

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL
1900--1950

by
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE ROLE OF THE NOVEL IN PORTRAYING GOVERNMENT

The political scientist, immersed in the literature of his profession, often overlooks the fact that, to the public as a whole, political-science literature is a relatively minor medium in the conveying of governmental information. Obviously the printed and spoken utterance of the political scientist is only one means of giving to the public information about government, but it is an important means because it is almost the only vehicle of information which is both serious and disinterested.

1. The Role of Political Science

Political science is one of the learned professions which in recent years has become increasingly more important both in teaching and in the lives of the public as a whole. Although writings of political theory have existed from very early times, it is only comparatively recently that there has been an effort to separate out and to dissect the somewhat intuitive skill of the ancient political theorist, and to attempt to make political science as such into a teachable and learnable skill. Despite the beliefs expressed by such writers as David Easton in his recent book, The Political

System,¹ that political theory is declining into mere historicism there has been an obvious growth in political science departments throughout the United States. Nevertheless, political science as such continues to reach only a small segment of the population which is affected by numerous other forces and influences.

In the presentation of the government of the United States to the citizens the government itself often attempts to make presentations. These explanations are serious but they can hardly be termed disinterested in the sense that political-science literature is disinterested since the government agency is often presenting material with the hope and intention of exacting approval and a favorable response on the part of the reader. Moreover, each component part of the government wishes to present itself at somewhat of an advantage over the other component parts of the government.

In the diffusion of information about government one must not overlook also the very important role of interpersonal relations such as those existing between parent and child, neighbor and neighbor, employer and employee. This medium for the diffusion of information was relied upon in great part by the leaders of the American Revolution in the maintenance of an active support of a vigilant minority and the passive support of what may have been a majority of the population. More

¹David Easton, The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science (New York, 1953).

recently this means of communication of ideas was relied upon by the Germans who invaded the Ukraine during World War II, eventually with the use of rumor and whispering campaigns resulting in the loss of more support than the Germans gained from the population. In both situations, the American Revolution and the German invasion, the persons concerned with the dissemination of information could not rely upon political-science materials or legal arguments alone; neither could they make use of modern methods of mass communications -- in the one case because they did not exist, in the other because of the primitive nature of the territory and facilities. In both situations, therefore, the chief method of gaining support had of necessity to be the statements of the people as between themselves as to what they believed about government.

Under less primitive conditions mass communications assume a very important role in the dispersal of information and in the formation of opinions. The lives of almost all persons in the United States, for example, have been transformed by means of newspapers, radio, television, motion pictures and other media, and a new kind of personality has been formed in the process. This personality is perhaps not so complicated as that outlined by David Riesman² nor so simple as the one suggested by Bird and Merwin.³ It is a personality which appears

²David Riesman, in collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven, 1950).

³George L. Bird and Frederic E. Merwin, The Press and Society: A Book of Readings (New York, 1951).

to develop as a result of the flow of mass communications against the mind and character of the layman.

An inquiry concerning the role of political science in communicating when both the political scientist and the layman are considered as citizens is touched upon by the American Political Science Association report, Goals for Political Science.⁴ This report attempts to survey the role of political science in instructing both the student of political science in particular and the public in general. Other studies by Lasswell⁵ and Brogan⁶ suggest that the American public, despite the impact of mass communication, is still fairly far from the psychology of mass and stampede behavior evident on the part of certain European nations who show themselves prone to totalitarianism and fanaticism.

2. The Unnoticed Competitors of Political Science

This study on the federal government in the American novel from 1900 to 1950 is only one of a number of such studies which would have to be made in order to place the teaching of political science in a realistic context. The present study traces the federal government through both popular and

⁴ Goals for Political Science: Report of the Committee for the Advancement of Teaching, American Political Science Association (New York, 1951).

⁵ Harold Dwight Lasswell, Power and Personality (New York, 1948); and Harold D. Lasswell, National Security and Individual Freedom (New York, 1950).

⁶ D. W. Brogan, The Price of Revolution (New York, 1951).

serious novels in an attempt to determine how closely the fictional federal government relates to the federal government presented in political-science and, to some extent, historical, literature. Serial publications, as such, are not prescribed as falling within the field of this investigation.

Some of the companion studies to this one suitable for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation, might well include the following:

- (1) The federal government in magazine fiction;
- (2) The federal government in the popular magazine article;
- (3) The federal government in the journals of the non-political professions (such as medical, or military, or architectural journals);
- (4) The federal government in the fictional motion picture;
- (5) The federal government in the factual motion picture and newsreel;
- (6) The federal government in the "comic" strips;
- (7) Federal personalities and institutions in cartoons;
- (8) A depth interrogation study of beliefs about and understanding of the federal government, held either in an entire small community or in a sharply predetermined sector of a larger community.

It is patent that this study cannot cover all of the fields mentioned above, but the writer believes that as a pilot venture it may present problems and conclusions challenging

enough to induce other political scientists to enter cognate fields.

3. The Relationship of Political Science and Novels in Present Literature

From the attention which political scientists in general have paid to the novel it is evident that most political scientists are not at present cognizant of the relationship between the wide circulation of novels and the potentialities of those novels for disseminating information, whether it be correct or incorrect, about the federal government. Only one book review -- a book review written by Elmer Davis in 1928 about McCready Houston's novel, Dear Senator -- discussed the political-science aspects of a novel discussed. Mr. Davis's review recommended the use of Dear Senator in political-science classes. Learned journals such as the American Association of University Professors Bulletin, the American Journal of International Law, the American Political Science Review, and the American Historical Review, regularly follow an editorial policy of not reviewing novels and of publishing no articles about novels.

The Public Administration Review has no set policy of the reviewing of novels, but from the time of its initial publication in 1940 through 1950, Public Administration Review had published only one review of a novel, and that review did not emphasize particularly the political-science aspects of the novel involved, although the novel -- Fire, by George Stewart -- concerned the Forest Service of the

Department of Agriculture. Social Education, the publication of the National Council for the Social Studies, has contained some articles on the use of novels in the teaching of history, particularly to high-school students. Two of these articles are "Teaching American History Through Novels," by Morris Gall⁷ and "Historical Fiction and the Teaching of History," by Elizabeth Cochran.⁸ Both articles, however, approached the question of the novel and teaching as the problem of how much the novel might supplement ordinary history texts rather than as a problem of the kind of view which the reader would obtain from the reading of historical or political fiction. Dr. Cochran, on the other hand, does mention the fact that many novels (such as, for example, Helen Hunt Jackson's Ramona and Frank Norris's The Pit and The Octopus) had wide influence in governmental reforms. The classic example of the novel which had widespread effect is, of course, Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. The question as to why political scientists have not striven for more accuracy on the part of novelists dealing with political subjects thus remains unanswered.

The Education Index, which was first published for the years between January 1929 and June 1932, lists in the period

⁷Morris Gall, "Teaching American History Through Novels," Social Education, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (April 1953), pp. 156-158.

⁸Elizabeth Cochran, "Historical Fiction and the Teaching of History," Social Education, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (February 1950), pp. 65-68.

from 1929 to 1950 some few articles dealing with novels; most of these articles, however, are attempts to list the greatest novels of all times, and approach the question of the novel from the viewpoint of the high-school English teacher. Moreover, the journals in which these articles have appeared are not widely circulated; they include: Texas Outlook, English Journal, Midland Schools, Madison Quarterly, and College English. The place of the novel in the dissemination of information is so important that it deserves more thorough and more prominent treatment than it appears to have received in many of these journals.

The Book Review Digest attempts to list political novels and novels dealing with various branches of the government under the categories in which such novels belong; a great many novels are overlooked, however, under this arrangement, and many novels which belong under governmental headings are not so listed. The Fiction Catalog⁹ lists even fewer of the political and governmental novels, partly, perhaps, because the compilers do not attempt to list all fiction but only to list some of the more serious fiction.

The compilers of a number of annotated lists of novels

⁹Dorothy E. Cook and Estelle A. Fidell, comps., Fiction Catalog 1950 Edition: A Subject, Author and Title List of 3400 Works of Fiction in the English Language with Annotations (New York, 1951), and Dorothy E. Cook and Isabel S. Monroe, comps., assisted by Elizabeth S. Duval, Fiction Catalog 1941 Edition: A Subject, Author and Title List of 5050 Works of Fiction in the English Language with Annotations (New York, 1942).

have made some attempt to sort into categories political
novels and novels about government. Some of the best of th
bibliographies and surveys are: Morris Edmund Speare, The
Political Novel: Its Development in England and in America;¹⁰
Ernest Loisey, The American Historical Novel;¹¹ Arthur
Quinn, American Fiction: An Historical and Critical
Survey;¹² Albert Lenrow, Reader's Guide to Prose Fiction;¹³
Otis C. Coan and Richard C. Lillard, America in Fiction;¹⁴
Frederic M. Coffin, The Modern Novel in America 1900-
1950.¹⁵

¹⁰ Morris Edmund Speare, The Political Novel; Its Development in England and in America (New York, 1924).

¹¹ Ernest L. Loisey, The American Historical Novel (New York, 1950).

¹² Arthur Quinn, American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey (New York, 1936).

¹³ Albert Lenrow, Reader's Guide to Prose Fiction: An Introductory Essay, with Bibliographies of 1500 Novels Selected, Logically Classified, and Annotated for Use in Meeting the Needs of Individuals in General Education (New York, 1940).

¹⁴ Otis C. Coan and Richard C. Lillard, America in Fiction: An Annotated List of Novels that Interpret Aspects of Life in the United States (rev. ed.; Stanford, 1945).

¹⁵ Frederic M. Coffin, The Modern Novel in America 1900-1950 (Chicago, 1951). Some other works of the same type which are excellent in their fields but which did not contain listings which were helpful in the preparation of this study are: Edward Schenck, Cavalcade of the American Novel From the Birth of the Nation to the Middle of the Twentieth Century (New York, 1952); Harold B. Gardner, Fifty Years of the American Novel: A Christian Appraisal (New York, 1951); Carl Van Doren, The American Novel 1789-1939 (New York

Besides the listing of categories and the bibliographies mentioned in the footnotes, there have been literary historians who have attempted not only a critical of the literature as literature but have also pointed out the circumstances under which given novels have been written and the causes of their success. In this respect, the authors have

... Course of American Democratic Thought,¹ ... Major Currents in American

1940); ... American Fiction 1820-1940 (New York, 1941). Some sources which were helpful in obtaining background information about the authors of novels are ... American Authors and Their Works, 1640-1940 (New York, 1941); ... Allett, Contemporary American Authors: A Critical Survey and 219 Bio-Bibliographies (New York, 1951); and ... Twentieth Century Authors: A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Literature Complete in One Volume with 1350 Portraits and 1700 Portraits (New York, 1942). For novels of science fiction genre the following were useful: ... Traces and Patterns in Scientific and Utopian Fiction (New York, 1947); ... The Miscellany of Fantastic Literature: A Bibliography of Fantasy, Weird, and Science Fiction Books Published in the English Language (Chicago, 1941); and ... Traces to the Future (New York, 1943). Currently ... of which lists novels ... also offer a ... sort categorization ... The Wonderful World of Books (1953)

... Course of American Democratic Thought: Intellectual History since 1815 (New York, 1940).

