that the demands made upon it are increasing geometrically.

The writer believes that it is an evidence that
political intelligence is very low. When it was a common
thing, and that there was some sense of political
sense about the interest. That there is a
question that intelligence is decreasing is the
evidence of political intelligence to nothing in modern
to be seen in history. The evidence of 1841-1842 did
not have to face some political situation was the
case of 1841-1842. With a small representation of the
truth and what are the political situation and
national feeling and that the situation was also in the
national feeling.

3. Restatement of the Problem and Its Solution.

Munro describes the situation. "Consider the question of universal suffrage in its relation to the fundamental purpose of government, which is to promote the common good. With the increasing complexity of human relations, this common good becomes steadily more difficult to promote or even to ascertain. In other words, the complexities of government increase as the square of the newly-created relations, and our political problems are becoming intricate by a sort of geometrical progression. But human intelligence is not advancing at any such pace...It stands to reason, therefore, that the art of government will soon outrun the mental competence of the lower ranks in the electorate, if it has not already done so."^{151.}

And Felix Frankfurter suggests the solution, which is the delegation of the more complex problems to the trained administrator. "Government is itself an art, one of the subtlest of arts. It is neither business nor technology nor applied science. It is the art of making men live together in peace and with reasonable happiness... The art of government has been achieved best by men to whom governing is itself a profession. One of the shallowest disdains is the sneer against the professional

151. Munro, William Bennett, "Intelligence Tests for Voters" Forum, Dec. 1928, p. 649-60.

politician.....The most successful statesmen have been professionals. Beveridge's life of Lincoln serves as a reminder that Lincoln was a professional politician. Politics was Roosevelt's profession, Wilson was, all his life, at least preoccupied with politics, and Calvin Coolidge, though nominally a lawyer, had no profession except politics.

"The difficulties of our social-economic problems will not abate with time. One may be confident that they will become more complicated. They will make increasing demands upon trained intelligence. If government is to be equal to its responsibilities, it must draw more and more on men of skill and wisdom for public administration."^{152.}

152. Frankfurter, Felix, "Democracy and the Expert," Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1930. p. 659-660.

PART IV

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1914

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The greatest use has been made and chief reliance placed
upon the three local newspapers listed below.

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Dowse, from Oct. 2, 1880 to Aug. 24, 1895. Used very ex-
tensively for the period 1881-1890.

2. Malden Mirror. Weekly paper, published in Malden,
Mass., from May 17, 1871, to March 14, 1914. Used extensive-
ly for the period 1881-1890. During nearly all of that
period it was owned and edited by H.C.Gray.

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Published by the Malden School Department.

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1. General Information. The subject of this report is given below. The question of the subject of this report is given below.

2. General Information. The subject of this report is given below. The question of the subject of this report is given below.

3. General Information. The subject of this report is given below. The question of the subject of this report is given below.

4. General Information. The subject of this report is given below. The question of the subject of this report is given below.

5. General Information. The subject of this report is given below. The question of the subject of this report is given below.

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THEORY OF THE STATE

Political science is the study of the state and political institutions.

1. The state is a political entity.

2. The state is a legal entity.

3. The state is a moral entity.

4. The state is a social entity.

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results of the investigation are in general
in accordance with the results of the
investigation of the first of these
1910.
2. The second of these is the fact that the
results of the investigation are in general
in accordance with the results of the
investigation of the first of these
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