Thought¹⁷ and the three-volume work by Spiller, Thorp, Johnson and Canby, Literary History of the United States.¹⁸ Once again, in these works, however, the authors have had a viewpoint which is not one of interpreting the government or politics from the novels, but one of interpolating the novels into the history of the United States as it occurred. In other words, the objective of the authors of the literary histories has generally been to place in their proper context, and to explain the development of novels and other literature in the United States; it has not been to explore the role of the novel in disseminating information about the United States.¹⁹

Some of the Congressional hearings indicate that Congress is cognizant of literature in the shaping and formation of

¹⁷Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920; Vol. I, 1620-1800: The Colonial Mind; Vol. II, 1800-1860: The Romantic Revolution in America; Vol. III, 1860-1920: The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America (New York, 1927-30).

¹⁸Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, Thomas W. Johnson and Henry Seidel Canby, eds.; Howard Mumford Jones, Dixonecter, Stanley E. Williams, associates, Literary History of the United States; Vol. II, Bibliography (New York, 1948).

¹⁹The novel as a vehicle of propaganda (in the sense of influencing public opinion rather than purely in its less happy connotation) has been to some extent explored, however. As early as 1930 an article, "Western Fiction About China," by P. H. Linebarger, Jr., appeared in the Chinese Nation (Vol. I, No. 26, December 10, 1930, pp. 602, 617) in which the author attempted to show some of the stereotypes and misconceptions about China which Western novels tended to perpetuate.

opinions, although as yet none of the hearings has explored novelists as such.²⁰

4. The Federal Government in the Novel

A few novelists have attempted consciously to portray the government of the United States as a whole and to portray it in a recognizable context. John Dos Passos, for example, in his trilogy, District of Columbia,²¹ the component parts of which were published in 1939, 1943 and 1949, tries to show a panorama of the government as a whole under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. James M. Cain, in a series of short stories and sketches, writes entirely believable satire on the federal, state, and municipal governments in his little-known classic,

²⁰See, for example: Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-second Congress, first session, parts 1-5, John S. Wood, Chairman (81595) (Washington, 1931); Subversive Influence in the Educational Process, Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-third Congress, first session, parts 1-3, William T. Jenner, Chairman (24259) (Washington, 1953); Communist Methods of Infiltration (Education -- Part 2), Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress, first session, including Index, Harold H. Velde, Chairman (30172) (Washington, 1953); House Report No. 2510, Report of the Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, House of Representatives, Union Calendar No. 797, Eighty-second Congress, second session, Pursuant to H. Res. 596, December 31, 1952, E. C. Gathings, Chairman (Washington, 1952); Hearings Before the Select Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, Eighty-second Congress, second session, E. C. Gathings, Chairman (Washington, 1952).

²¹John Dos Passos, District of Columbia (Boston, 1952).

Our Government.²² Finley Peter Dunne, in his Mr. Dooley books,²³ is not a novelist, but the humor of his political comments, consciously made, undoubtedly had a wide influence.

Many other novelists have been less self-conscious about their writings. A number of novelists have attempted to expound theses for which the novels were merely the vehicles; many novels have developed or been instrumental in the continuation of a stereotype. Novels which fictionalize historical facts, for example, tend to make the president appear much more important in government than he actually is, by having presidents as the central characters for most of their books. Not only are presidents made the most important organs of government in historical novels, but in the novels before 1900, President Lincoln dominates the scene overwhelmingly while after 1900 President Franklin D. Roosevelt is the central character of the greatest proportion of historical novels. The presidents who are described as dominating the government are few in number and they are most often described by the novelists in terms of activities other than that of their presidential office; for example, President Washington is usually described in his capacity as a general, President Jackson in his role as social arbiter for Peggy Eaton, and

²²James A. Cain, Our Government (New York, 1930).

²³For some of the Mr. Dooley books published after 1900, see: Anonymous, Mr. Dooley's Philosophy (New York, 1900); Anonymous, Mr. Dooley's Opinions (New York, 1901); and Martin Dooley (Elmer Ellis, ed.), Mr. Dooley at His Best (New York, 1938).

President Lincoln as the man who pardons spies.

The impact of the New Deal in the novels of the twentieth century is remarkable. Many writers disapproved of the New Deal and write disparagingly of it; many emphasize the red tape and confusion which was a salient characteristic; but almost all novelists who write of the New Deal period are affected by the New Deal and participate at least vicariously in the excitement which the New Deal engendered.

One of the beliefs which novels have been at least partly responsible for implanting in the public mind is the belief that government work is exciting and glamorous, the assumption that most persons in government are highly placed and participate in important decisions regarding the future and welfare of the United States. Novelists have paid scant attention to the lowly employee, the government clerk, the typist, the secretary whose work is no more exciting than it would be if she worked for a shoe factory. In great part the subject matter with which the novelist deals is dictated not by facts as they are but by the novelist's conception of what the reader would find interesting. The stereotype of the pretty, innocent government girl who comes to Washington and is morally corrupted or is persecuted for something which is not her fault is too interesting for the novelist to abandon lightly.

The desire for glamor and excitement is most noticeable in novels about government espionage and detection facilities. It is obvious in many cases that the novelist knows as little about his subject as does his reader; the confusion of the

functions of various agencies with one another, the attribution of one kind of duty to an agency which is concerned with something entirely different is most noticeable in novels about espionage and detection work in the government. The reasons for these inaccuracies are obvious: not only is there the desire on the part of the novelist to make the subject of his book as interesting as possible, but there is the fact that he is often not allowed, for reasons of security, to know the real truth and, the knowledge that if he does not know the truth he need not hesitate to write anyway, because the chances are that he will not be confronted with the truth in such a manner as to discredit him. These conjectures are in part confirmed by the fact that novels about the Federal Bureau of Investigation -- the government agency in this field about which the most is popularly known -- are in general more accurate than are most novels about detection and espionage, and they are at the same time drier and less exciting than the usual spy story.

One of the few points at which the novelist and the political scientist appear to reach an understanding is on the subject of boss politics. In general, novels about political machines and bosses agree with the political-science literature on the subject, in distinct contrast to many other phases of politics or government. Whether by accident or by design, the literature of political science is being disseminated on a popular level in the novel about boss politics to a degree which would probably surprise even the political scientist. Moreover, most of the novels about political machines are

lively and interesting; many do not moralize but, ostensibly at least, simply present the ugly facts. The reader may draw his own conclusions after he has been most skillfully directed to the place from which he may draw but one conclusion.

A common stereotype of the Senator as a corrupt, backwoods Southerner is prevalent in novels throughout the time span of this study. It appears remarkable how few novels concern actual senatorial duties or functions of the Senate body acting as a whole or acting in its capacity of the upper house of Congress. The chief functions which novelists assign to Senators are those of leading an active social life, filibustering, and participating on investigating committees which are interested only in ruining the life of some innocent individual. Almost all Senators, the novels imply, are corrupt, under the influence of a machine, or have compromised their integrity for material success.

Congressmen in the House of Representatives are often more kindly treated than those in the Senate. Although many novelists plead for more honesty and idealism in the House, they imply at the same time that the honest and idealistic person stands little chance of being elected, largely because people as a whole prefer to hear platitudes rather than harsh truth. As for the president, most novelists appear to feel that he is essentially a good man, although he may be surrounded by bad or weak men. Except in the fields of historical novels or futuristic novels, very little fiction has been written about presidents of the United States.

As the number of novels written would imply that in the

the government of the United States as remaining in its present form; most novelists alter the government by an increase in executive powers; many novelists foresee totalitarian dictatorships arising, wars of aggression from other nations, or natural disasters which leave a holocaust in their wake. The more optimistic novels of the future picture the United States as a member of a workable world government, or federation, often simply a better League of Nations. The objects of almost all of these fictional world governments is the attainment of a permanent peace.

Perhaps of all of the novels about the federal government of the United States, the novels of the future are the least expressive as vehicles of reform propoganda, and are the most expressive of the genuine reflections of the thinking of persons active at the time that the novels were written.

As the individual discussions of the various parts of the federal government will make more clear, the influence of political science on the novelists appears to be negligible in a great many instances. There are notable exceptions among the individual novelists, and, as is true of the novels on boss politics, exceptions among the segments of politics and government treated. Nevertheless, the over-all picture of the federal government as portrayed by the novelist is such as to make the political scientist wonder where he has failed.

CHAPTER II

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

A rather strange picture of the government as a whole is conveyed to the reader of historical novels. The strangeness of the picture is not readily apparent from the reading of only a few of the novels, but it becomes increasingly clear with the reading of a greater number. In a study of this type it would be impossible to discuss all of the historical novels touching on the federal government, this latter subject being of sufficient size to merit a dissertation in itself. However, in order partly to compare the treatment of the federal government in the historical novel with actual history, and partly to compare it with the treatment of the federal government in other novels, at least some of the historical novels dealing with the federal government must be touched upon.¹

¹Some other historical novels which touch upon the federal government or personages in the government, which are not discussed here are: James Boyd, Drums (the Revolution) (New York, 1926); S. Weir Mitchell, Hugh Wynne (Washington's army) (New York, 1897 and 1922); Saul Padover, Jefferson (New York, 1942); Carl Sandburg, Remembrance Rock, parts II and III (the Revolution, and the Revolution to the Civil War) (New York, 1948); C. S. Forester, The Captain From Connecticut (events leading up to the War of 1812) (New York, 1941); James Street, Oh, Promised Land (also events before 1812) (New York, 1940); Bernie Babcock, The Soul of Ann Rutledge (Lincoln before 1835) (Philadelphia, 1919); Hollister Noble, woman with a Sword (Lincoln) (Garden City, 1948); Kenneth Roberts, Arundel (Benedict Arnold) (Garden City, 1930); Cyril Harris, Street of Knives (Aaron Burr) (Boston, 1950); Emerson Hough, The Magnificent Adventure

The view of the federal government which emerges from the novels here considered (which appear to be typical of all the historical novels about the federal government) is of a governmental structure which is peculiarly top-heavy. It appears to have consisted almost entirely of presidents, and those presidents are relatively few in number. This picture is in distinct contrast to other novels about the federal government (except for novels about the future, in which the president is again very important), the president playing a relatively minor role in novels about the federal government in general.

Presidents of the fictional United States up until 1900

(Aaron Burr) (New York, 1916); Irving Bacheller, In the Days of Poor Richard (Benjamin Franklin) (New York, 1922); Shirley Seifert, Captain Grant (U.S. Grant) (Philadelphia, 1946); Alfred Leland Crabb, Home to the Hermitage (Jackson) (Indianapolis, 1948); Meredith Nicholson, Cavalier from Tennessee (Jackson) (Indianapolis, 1928); Joseph Walker McSpadden, Storm Center (Johnson) (New York, 1947); M. R. S. Andrews, Passing the Torch (Lincoln) (New York, 1924); Irving Bacheller, Eben Holden (Lincoln) (New York, 1900); Irving Bacheller, Father Abraham (Lincoln) (Indianapolis, 1925); M. E. Catherwood, Spanish Peggy (Lincoln) (Chicago, 1892); Anne Colver, Mr. Lincoln's Wife (New York, 1943); Thomas Dixon, The Southerner (Lincoln) (New York, 1913); Edward Eggleston, Graysons (Lincoln) (New York, 1888); Margaretta Spalding Gerry, The Toy Shop (Lincoln) (New York, 1908); I. H. Tarbell, In Lincoln's Chair (Lincoln) (New York, 1920); Paul Leicester Ford, Janice Meredith (Washington) (New York, 1899 and 1919); Arthur Pier, The Young Man from Mount Vernon (Washington) (New York, 1940); Holly Elliot Seawell, A Virginia Cavalier (Washington) (New York, 1896); and numerous others. As may readily be seen, Lincoln dominates this group of novels to an even greater extent than he does those discussed in this study, and the only president mentioned in this group who is not discussed in the chapter on the federal government in the historical novel is Johnson. Therefore the conclusions drawn concerning the president in historical fiction, based upon the smaller group of novels digested, appear to be justified by an examination of a larger group of novels.

(those after 1900 being considered in the chapter "Presidents in the Contemporary Scene") seem to be: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Van Buren, Lincoln, Grant, and McKinley -- a total of nine presidents. Of these men, among the novels examined here, Washington is mentioned in four novels (in most of which he figures more as a general than as a president, with his presidential duties mentioned only in passing); Adams is mentioned briefly in one novel which is concerned chiefly with Hamilton (The Conqueror); Jefferson, also briefly, in three, of which one is The Conqueror; Madison figures more largely in one novel; Jackson is written about in four novels (all of which are more concerned with the influence of Peggy O'Neale Eaton than with Jackson's policies of state); Van Buren in two, one briefly, one more at length (besides the Peggy Eaton novels, in which he is mentioned before he becomes president); Lincoln in nine (of which at least four are almost entirely about Lincoln, and one of which is more admiring of Douglas than of Lincoln); Grant, briefly, in two; and McKinley's inauguration in one.

In other words, if one takes the fictional picture of the history of the United States government, it has been governed chiefly by presidents. Of these presidents one has been a general whose military activities are considered much more important, even by his admirers, than his presidential ones; one saved American shipping from England; one was a man who was more interested in getting a woman of doubtful reputation accepted into Washington society than in any other one activ-

ity; and one was notable for two things: his keeping the United States together during the Civil War, and -- much more important in historical fiction than the first -- his tender heart in freeing convicted spies and presumed traitors who were brought before him. The other presidents mentioned before 1900 are spoken of so briefly that they can be said merely to have existed.

Besides the government by presidents which is depicted in American historical fiction there are a few other offices and persons who appear briefly. The Continental Congresses are mentioned in two novels; one novel concerns Patrick Henry and his dislike of Jefferson; one mentions the State Department under Secretary Randolph; one mentions John Marshall of the Supreme Court and also mentions the Treasury under Hamilton; Calhoun is mentioned in six, of which three are concerned with his relations with Jackson, two his relations with Daniel Webster, and one with Calhoun himself; Webster, in five, in two of which he is the chief political figure; Eaton as Secretary of War in three; Douglas, Senator and presidential contender, in one; the United States embassies in England and Spain in one; and the Senate in one.

A comparison of the government in novels with Thomas Bailey's A Diplomatic History of the American People² is much more favorable to the latter. Bailey's interesting work is

²Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (3d ed.; New York, 1940).

as easy to read as any novel and portrays the government with much more accuracy and better portraiture.

2. The Continental Congress

Kenneth Roberts in Rabble in Arms³ mentions the Second Continental Congress, and he is hardly flattering to it:

Eventually the inefficiency and the cowardice of Congress came to be a more dangerous enemy than England; and Arnold had cause to know it better than any of us.

The fumbling, muddle-headed Congress was our only government. There was no President to assist it: no Senate to control it: no Supreme Court to guard and direct it: no Cabinet to inform it. It grew daily weaker and more witless. Each year it was composed of men of smaller calibre -- pettifoggings lawyers from pettifoggings homes: blatherskites in fustian, whispering knowingly in corners; exchanging fears that the army, in righteous rage, might turn and rend them for their shortcomings.⁴

Roberts, who is usually rather careful historian in his novels, is in Rabble in Arms writing a defensive novel about Benedict Arnold, and, in order to make Arnold appear justified in his actions, finds it necessary to paint this black picture of the Congress. Howard Fast in The Unvanquished⁵ mentions the Second Continental Congress, but only in passing in stating that Washington drank a toast to it.

³Kenneth Roberts, Rabble in Arms: A Chronicle of Brundel and the Burgoyne Invasion (Garden City, 1945).

⁴Ibid., p. 253. Edmund S. Burnett in "The Committee of the States, 1784" in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913 (Washington, 1915), Vol. I, pp. 139-151, expresses the view that difficulties were chiefly caused by lack of cooperation between the States.

⁵Howard Fast, The Unvanquished (New York, 1942).

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1. The Continental Congresses

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³Kenneth Roberts, Rabble in Arms: A Chronicle of Arundel and the Burgoyne Invasion (Garden City, 1945).

⁴Ibid., p. 858.

⁵Howard Fast, The Unvanquished (New York, 1942).

Historians such as McLaughlin⁶ are inclined to give a much less desperate view of the Continental Congresses than does Roberts. The historians realize that while the Continental Congresses were far from perfect they performed a necessary function during a period in which no other government could or would prevail. Not only was the First Continental Congress still trying to maintain peace, and the Second Continental Congress laboring under the difficulties of functioning in wartime, but the men making up those Congresses were of necessity inexperienced in the matter of working together to form a national government of any kind. They had to contend with the fear of the people that they would have too much power; thus they were granted too little. It hardly seems just to blame the Continental Congresses, therefore, for not being perfectly functioning, fully blown governments capable of performing without difficulties the trying tasks within their provinces. Says McLaughlin:

What the First Continental Congress did was to assert rights; it provided no real answer to the critical problem of the whole dispute -- what plan could be arranged whereby there would be legal obligation, in freedom, upon the outlying parts of the empire to contribute to the defense and support of the empire? While it is not at all strange that such constructive work was not undertaken, we can reasonably assume that some men were considering it. The hope of having a legal system in which the colonies would have a legal share of power and a legal title to their rights was still in men's minds.⁷

⁶ Andrew C. McLaughlin, A Constitutional History of the United States (student's ed.; New York, 1935).

⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

4. The Revolution and After

John Erskine's Give Me Liberty⁸ is the story of Patrick Henry, and it implies that Henry is almost the only person in the entire Revolutionary period who was in favor of freedom from England. Thomas Jefferson is made out to be something of a villain, and definitely a coward. Except in the description of Henry's personality there is practically nothing about the federal government in this novel. A comparison with a biography such as Moses Coit Tyler's of Patrick Henry⁹ makes the reader realize how much Give Me Liberty leaves to be desired.

George Washington is treated quite briefly by most of the novelists who write of him. He is mentioned in Kenneth Roberts's Rabble in Arms, above, as a general. Joseph Hergesheimer in Balisand¹⁰ also mentions Washington, a little more in connection with the federal structure than does Roberts. Washington is the ideal of Balisand's hero, Richard Bale, because Washington, like Bale, believes in a strong union of the sovereign United States under the federal government. Later, with the rising influence of Jefferson, Bale feels that Washington is being obliterated with shallow praise and that the Federalists are being destroyed.

⁸ John Erskine, Give Me Liberty: The Story of an Innocent Bystander (New York, 1940).

⁹ Moses Coit Tyler, Patrick Henry (Boston and New York, 1897).

¹⁰ Joseph Hergesheimer, Balisand (New York, 1924).

Fast in The Unvanquished, above, makes one observation that seems pertinent:

Given power, 'he [Washington] spurned it, thereby giving to America for all time the ideal of leaders who serve a people but do not rule them. And whether this ideal is forgotten at times or not, it is there, stamped in the soul of a nation.¹¹

W. W. Weir Mitchell's The Red City¹² Washington once more gets short shrift. Chiefly the novel concerns the activities of the French in the United States during the period of Washington's second administration, and the development of the Federalist and Jeffersonian parties. In this connection, Leonard White's studies,¹³ The Federalists and The Jeffersonians, give a much more accurate and full picture of developments, although perhaps such a book as Weir's might whet the appetite for more knowledge of this period. Moreover, Weir is not precisely inaccurate, but surely somewhat prejudiced against the Republicans. Weir's hero is a young Frenchman of noble family who is working in the State Department and is unjustly accused of taking secret French documents. He is dismissed summarily from the State Department (after the Republicans make a scandal of the incident) in

¹¹Fast, op. cit., . 314.

¹²S. Weir Mitchell, A.D., LL.D., The Red City: A Novel of the Second Administration of President Washington (New York, 1907).

¹³Leonard D. White, The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History (New York, 1948), and Leonard D. White, The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801--1829 (New York, 1951).

order that the United States might show its good faith toward the French government. Hamilton finally demonstrates to Washington that an injustice was done to the Frenchman, and Randolph as Secretary of State is induced to admit that he made a mistake and to reappoint the young man. The antagonism between some of the members of Washington's Cabinet is well brought out, as are some of the difficulties with which the new government had to contend.

Michele Strizzi's All Came By Sea¹⁴ is a novel only by great stretch of the imagination. It is an extremely stilted book with a minor thread of a story which one can distinguish only with great effort. It sounds as if it were taken directly from the drier and dustier pages of the Archives. The book is in diary form and has such stylistic tidbits as the following:

"They argue only in imaginary facts and figures, when they tell me that the interrupted work will be resumed in a couple of weeks, soon after Easter, and will be carried on in full force; that even before the opening of Congress in December, a big city will be admaired down there, spreading all around its wide streets and imposing buildings, and also steeples and domes. How do they know?"¹⁵

The foregoing quotation was supposed to be a conversation which is reported in Mary Alicia's diary. Even more fascinating and scintillating in its prose style is this description:

¹⁴Michele C. Strizzi, All Came By Sea: A Tale of Early Washington (Philadelphia, 1949).

¹⁵Ibid., p. 12.

There were also the popular Mr. Suter, proprietor of Fountain Inn, or Union Tavern, with a Theatre and ball room in George Town, near Bridge Street (11 Street) and East Lane (31st Street); Thomas Peter, living near 26th and K Streets, who five years earlier had married Martha Parke Custis, the second granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, in whose house George Washington had slept the last night.

¹⁶

This novel mentions the inauguration of Jefferson, Jefferson as President, the meeting of various Congresses, and Madison, as well as the development of the Federalists and Republicans, but it is not worth trying to read; it is much easier to read a good general dull history of the period, or, preferably, the well-written, interesting studies by Leonard White, mentioned above.

Gertrude Atherton's The Conqueror¹⁷ is an interestingly written fictionalized biography of Hamilton. The author is obviously an admirer of Hamilton, and she makes no effort to hide that fact; but she does attempt to be fair in her interpretations of other characters around Hamilton. The Conqueror tells the story of Hamilton's rise from Continental Receiver to Secretary of the Treasury. It mentions the fact that John Marshall admired Hamilton because both men wished to reduce the powers of the states in order to increase the federal power, and both men worked to accomplish this end. Perhaps the most interesting portions of the book from a political-

¹⁶Ibid., . 161.

¹⁷Gertrude Atherton, The Conqueror: A Dramatized Biography of Alexander Hamilton (Philadelphia, 1930).

science viewpoint are those dealing with Hamilton's reports on Public Credit, and his efforts to establish a National Bank. His strategy of attempting to align the wealthy men of the United States so closely with the federal government that they must stand or fall with it is also gone into in some detail. Madison's views about the lack of Constitutional authority for the Bank are presented with fairness, and the only real prejudice against Hamilton's contemporaries is evinced against Burr, and, in some instances, Jefferson. In general, although The Conqueror obviously presents the best of Hamilton, it follows history rather closely.¹⁸

Mary Johnston's Lewis Rand¹⁹ mentions the disagreements between and struggle for supremacy of the Federalists and the Democratic Republicans, particularly in Virginia. This mention is only desultory, however, except in so far as the chief protagonist of the book, the title character, is Democratic Republican who is elected to the House of Delegates in Virginia, and who always equates Federalists with the aristocracy until he learns too late that he is mistaken.

Henry Barnard Safford's Mr. Madison's War²⁰ is more con-

¹⁸For a historical discussion of Hamilton and the Bank, as well as Madison's position, and Hamilton's and Jefferson's enmity, see: McLaughlin, op. cit., chap. XVI, pp. 224-234. In general, McLaughlin's presentation, though fuller than that in The Conqueror, bears out the arguments and positions in the novel.

¹⁹Mary Johnston, Lewis Rand (Boston and New York, 1908).

²⁰Henry Barnard Safford, Mr. Madison's War (New York, 1936).

cerned with impressments and sea battles than it is with Madison as a president, but it does mention the fact that Madison at his inauguration is concerned about the finances of the United States while Jefferson is optimistic. There is a quite good description of the inaugural ball of the fourth president of the United States, and there is some description of the evacuation of Washington and the fact that many people resented the president's leaving, although no one was present to protect Washington.

C. From Jackson to Lincoln

Jackson's relations with Peggy Meale Eaton are described in three novels: Samuel Hopkins Adams's The Gorgeous Gussy,²¹ Mary Dillon's The Patience of John Norland,²² and Marguerite Allis's The Splendor Stays,²³ as well as Honore Morrow's Black Daniel (below). Although Adams has Van Buren say, "To lovely Peggy Meale, a staunch friend, a true wife, a gallant partisan, and, though the mother of no son, the maker of a President of the United States,"²⁴ and Mary Dillon has the fate of the United States held in the soft white hands of

²¹Samuel Hopkins Adams, The Gorgeous Gussy (Boston, 1934).

²²Mary Dillon, The Patience of John Norland (New York, 1909).

²³Marguerite Allis, The Splendor Stays: An historic novel based on the lives of the Seven Hart Sisters of Saybrook Connecticut (New York, 1942)

²⁴Adams, op. cit., . 418.

"Kitty McCabe" (her fictional name for Peggy Neale), history attributes no such importance to the lovely Peggy. Even so popular a historian as Charles A. Beard attributes other reasons to most of Jackson's actions than merely the motive of getting Mrs. Eaton accepted into Washington society.²⁵

The Patience of John Morland and The Gorgeous Russy are almost indistinguishable, except for the fact that the former book is written in a more highly romantic manner, and its heroine is slightly more pure and therefore more maligned than is the heroine of The Gorgeous Russy. Both attribute Calhoun's and Jackson's estrangement to the fact that Calhoun and his wife did not receive Mrs. Eaton, and both novelists evidently believe that the Cabinet was dissolved by Jackson after Van Buren's and Eaton's resignations from it for the sake of routing Peggy's enemies. Both, therefore, would attribute Van Buren's presidency to her, since Jackson (in fiction) threw his influence behind Van Buren presumably because Van Buren was friendly to Peggy Eaton. Dr. Von Holst, in one of the leading biographies of Calhoun²⁶ does attribute some of the coolness between Calhoun and Jackson to the Eaton affair, but as Von Holst says:

No serious historian will be expected to enter upon the details of this once celebrated case of the American

²⁵ Charles A. Beard and Mary B. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1933), chap. XII, pp. 542-580.

²⁶ Dr. H. Von Holst, John G. Calhoun, "American Statesmen Series" (Boston, 1896).

chronique scandaleuse. It is the less necessary to do so because it in fact only helped on and accelerated the important political events, of which it has frequently been said to have been the main cause.²⁷

John Eaton, in fiction, appears to have been made minister to Spain entirely because Peggy was insulted in Washington, and Jackson wished to confound her detractors.

Meigs, in his biography of Calhoun²⁸ also takes the viewpoint that the Eaton affair only intensified a situation which clearly existed.

Calhoun, on the other hand, is the hero of Hough's 54-40 or Fight.²⁹ According to Hough, Calhoun agreed to become Secretary of State, although ailing physically, only in order to bring Texas and Oregon into the Union and to protect the Monroe Doctrine. The picture of Calhoun in 54-40 or Fight appears to be a somewhat over-romantic one, but one which had some basis in fact. According to Charles Wiltse,³⁰ Calhoun was quite instrumental in exercising the Monroe Doctrine by helping to drive a wedge between France and Britain on the question of Texas, and he was also one of the persons who worked hardest to keep the door open to compromise with Great

²⁷Ibid., 85.

²⁸William G. Meigs, The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun, 2 vols. (New York, 1917).

²⁹Emerson Hough, 54-40 or Fight (N 1909).

³⁰Charles Wiltse, John C. Calhoun, Sectionalist, 1840--1850 (Indianapolis, 1951), especially pp. 199-216 and 247-272, on Calhoun's relations with Texas and Oregon.

Britain on the Oregon question. Hough's is a rather interesting story, particularly in regard to Calhoun's struggle in the Cabinet.

The powers of Daniel Webster as an orator are attested to in Marguerite Allis's The Splendor Stays (above), as well as in four other novels: Howard Breslin's The Tamarack Tree,³¹ Honore Willsie Morrow's Black Daniel,³² Courtney Cooper's The Pioneers,³³ and Walter G. Kellog's Parish's Fancy.³⁴ The last-named novel also mentions President Van Buren, largely as the father of John Van Buren (who is interested romantically for a while in Ameriga Vespucci) and of Angelica Van Buren (who is a friend of Ameriga). The Tamarack Tree concerns the election of 1840 in which the bitterness against President Van Buren is rife in the town of Stratton, Vermont, about which the book centers. Many blame Jackson and Van Buren for wrecking the Bank of the United States, which they feel was the cornerstone of United States financial policy. Others, however, feel that Harrison's campaign is somewhat cheap, and they abhor the phrase, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Webster, who with Clay, is one of the Whig leaders, and who

³¹Howard Breslin, The Tamarack Tree (New York, 1947)

³²Honore W. Morrow, Black Daniel: The Love Story of a Great Man (New York, 1931).

³³Courtney Ryley Cooper, The Pioneers (Boston, 1938).

³⁴Walter Guest Kellog, Parish's Fancy (New York, 1929).

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later becomes Secretary of State under Harrison, although he is not strongly in favor of the Whig candidate, comes to Stratton to make a speech for Harrison. Webster's campaign-

against the Democrats is well described in Henry Cabot Lodge's biography of Daniel Webster³⁵ and Breslin's novel, in so far as it bears on Webster's speech-making tour, appears to be in accord with Lodge.

The Pioneers also mentions Clay and Webster, this time in connection with speeches concerning the settlement of Oregon.

A description of Kit Carson's testimony before the Senate is included. The description may be accurate, but the present writer has not been able to confirm it in histories.

Honore Morrow's fictionalized biography of Webster contains more material on him than any of the other novels mentioned here. Mrs. Morrow has written a romantic but often informative story of Webster. She mentions his having been a Senator, and his having won the important Dartmouth College Case.³⁶ She also writes of his dislike of the fact that he felt Jackson to have been elected by a mob, and his disagreement with Calhoun over the tariff of 1828 (an extremely high

³⁵Henry Cabot Lodge, Daniel Webster, "American Statesmen Series" (Boston and New York, 1894), especially pp.237-240 on Webster's campaign for Harrison. Claude Moore Tuesse in Daniel Webster, 2 vols. (Boston, 1930), Vol. II, 1830-1852, describes Webster as backing Harrison with some enthusiasm.

³⁶Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 4 Wheaton 513 (1819). This case was important because in its decision Justice Marshall declared a charter of incorporation to be a contract and thus brought the charter into consideration under the contract clause of the Constitution.

tariff to which the Southern States naturally objected). Mrs. Morrow makes a passing reference to the fact that Jackson was trying to force Peggy Eaton on Society. Despite Webster's dislike of Jackson politically, however, Black Daniel shows Jackson and Webster as being on friendly personal terms. Mrs. Morrow gives an excellent description of the Webster-Hayne debate,³⁷ and although Webster is very much the hero of her novel, Black Daniel is nevertheless a more than ordinarily interesting book and quite worth reading from the viewpoint of political science.

4. Lincoln and After

Of the nine novels in which Lincoln is the chief political figure on the national level, Salute to the Hero,³⁸ by Constance Robertson mentions him only in connection with the fact that Richard Bute, the chief character of the novel, after having been first secretary of embassy in London, and later having been a politician, goes into the Army during the Civil War, where he becomes a general. Later, after more of a spotted career, Bute becomes Ambassador to Spain, partly as a result of his becoming a "hero" under Lincoln.

³⁷In the Webster-Hayne Debate of 1830 Hayne defended Calhoun's position that the federal government rested on the states, and that the states therefore retained sovereignty in the end; Webster took the position which was also held by Marshall: that the federal government rested not on the states but on the people, and that therefore the states had no sovereignty.

³⁸Constance Robertson, Salute to the Hero (New York, 1942).

Children of the Market Place,³⁹ by Edgar Lee Masters, is chiefly concerned with Stephen A. Douglas, whom the narrator (and evidently Mr. Masters) considers a greater man than Lincoln. Masters describes the way in which, in the 1840 election, Douglas, as a personal tribute, swept Illinois for Van Buren. Douglas's arguments in favor of popular sovereignty are described, and Masters attributes Douglas's defeat for the presidency to his espousing this cause. Masters has a rather good description of some of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and he retains a curious admiration for Lincoln despite his statement that Douglas was the truest, bravest, ablest man of his time and that he alone might, as president, have prevented the Civil War.

Winston Churchill takes a different viewpoint in The Crisis⁴⁰ from that of Masters. The Crisis is not principally about Lincoln but concerns the Civil War, particularly in St. Louis. Churchill, too, however, refers to the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and expresses a great deal of admiration for Lincoln. He feels that Douglas, though he showed a littleness of character in the debates, later redeemed himself somewhat and showed " a nobility of which we did not suspect you. At the end God gave you strength to be humble, so you left

³⁹ Edgar Lee Masters, Children of the Market Place (New York, 1922).

⁴⁰ Winston Churchill, The Crisis, edited by Walter Barnes and revised by H. Y. Moffett (New York, 1933). (Originally published in 1910.)

the name of patriot."⁴¹

A Recruit for Abe Lincoln⁴² and They Took That Sword⁴³ are both sentimental novels in which Lincoln appears in incidents which reveal him as a humane and kindly person, much interested in the individual. In A Recruit for Abe Lincoln, after Lincoln has put a young man with a crippled arm on in the War Department as a telegrapher, he helps unravel the man's cloudy parentage, and just before his death clears up the mystery. In They Took That Sword Lincoln pardons a Confederate spy and says:

"I want men who can go wrong through a noble sentiment. I want men who can sympathize with their enemies. I am sick of fanatics and the gospel of revenge. . . .

"The Secessionists are my prodigal children. I am President of every inch of this country this minute, just as much as if none of my children had forsworn me."⁴⁴

Irving Bacheller's A Man for the Ages⁴⁵ is simply a romanticized life of Lincoln, particularly his early years, while Honore Willsie Morrow's novels of Lincoln, particularly For-

⁴¹Ibid., p. 231.

⁴²Maribelle Cormack, A Recruit for Abe Lincoln (New York, 1942).

⁴³Nathaniel Stephenson, They Took That Sword (New York, 1901).

⁴⁴Stephenson, op. cit., pp. 294-295.

⁴⁵Irving Bacheller, A Man for the Ages: A Story of the Builders of Democracy (New York, 1919).

ever Free,⁴⁶ With Malice Toward None,⁴⁷ and The Last Full Measure,⁴⁸ each concern a different phase of Lincoln's life as president. Mrs. Morrow is quite an interesting writer, her stories make good reading. However, she is much concerned with proving the thesis that Lincoln and his wife were actually highly compatible, and that Mrs. Lincoln was a much maligned woman; her novels are about the man rather than the president.

The Gilded Age,⁴⁹ by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, is outside the time span of this study, but it should be considered by the student of political science as well as by the student of the political novel as such. The Gilded Age is the bitter revelation of corruption in the federal government, but more than that, of corruption in the government as a reflection of corruption in people generally. Chiefly, the novel concerns Laura and her brother Washington Hawkins, who are left some Tennessee lands which may be worth nothing or a fortune. Laura is seduced and betrayed by a man whom she loves, and, once she realizes that he has no intention of marrying her, she becomes hardened toward men in general.

⁴⁶Honore Willis Morrow, Forever Free (New York, 1927).

⁴⁷Honore Willis Morrow, With Malice Toward None (New York, 1928).

⁴⁸Honore Willis Morrow, The Last Full Measure (New York, 1930).

⁴⁹Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today (Hartford, 1874).

Senator Abner Dilworthy becomes interested in the question of the Tennessee lands and brings Laura and Washington Hawkins to Washington, D.C., in order to try to get a bill through Congress which would have the government buy the lands at many times their value. Descriptions of the practices of Senators in franking home their personal belongings by labeling them as public documents, by which method one " could convey a horse through the mails, if necessary,"⁵⁰ the blackmailing of some Congressmen and the charming of others into voting for the lands bill, and other such practices, are described with skill and bitterness.

Some of Clemens's and Warner's thoughts about the corruptness and corruptibility of Congress are expressed in the conversations of various characters. One young man says of Laura that she could "fascinate an appropriation right through the Senate and the House of Representatives in one session."⁵¹ Another describes the way in which patronage operates in Washington:

"If you are a member of Congress (no offense), and one of your constituents who doesn't know anything, and does not want to go into the bother of learning something, and has no money, and no employment, and can't earn a living, comes besieging you for help, do you say, 'Come, friend, if your services were valuable you could get employment elsewhere -- don't want you here?' Oh, no. You take him to a Department and say, 'Here, give this person something to pass the time at -- and a salary' -- and the thing is done. You throw him on his country. He is his country's child, let his country

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 225.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 178.

port hi . There is something good and not only about Washington, the grand old benevolent National Asylum for the Helpless."⁵²

When one of the men involved in getting the Tennessee bill through Congress wonders where all the money has which has already been given to the cause, another explains it:

"A majority of the House Committee, say 10,000 -- 40,000; a majority of the Senate Committee, the same each -- say 40,000; a little extra to one or two chairmen of one or two such committees, say 10,000 each -- 20,000; and there's 100,000 of the money gone to begin with. Then seven male lobbyists at 3,000 each -- 21,000 one female lobbyist, 10,000; a high moral Congressman or Senator here and there -- the high moral ones cost more, because they give tone to a measure -- say ten of these at 3,000 each, is 30,000; then there are a lot of small fry. . . ."⁵³

One of the more ironic touches in the book comes when Washington Hawkins is being especially grateful to a Colonel Sellers and tells the Colonel that the latter has been so good and noble that he ought to be in Congress. The poor Colonel is highly insulted and says, "Now I don't think there ever been anything in my conduct that should make you feel justified in saying a thing like that."⁵⁴

The Wilded Age is much more revealing in showing the attitudes of the men who wrote it than it is in the actual practices which it describes and deplors, but it is nevertheless interesting and perhaps informative picture of

⁵²Ibid., pp. 224-225.

⁵³Ibid., 254-255.

⁵⁴Ibid 472.

some sides and some phases of the federal government.

Whirlwind in Petticoats,⁵⁵ by Beril Becker, is the fictionalized biography of Victoria Clafin Woodhull, an early suffragette and possibly the first woman candidate for president of the United States. Victoria Woodhull and Susan Anthony were much at odds as to methods and aims of women's suffrage, and Beril Becker describes their disagreements. According to the author of Whirlwind in Petticoats, President Grant was in agreement with Mrs. Woodhull that the Fourteenth Amendment probably conferred suffrage to women as well as to the freed slaves whom it was intended to help; however, in the novel Mrs. Woodhull attempts to enlist the aid of Senator (formerly General) "Beast" Butler and promises him that if he gets the aid of women they can together smash the corruption and bureaucracy of the Grant Administration in the next election. Whirlwind in Petticoats is a rather good description of what now appears to be a fairly unimportant phase in American history.

Noel Houston's The Great Promise⁵⁶ is the last of the books here considered which deals with the period before 1900. The Great Promise touches on the federal government only in its fairly full description of the inauguration of McKinley, the inaugural parade, and the inaugural ball. The impression is

⁵⁵Beril Becker, Whirlwind in Petticoats (Garden City, 1947).

⁵⁶Noel Houston, The Great Promise: A Novel (New York, 1946).

one of great glitter and masses of people, and appears to resemble closely the inaugural events of 1953.

In general, naturally enough, historical novels touch only upon the most dramatic and human incidents in history, and therefore leave much to be desired by the political scientist. However, if only the individual parts of the mosaic are examined, some of the novels supplement the histories by supplying more details than are possible in an over-all United States history; some are useful in that they arouse interest in a figure or a period of American history. It is quite evident, nevertheless, that the novels must be taken as supplementary; they may not be substituted for history. Elizabeth Cochran⁵⁷ and Morris Gall,⁵⁸ writing at different times for Social Education, the magazine of the National Council for the Social Studies, confirm the viewpoint that, particularly with the high-school student, historical novels can perform a valuable task in supplementing histories which the student may find dull; both writers, however, emphasize that the place of the novel is in supplementing, not in taking the place of, the history. Elizabeth Cochran also brings up the interesting point that novels have been influential in bringing about certain actions on the part of persons whose attention might never otherwise have been

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Cochran, "Historical Fiction and the Teaching of History," Social Education, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (February 1950), pp. 65-68.

⁵⁸ Morris Gall, "Teaching American History Through Novels," Social Education, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (April 1953), pp. 156-158.

called to the problems. In this connection she mentions Helen Hunt Jackson's novel, Ramona, which was said to have brought the plight of the Indians to Cleveland's attention and to have aroused him to set about alleviating the evil conditions which Ramona exposed. Another novel, which Elizabeth Cochran does not mention, but which was also valuable in arousing interest in the Indians, was Frances Cambell Sparhawk's Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby,⁵⁹ discussed elsewhere in this study. Dr. Cochran does mention Frank Norris's The Pit and The Octopus as being influential in bringing about government regulation of grain speculation.

⁵⁹Frances Cambell Sparhawk, Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby: A Tale of Spoils (New York, 1895).

CHAPTER III

THE PRESIDENCY AS AN OFFICE

Except in futuristic or historical fiction the president may almost be termed the forgotten man of the American novel. While the presidents of novels of the future dominate the government, changing, reforming or degrading the federal system, and almost all historical novels dealing with the federal government develop into fictionalized biographies of presidents, the president in the ordinary or garden variety of novel is almost ignored.

It is possible that novelists find the president in the abstract too sacred a figure with which to deal. Perhaps while biographical fiction may be based on actual records or legends well imbedded in the public consciousness, and novels of the future may carry the author's speculations without fear that he will be accused of impugning the sacred office, few writers care to expose to public view their thoughts on the presidency as such.

It seems remarkable that while such political writers as James Bryce, Edward S. Corwin, Pendleton Herrin and Harold Laski,¹ to name a few, have devoted considerable time

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James Bryce, The American Commonwealth (cited in the chapter on "Less Politics"; Edward S. Corwin, Ph.D., The President's Control of Foreign Relations (Princeton, 1917); Edward S. Corwin, The President Office and Powers: History and Analysis of Practice and Opinion; Second Edition (Revised)

and effort to discussing the office of the presidency, the type of man chosen to it, the history of the presidency, and the relationship of the presidency to the other branches of government, these aspects of the presidency have been almost entirely ignored in fiction.

Most novelists write as if they had never heard of the separation of powers or even of the other branches of the government. The president is treated almost as if he were in a vacuum, and the majority of novelists picture the president either as in control of the government or as himself being in control of the bosses.

For purposes of this study the novels about the presidency or about presidents (the latter being far more common than the former) may be divided into three categories: The Relationship of the President to the Bosses (discussed at greater length in the chapter on "Boss Politics"); The Candidate for the Presidency (into which most novels discussed at length in this chapter fall); and The President in Office (most of which novels fall into the chapters on "Political Pessimism in Novels of the Future" and "Political Optimism in Novels of the Future").

(New York, 1941); Pendleton Herring, Presidential Leadership: The Political Relations of Congress and the Chief Executive (New York, 1940); and Harold J. Laski, The American Presidency: An Interpretation (New York, 1940).

1. The Relationship of the President to the Bosses

As stated above, most of the novels dealing with the relationship of the president to the bosses are discussed in the chapter on "Boss Politics" since the elements of the machine politics and corruption play a more important part in novels of this type than does the role of the presidency as such. Some of the novels should nevertheless be mentioned here in passing. James L. Ford's Hot Corn Ike, discussed in "Boss Politics," emphasizes the role that a minor member of the political machine may play in a major event such as the election of the president. Ford's president is so utterly dependent on the small cogs of the machine that he must come personally to make sure that they are all working properly in order to win a pivotal district.

Samuel Rlythe's A western Warwick, also discussed in "Boss Politics," pictures the president, James Rogers, as a honest man with many abilities, but a man whose abilities are never permitted to be revealed because of the fact that it is the boss who makes him president and also the boss who loses the presidency for him. Although A western Warwick is much more the story of Paxton, the boss, than it is of James Rogers, the latter is revealed as a person who is interested in the United States and in the office of the president. Rogers wishes to appoint able men to the Cabinet, and makes out a list of those whom he is considering, but Paxton overrules him and says that the president must appoint men, not those who are outstanding in their own fields, but who are dependent on the

president. The secretary of state whom Rogers had wished to be an important person is made merely a mouthpiece of Paxton's policies. For the entire Cabinet Paxton selects men who represent areas, not men who represent achievements. The same is true of the diplomatic appointments which Paxton forces upon the president. Rogers becomes increasingly disillusioned:

"Senator," said the President to me, before he had been in his office a fortnight, "is there to be no end to this thing? Am I President of the United States, or merely an office broker? Am I supposed to govern the country, or was I placed here to satisfy the desires of a lot of greedy, conscienceless, flattering, fawning, boastful, insincere, rapacious partisans, who have no idea of anything beyond the strengthening of their own positions at the expense of the public? Is there no escape from this? Is the fitness of the man for office to be given no consideration?"²

Eventually Rogers develops a political technique for dealing with the representatives and senators who call upon him with the intention of getting patronage positions from him for dispersal to their constituents: Rogers takes each of them aside and tells him that he is counting on the Congressman for advice and loyalty in the administration of the government. Most of the men are so touched at being taken into the president's confidence and at being relied upon that they forget about asking for the patronage positions.

Rogers also devises a method of getting his views before the public by selecting a prominent citizen who is informed that he has "written" a letter to the president asking cer-

²A Western Warwick, supra, p. 219.

tain questions. Rogers then "answers" the "questions" in the letter (which have been so framed as to give him a perfect opening to present his views) and copies of both letters are sent to the press. The citizens who are supposed to have written the letters are usually highly honored, and the publicity which they receive in their own towns because of having the president "answer" their letters is compensation enough in the small deception of the public.

The president worries about the fact that the newspapers and his political enemies often take statements which he has made and place them out of context, or give them a different interpretation from that which he had intended, or change a few strategically placed words so that he appears to have said something different from what he has in fact said. Nevertheless the president feels that the public as a whole has a great respect for the office of the president, and that in the minds of the public the man who occupies that office is lifted to the high place which the position holds rather than the position's being degraded to fit the man.

Blythe shows Rogers as a man who is big enough to realize his inadequacies but not great enough to throw off the bindings of the machine which prevent him from carrying out his views. In this respect Blythe follows the usual practice of novelists who write about the presidency in portraying the individual president as a good man, whose failures, if any, are usually engendered by outside forces.

Henry Adams's novel, Democracy,³ which was republished in 1952, is outside the time span of this study but it is interesting to note that Adams also shows a president, "the Hoosier Stone-cutter,"⁴ who is certainly a weak man, led by others, a man who does not know his enemies from his friends but one who is not a bad man. The president, who feels that he must act as a statesman should, tries to get his most bitter enemy, Senator Ratcliffe, into the Cabinet. Ratcliffe within a short time has the president completely in his power because the latter is inexperienced in Washington politics, while the former knows exactly who may be dismissed with impunity, who must be received, for whom the president is pledged to find a job, and all of the other details which the president finds irksome. Although the president had promised no removals from office without just cause, soon, under Ratcliffe's direction, there is a wholesale dismissal and hiring of personnel. The president's wife is a coarse farm woman, and Madeline Lee, the heroine of the story, says, ". . . that an equally good President and President's wife could be picked up in any corner-grocery between the Lakes and Ohio. . ."⁵

Democracy is more the story of Senator Ratcliffe than it is of the president, but its glimpses of the latter inexpe-

³Henry Adams, Democracy: An American Novel (New York, n.d.; originally published in 1881).

⁴Ibid., p. 115.

⁵Ibid., p. 129.

experienced, well-meaning, and unblinking, and one revealing

The Candidate for the Presidency

Passos's trilogy, District of Columbia,⁶ consisting of Adventures of a Young Man (originally published in 1939), Number One (published in 1943), and The Grand Design (published in 1949), also discusses the presidency and the candidate for the presidency to some extent. The three novels are linked through the family relationship of the chief characters in each, but of the three it is Number One which gives the most intimate picture of the presidential candidate and is most suitable for inclusion in this chapter. Adventures of a Young Man is concerned with the life of young Glenn Spotswood, who becomes a disillusioned liberal and dies in the Spanish revolution; The Grand Design is the story of Herk Spotswood, Glenn's father, in the Washington of the thirties and early forties, but The Grand Design is much less a study of President Roosevelt than it is an over-all panoramic view of the Deal Washington -- not an intimate portrait of the parts but an impressionistic painting of the whole.

Number One is much more particular of detail than either of the other novels of the trilogy. Each of the other novels looks at the government from the outside, as it were, while Number One tells the story of Herk Spotswood, Glenn's brother, and his association with the would-be presi-

⁶John Dos Passos, District of Columbia (Boston, 1952).

dent of the United States, Senator Chuck Crawford.

Crawford is the kind of politician who cultivates a hill-billy manner because it appeals to his constituents. He was born in "Texarcola," which he feels to be a political advantage since Texarcola is in two states; and he has married Sue Ann Jones, who went to law school with him. Tyler is a combination confidential secretary, press agent, and general factotum for Crawford, and is almost completely unable to see the latter's many weaknesses and faults. When Crawford gets drunk or goes to bawdy houses, Tyler's chief concern is that the voters not be made aware of these facts through Crawford's political enemies. Crawford is a demagogue whose followers term him "Number One" without themselves recognizing the aptness or the underlying meaning of the nickname. Like Huey Long, Crawford advocates a share-the-wealth program which he characterizes by the slogan, "Every Man a Millionaire," and for which he sets up a corporation. Like Long, Crawford has his Father Coughlin -- Crawford's being a Reverend Chester Biglow. Like Long, Crawford thrives on condemning everyone else, accusing the administration of mulcting the public at the same time that a grand jury is investigating his own corrupt practices, and in general attempting to muddy the waters to such an extent that his actions escape unnoticed in the confusion. Number One is not, however, merely a fictionalized life of Huey Long; Crawford is more of a type than Long.

Gradually Tyler finds himself being attracted to Sue Ann,

for many of his ideas and Sue Ann's are similar about the conduct of the campaign; and Sue Ann, though she is no moralist, feels that perhaps a scare will be good for Chuck in discouraging his more corrupt practices. Both Sue Ann and Tyler see Crawford for much more than he is, in some senses actually believing the phrases which Crawford himself only mouths. Crawford is their own Great Commoner and they overlook his faults in the belief of his greatness.

Tyler's disillusionment begins with a grand-jury investigation of his own relationship to the Every Man a Millionaire Corporation and to the radio station, WEMM, which is controlled and operated by the Every Man a Millionaire Corporation. It becomes increasingly apparent that large sums of money which Tyler took out of the Every Man a Millionaire Corporation and gave to Crawford at the latter's request were not used for, or accounted for, as political funds. At a strategic moment Tyler receives the last letter which his younger brother had written before being killed, and the letter reminds him that he has been allowing the political system of the United States to be sold out through the blind support of Crawford.

For Tyler, however, the solution is not simple. If he reveals the truth to the district attorney it is not only Crawford who will be hurt but also Sue Ann and her children and a number of other relatively innocent persons.

It wouldn't stop Chuck, not by a jugful. In the first place a lot of people ought to have started a long time back to tell the truth, the whole truth and

nothing but the truth. Now it was take the rap or turn state's evidence and save your shivering skin. The people against Spotswood. Spotswood against Crawford. Crawford against the People.⁷

The fact that Crawford leaves Tyler to face the investigation alone does not make things any easier for him. The final disillusionment comes when he hears Chuck making a radio speech after he, Tyler, has been indicted for what are essentially Chuck's crimes:

"Lenne tell you fine honest citizens gathered together tonight in this great city of the reborn South that ... [sic] although it's always possible that once in a while I have been deceived by the fair faces an' false smiles of some of those I trusted as Caesar did Brutus ... [sic] ah, there was the unkindest out of all, the stab in the back, from a friend ... [sic] I tell you-all here in this hall tonight that I have looked into the bottom of my heart an' I have found no guilt.... [sic] Sense I was a little shaver toting those bundles of newspapers too heavy for me down State Line Avenoo down home, tryin' to help out my poor weary mother with the wherewithal to buy a few groceries there is not a thing in my career that cannot bear the scrutiny of any investigation, any grand jury, any court in the land. Among that gallant band of friends an' associates who have fought with me up the slippery trail to victory they may find a couple who've gotten themselves tarred up through no fault of mine, or mebbe through no fault of their'n ... [sic] but I defy the holier-than-thouest sugarsuckin'est reformer of all that doleful crew that are sickin' their dawgs on me right now to find one smut or smirch on my career."⁸

Tyler realizes then that Crawford has never been what his followers believed, and that he, Tyler, must first of all reform himself, because he is one of the mass of the American people;

⁷Number One, supra, pp. 231-232.

⁸Ibid., p. 240.

man, Frost, and maneuvers slowly toward it. As slowly and as surely he maneuvers toward the presidency which is his own ultimate goal. His one rival for the latter is a Governor Obstinate; his one weakness is his niece, Dorothy, for whom he would do anything. When she falls in love with a young man named Richard, Hanway is determined that if she loves Richard she shall have him. The apparently impecunious Richard's apparently wealthy friend and companion, a Mr. Gwynne, promises to give Hanway backing in his candidacy for the presidency.

Through the sending of false messages through the telegraph company Hanway gets votes for his man, Frost, and in this way gains the speakership for him -- a blow to Governor Obstinate's hopes for the presidency.

A Count Storri, who loves Dorothy, has tricked her father (Hanway's brother-in-law) into forging some documents which Storri now threatens to expose if Dorothy does not marry him. If the documents are exposed it will be the end of Hanway's hopes for the presidency. Through friends, however, Richard finds out about the forged documents and manages to recover them from Storri, but other political considerations have arisen in the meantime. Through the manipulations of a Mr. Hawke, it now appears certain that Governor Obstinate will receive the nomination for the presidency. Hanway, saving his political face, announces that he has never seriously been a candidate for the presidency, and Obstinate, taking the statement in the manner in which it is intended, offers Han-

way the secretaryship of the Treasury in return for the latter's working for him. Obstinate is nominated by acclamation, and Hanway is relatively happy in being secretary of the Treasury and in having his niece happy.

The President is far from being as inane as it sounds in a summary; actually it is an extremely well-written book, full of clever turns of phrase, and it is a rather horrifying book as well because it takes for granted the corruption and deception in politics which it describes. Obstinate as president is certainly no more to be preferred than Hanway; it is simply a matter of political acumen and of strategy which of the two will receive the nomination. Lewis paints a far from pretty picture of the presidential candidate.

Ethel Hueston's Uncle Lancy for President¹¹ is almost the other extreme from Lewis's novel. Ethel Hueston's is an impertinent, smoothly popular job of professional writing about a nice, bumbling fuddy-duddy, Senator Alençon Delaporte Slopsire (Uncle Lancy), whose three beautiful nieces (whom he has adopted) and whose wife, Olympia, decide should be president. One of the nieces, Adele, is married and pregnant, a fact which Aunt Olympia uses to great advantage in the third-party campaign which Uncle Lancy (or rather his womenfolk) conducts. Uncle Lancy for President describes Uncle Lancy as wishing to reform the country; his own state, however, is angry

¹¹Ethel Hueston, Uncle Lancy for President (Indianapolis, 1940).

because he uses it as an example. Lancy is obstinate in standing up for what he believes (what it is never being made explicit by the author), and he refuses constantly to be tactful to the newspapermen. (The author does not explain how, using these tactics, Uncle Lancy ever happened to be elected Senator.) Uncle Lancy refuses to listen to anyone about the modification of his own beliefs or a moderate stating of those beliefs. He has no boss, is beholden to no one, single-handedly (with the help only of his wife and nieces) sets up his own political party and political campaign.

The thing which really wins the presidency for Uncle Lancy is the fact that his opposition carries off his loud-speaker truck without realizing that the three nieces are in it changing from swimming suits to dresses, and the opposition thereby earns the onus of being kidnapers of innocent young girls. When Uncle Lancy wins by carrying every state except his own, even the author, Ethel Hueston, seems a little horrified at what she has done in setting loose Uncle Lancy as president of the United States. It is evident, however, that Aunt Olympia will take care of everything.

Death Casts a Vote,¹² by Margaret Yates and Paula Bramlette, is the story of Zachary Terrell, who wishes to be drafted for the presidency. Peter Vanaman, a newspaperman

¹²Margaret Yates and Paula Bramlette, Death Casts a Vote (New York, 1948).

whose uncle is a Senator, remarks of Terrell that he has been working hard and

"He's got brains, money, and already a good deal of political backing. I think he's been expertly jockeying for position for the last five months. He's in New York now to line up Eastern support. . . . But I can't see that the public is ready to draft him. . . ."¹³

Terrell's family is not, however, a political asset: his wife, Cora, is a nervous, fluttery woman; he also has a rather unattractive daughter, Electra, and a son, Alexander. Quinn, Terrell's publicity man, is intelligent and good at arranging Terrell's speeches; his life also, however, is in turmoil because of the fact that his wife, Alison, wishes to divorce him.

When Terrell's often-drunk secretary is found dead, the first problem is whether the death was murder or suicide; the second problem is whether the death can be prevented from affecting Terrell's political chances for the presidential nomination.

Peter hears that for some time there have been annoyances perpetrated against Terrell -- speeches stolen, appointments cancelled without his knowledge, cars tampered with, and other similar matters. When Peter tries to conduct a minor private investigation of his own he finds people reluctant to talk because they fear he is trying to gather material with which to smear Terrell. Most of the remainder of the

¹³Ibid., p. 11.

novel is a standard murder story, although it eventually develops that Peter's uncle, the Senator, quashes Terrell's hopes for the presidency because the Senator's wife had long ago had a love affair with Terrell. Electra's fiance, who has been involved in running illegal oil, is revealed as the murderer, with Quinn as an accessory. The secretary had threatened to reveal their activities to Terrell.

Terrell, although he emerges better than he had hoped from the murder scandal, makes a speech in which he appreciates the high honor done him by the persons who wish him to run for the presidency but declines the nomination. There is a hint that he will be made an ambassador.

Death Casts a Vote can hardly be considered a political novel, and if it has any political message, it appears to be that a potential presidential candidate must either keep his life free from scandal, or at any rate conceal the scandal better than Terrell appears to have done. There is no real statement as to Terrell's abilities or lack of ability as a potential president. The question of whether or not he shall be president is decided almost entirely fortuitously, and almost entirely on grounds which have nothing whatsoever to do with his presidential capabilities -- except for the ability to avoid unpleasant publicity.

Some for the Glory, by Louis Zara, discussed more extensively in the chapter on "Boss Politics," has as the presidential candidate, and finally the presidential nominee, Michael Hawks, whose political rise is described from its

earliest beginnings. Zara's is the story of a man who, under boss leadership and using machine methods, is a politician by profession. Michael works his way up in his trade, of being a politician, until he is ready to try for the presidency. The fact that he loses the nomination for the presidency in his first trial, and the election in his second, does not discourage Michael. He is determined to run again; only in this way can he reach the top of his profession. The position of the professional politician is perhaps best characterized by the scene in which, after Michael receives the nomination, an old man stops him and says that while Michael is only fifty-eight at the time that he receives the honor, the speaker is now seventy-eight and has been waiting vainly for twenty-five years to be nominated. Only at seventy-eight does he finally give up, realizing that it is too late and that the final accolade is not to be his.

3. The President in Office

A number of the novels of the future deal with the president in office; almost all of the novels which do concern the president's actions in office are either novels of the future or describe the actions of presidents who actually existed. The Woman of Destiny, by Samuel Jesse Warshawsky, describes a woman as president. She is chiefly remarkable for the fact that she stops a war after it has been declared by Congress under the president who has just died, and from whom she takes over, by sending messages to the fleet to halt its course and by conferring with the ambassadors of the enemy

countries. The heroine of The Woman of Destiny becomes president through the fact that she is vice president at the time that the male president dies in office. Warshawsky's is the only novel in this group which describes the president's coming into office through the death of another president, rather than through being elected to the office itself.

The President Vanishes describes the actions of President Stanley, who prevents a war by pretending to be kidnaped until he has had time to think his own path of duty clear, after which he appeals to the people directly and refuses to ask for war, although Congress is firmly determined to declare war. The anonymous author of the book does not explain by what means the president prevents the declaration of war by a determined Congress, but The President Vanishes does make it clear that it is the president's action which prevents the war. The usual practice of presidents in similar circumstances has generally been quite different, with the president attempting to maneuver a rather reluctant Congress into a position from which there is no alternative but to declare war.

Frederick Palmer's So a Leader Came, Colonel Edward M. House's Philip Dru and Thomas F. Tweed's Gabriel Over the White House describe extensive reforms and changes in the government. Gabriel Over the White House has as the instruments of these reforms the president; in Philip Dru and in So a Leader Came the reforms are made by outsiders who estab-

lish themselves as benevolent dictators. The dictator of So a Leader Came, however, is an unfairly defeated presidential candidate who has run on a new third-party ticket, while the dictator of Philip Dru is almost a complete outsider to government. The president who reforms the government in Gabriel Over the White House, moreover, is not the same president who is elected. The president, Hammond, who has been a Senator, and who was elected on the ticket of a conservative coalition, is so severely injured in an automobile accident that his personality undergoes a complete transformation, and he makes himself a virtual dictator, using the medium of the presidency to carry out his policies. None of the writers of the reform of the government, except Huey P. Long, envisages the reform as taking place in any normal course of events.

Sinclair Lewis, in It Can't Happen Here, is the only author who imagines the normally elected president as making himself dictator in an entirely evil way. Lewis's President Windrip makes use of the presidency and the Depression, as well as the gullibility of the masses, to take over a greater and greater sphere of power until he is a dictator in the Hitlerian sense.

Huey P. Long, however, in his My First Days in the White House, does not describe himself as taking over in a dictatorial manner, but as using the lawful and established procedures of government merely to better the people as a whole. The structure, in Long's book, remains unchanged, and Long

presents himself as being eager to do what the people who have elected him desire of him. Since Long's was a propaganda message, his statements can certainly not be taken at face value, but his reforms as described take place within the structure of the government as it is; his is the only novel of reform which does maintain the structure. Since, however, the structure is by far the least necessary attribute in maintaining a democratic government -- democratic governments having existed in apparently undemocratic forms and democratic structures having been used by totalitarians -- the maintenance of the outward form of the federal government in Long's book is not so important as he would like to make it appear.

President Randolph of President Randolph As I Knew Him, by John Francis Goldsmith, is another ex-Senator who becomes president (although Randolph is also an ex-governor because he has noticed that more former governors than former Senators are elected to the presidency). Randolph in this book, like Michael Hawks of Some for the Glory, aims at the presidency from the beginning and works himself systematically up to it; unlike Hawks, he is elected. Once president, however, Randolph immediately sets out to form an organization of the nations of the world, and it is this project which occupies almost his entire time in office. Since he is next elected president of the United Nations, his lack of other political action as president of the United States does not appear to have mattered.

President Lodge of General Manpower, by John S. Martin,

is described as follows:

It was near the end of President Lodge's second administration. If he possessed any one quality upon which his distinguished record chiefly rested it was his ability to make haste slowly.¹²

President Lodge stops a small revolution by allowing the private army of Orestes Jones to intercept the revolutionaries (a portion of Jones's professional army which had rebelled against Jones) and the government is maintained as before. Martin does go so far as to say that President Lodge, by a policy of moderation, has restored faith in business and has done much to repair the economy of the United States after it was injured in the Depression.

Walter Karig's Zotz! has a brief but telling comment upon the presidency. When John Jones is attempting to give to the government of the United States the secret of his lethal power, and he can find no one to listen to him, he proposes that he go to the president and tell him the secret. He is informed that he will be unable to see the president unless he first states his business:

"Now that," cried Jones, "I find incomprehensible. Do you mean to tell me nobody ever tells the President a secret?"

"No, he tells secrets to others," Sack replied. "He makes 'em, not hears 'em, I mean. I guess this person you are talking about will have to go through the chain of command, seeing it is a military matter."¹³

¹² General Manpower (cited in the chapter on political pessimism in novels of the future), p. 254.

¹³ Zotz! (cited in the chapter on the New Deal and War Agencies), p. 160.

All of the novels discussed in this section¹⁴ are primarily concerned with aspects of the federal government other than the presidency; the office of the president is more or less incidental to the novel, or is used by the hero as a means of carrying out reforms or assumptions of power not inherent in that office. Of the novels mentioned here, all of the presidents except for those of General Manpower and Zotz! were engaged in enlarging the prerogatives of the president and in changing the office to which they were presumably elected into something entirely different from what it was. None of these novels gives any serious consideration to the president's control of foreign relations, the president's role in making executive agreements, the working relationship between the president and the Senate on such matters as treaty-making or the appointment of persons requiring the advice and consent of the Senate. Instead, in the novels in which the office of the president is discussed at all, the president is either treated as a nonentity or he is made to become the most powerful organ of the government. He is not related to the structure of government as it is.

¹⁴These novels are cited in other chapters where they are discussed at greater length. The Woman of Destiny, So a Leader Came, Philip Dru, Gabriel Over the White House, My First Days in the White House, and President Randolph as I Knew Him, are cited in the chapter on "Political Optimism in Novels of the Future"; The President Vanishes, It Can't Happen Here, and General Manpower, in "Political Pessimism in Novels of the Future"; and Zotz! in "The New Deal and War Agencies".

CHAPTER IV

PRESIDENTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Presidents who existed between 1900 and 1950 have fared little better in novels than those who were prominent before 1900. As in novels about the earlier period, presidents dominate the picture of the federal government from 1900 on as well as before 1900. The presidents of the fictional United States from 1900 to 1950 appear to have been: Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Truman. Coolidge is chiefly prominent in fiction for being talked about in Sinclair Lewis's short story, "The Man Who Knew Coolidge."

One of the novels here considered (again, as in the chapter on historical novels, representative samples having been selected) Theodore Roosevelt figures in one (chiefly in connection with his running for president on the Progressive ticket in 1912, rather than in his position as president); Wilson in two (in connection with his ideals for the League of Nations, in the greater part); Harding in three (one of which is a novel entirely about Harding under a fictional name); and eleven are about Franklin D. Roosevelt (eight being Upton Sinclair's "Lanny Budd" series); and one about Truman (again one of the "Lanny Budd" books). From this brief listing it is readily apparent that as Lincoln dominated the picture of the United States government in fiction

before 1900, Franklin D. Roosevelt dominates it; after 1900. This statement is made notwithstanding the fact that three of the novels about Lincoln were written by the same person, and that eight of the novels about Roosevelt were by one writer. None of the other presidents is given such a strong fictional personality that he merits more than one novel by the same person, and few of the other novels about presidents concern the presidents as the chief figure. Lanny Budd is ostensibly the hero of Upton Sinclair's series, but it is certainly Roosevelt who gives the series character.

Of the fictional presidents of the United States in the twentieth century, therefore, one was the focus of an abortive third party; one was involved in oil scandals; one tried to make a world government work; and one revolutionized the federal government and participated in European politics both before and during World War II to a far greater extent than any other president has ever done. Truman in O Shepherd, Speak! exists only as the means of maintaining Lanny Budd as a presidential agent.

Janet Fairbank's novel, Rich Man Poor Man,¹ describes the Progressive Party campaign of 1912, and the devotion to Theodore Roosevelt which he seems to have attracted. The novel is the story of young Hendricks Smith, who campaigns for Roosevelt much against the will of his wealthy Taftite father. The book points up the way in which many of the Republicans over-

¹Janet Ayer Fairbank, Rich Man Poor Man (Boston, 1936).

so Wilson almost completely in feeling that the decision really one between Taft and Roosevelt. Most progressives however, Mrs. Fairbank emphasizes, were more interested in the success of Roosevelt than they were in the starting of a party of itself, although Roosevelt did create the demand for progressive reforms which Wilson later put through. Clyde Brion Davis's "The Great American Novel --"² has a different interpretation. Davis's novel concerns newspapermen in the early twentieth century, and the hero feels that with Wilson's election, together with a Democratic Congress, at last there will be some legislation to help the common people. Of Wilson's inauguration speech, Davis says:

The press of London, impressed with Wilson's high ideals, declared the spirit of this address would spread over Europe, working for peace and good will among all nations.³

Davis also mentions the setting up of a new Cabinet post which had been long needed: that of Secretary of Labor. Davis is an admirer of William Jennings Bryan, who resigned as secretary of state to make way for Lansing. Bryan, says Davis, wished to avoid the war which was encouraged by the Wall Street bankers. Davis describes Wilson's second election in which Hughes was the Republican candidate and in which the slogan of the Democrats was, "He kept us out of war." Davis gives credence to the story that Wilson won partly because

²Clyde Brion Davis, "The Great American Novel --" (New York, 1938).

³Ibid., 162.

California went to Wilson when Hughes slighted Hiram Johnson political leader in California.

The reader of "The Great American Novel --" can glean number of historical facts as well as a determination of Davis's attitudes about several political occurrences, but, although the book is an interesting novel, it is hardly worth reading from the political-science viewpoint alone.

The first of the "Lanny Budd" books by Upton Sinclair - World's End⁴ -- has a rather good description of the Paris Peace Conference. Sinclair displays an almost reluctant admiration for Wilson, particularly in his struggle with Lloyd George and the other European leaders to maintain his ideals. Sinclair has a greater admiration for Wilson's seeming mysticism in desiring his ideas to be divinely inspired, and for his obstinacy, than he has for the actual ideas.

Sinclair's much earlier work, Oil!,⁵ is concerned with showing that the "Red menace" was nonexistent. One of the friends of "Sunny," the hero, is in his own terminology, "kidnapped" and made to go to Siberia to be a "scab" for Wall Street in trying to hold the Bolsheviks down in Russia. Harding is mentioned only in connection with the oil scandals to which La Follette, senior, was much opposed. La Follette's

⁴Upton Sinclair, World's End (New York, 1940).

⁵Upton Sinclair, Oil!: A Novel (Long Beach, 1926).

Autobiography,⁶ which has a number of observations derogatory to Theodore Roosevelt and the 1912 campaign, unfortunately was published too early to throw any light upon the Harding political scandals and La Follette's attitude toward the President. Samuel Hopkins Adams's novel, Revelry,⁷ is the only slightly disguised story of Harding under the name of Willis Han. He is pictured as a genial man, one fond of cards and drinking with his friends, the sad husband of an insane wife. When he meets Edith Westervelt she feels that he has a great potentiality which will never be exercised. At a party, although his voice can hardly stand it, he makes a speech to gain her approval.

The beauty and skill of delivery were still there; the manner lost nothing of its assured charm. But what he said! All the old hokum, the saug banalities of a lifetime attuned to cheap and easy popularity were condensed into the next disastrous three minutes. "Popular government the inspiration of liberty." "Our heroic dead, the foundation rocks of our imperishable edifice." "Thrift and Economy essential to prosperity." "The womankind of America, ever its glory and inspiration." "Business, the backbone of the nation." "Boost, don't knock. There is good in everybody." "The word, American, is the proudest boast of history. Others may doubt; I have confidence in America." "Next to the Bible I believe in the Constitution." "This republic of ours which has never feared an enemy --" words, words, words. Phrases, phrases, phrases. Blah, blah blah-blah.⁸

friend of Willis asks Edith to help influence him away

⁶Robert W. La Follette, La Follette's Autobiography: a Personal Narrative of Political Experiences (Madison, 1913).

⁷Samuel Hopkins Adams, Revelry (New York, 1926).

⁸Ibid., 97.

the crowd around him, all of whom want something from him. The crowd decides to augment Willis's income in some speculations without his knowledge, and Willis's own niece and official hostess, Cheryl, is one of the persons benefiting from the speculations.

Edith tries to persuade Willis not to endorse Secretary Gandy because of dishonest business relations in his past, about which she knows, but Willis trusts his friends implicitly. When, however, Edith receives proof of his dishonesty and shows it to Willis, he is genuinely furious at Gandy. "Here for once she had seen Willis Markham in an access of reality, being himself and not the puppet of others."⁹ Nevertheless, although he now knows the truth about Gandy, Willis is still unable to distinguish his true friends from those who are using him. The men who are concerned in the graft arrange between themselves for one of them, Madrigal, to take the blame. Too late to save himself, but not too late to make trouble for the others, Madrigal discovers that he is being betrayed, and dictates to the girl who loves him the whole story. Since Madrigal really admires Willis and does not want him hurt, he tells the girl to use the letters only in last resort. When Madrigal is killed "resisting arrest" the girl makes the letters public. Says Willis when he hears of it:

"Well, good God! Haven't I got any friends I can trust?"

⁹Ibid., 237.

Timothy Fosgate delivered a sad word of wisdom
 "Chief, a President can't afford friends."¹⁰

When the news comes out that the Texas oil lands were taken from the Navy and diverted to private use, and that Beryl shared in the profits, the country is scandalized, and Willis is heartsick. He accidentally takes poison, but when he discovers what he has done he decides not to take an antidote. As he lies dying all the men who have used him realize that they have really loved him, and the vice president, who is an unsentimental man, but realizes the value of sentiment in politics, comes to see him:

There came, too, the Vice-President, so soon to be President, who looked inscrutably at the dying man out of his fishy eyes and assured him that the Markham policies would be faithfully adhered to. Vice-President Elliot did not know what the Markham policies were. Nor did Markham. Nor did any one else. But it made a hit when sent out over the news association wires.¹¹

Edith, too, comes to visit him, and "She felt the shock of a suspicion that there was in this man something rarer and finer than her self-clouded vision had ever seen."¹² - Willis's faults, she knows, stemmed largely from too trusting a nature. "Friendship in politics undermines more principles than fraud, and gratitude is a worse poison than graft."¹³

¹⁰Ibid., p. 264.

¹¹Ibid., p. 315.

¹²Ibid., p. 316.

¹³Ibid., p. 318.

fuller picture of the 1920's, and one as easy to read
any novel is to be found in Frederick Lewis Allen's only
Yesterday.¹⁴ Allen agrees with much of what Adams says about
the attitude of the public toward Harding.

Another Such Victory,¹⁵ by John Weaver, is a novel of the
Bonus March of 1932 and contains almost nothing about the pres-
idency or the government, except to mention that some of the
Senators were attempting to get the bonuses for the ex-soldiers
before the specified date of 1945, on the grounds that the
tariff had given a bonus to the manufacturer, and that the
soldiers were more deserving of a bonus than the manufacturers

Earl Schenck Miers in Grass Roots,¹⁶ Dalton Trumbo in
The Remarkable Andrew,¹⁷ and John P. Marquand in B. F.'s
Daughter¹⁸ mention Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal.
Grass Roots is chiefly the story of small-town politics but
one of the characters makes a speech in which he warns that
while Hoover is a blundering stooge, Roosevelt won his nomi-
nation by "more deals with more machines behind the scene than

¹⁴Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday: An Informal
History of the Nineteen-Twenties (New York, 1931).

¹⁵John Weaver, Another Such Victory (New York, 1948)

¹⁶Earl Schenck Miers, Grass Roots: A Novel of American
Politics (Philadelphia, 1944).

¹⁷Dalton Trumbo, The Remarkable Andrew: Being the Chronicle
of a Literal Man (Philadelphia, 1941).

¹⁸John Marquand, B. F.'s Daughter (Boston, 1946)

you can cram under your best hat!"¹⁹ He further claims in his speech that neither Roosevelt nor Hoover care at all about the people, and all either of them wishes is to get to Washington.

The Remarkable Andrew is one of Dalton Trumbo's efforts to ridicule "red-baiting." As mentioned elsewhere in this paper, Trumbo is one of the "Hollywood Ten," an accused Communist and definitely of the left wing. The novel discussed here has its hero, Andrew Long, accused of being a Communist for owning the book, The Red Badge of Courage. Andrew's accusers are actually men who are trying to cheat the city out of money and are trying to get him out of the way by false accusations because he would not condone their dishonesty. General Andrew Jackson with a host of other famous personages from history, after a long, philosophical discussion about the New Deal, aid Andrew in his difficulties by getting the evidence against his accusers.

B. F.'s Daughter only mentions President Roosevelt through some discussion of Roosevelt's "Brain Trusters," of whom one is the husband of the heroine. Marquand, the author of B. F.'s Daughter, evidently does not quite approve of the New Deal policies, if one judges by the type of person whom he discusses as members of Roosevelt's New Deal Group.

The last eight volumes of Upton Sinclair's "Lanny Budd"

¹⁹Miers, op. cit., p. 347.

series²⁰ contain a rather large amount of material about President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The series has as its hero Lanny Budd, a young man brought up chiefly in Europe, and related by blood and marriage to wealthy and socially prominent persons all over Europe and the United States. Lanny therefore has entree almost anywhere, and his acquaintance is made still broader by his becoming a dealer in great oil paintings. President Roosevelt becomes acquainted with Lanny in the period from about 1938 to 1940 and asks Lanny to become presidential agent, making use of his broad acquaintanceship (which includes such persons as Hitler himself) to glean information which he will then bring back directly to the president. Lanny is never sure whether or not he is the only presidential agent, but he does bring back a great deal of confidential information. The volumes, Dragon's Teeth and Wide is the Gate, are in the greater part concerned with the struggle to rescue some of the Jews imprisoned in Nazi Germany and thus concern Roosevelt only as Lanny and others see him from the outside -- as president. The succeeding volumes, however, present Roosevelt as an actual acquaintance of Lanny

²⁰Upton Sinclair: Dragon's Teeth (New York, 1942); Wide is the Gate (New York, 1943); Presidential Agent (New York, 1944); Dragon Harvest (New York, 1945); A World to Win (New York, 1946); Presidential Mission (New York, 1947); One Clear Call (New York, 1948); and O Shepherd, Speak! (New York, 1949). Of the two earlier volumes in this series, World's End (New York, 1940) and Between Two Worlds (New York, 1941) the former, mentioned above, has some information about Wilson, while the latter concerns the period between Wilson and Roosevelt, almost entirely with the setting in Europe.

Lanny (and Sinclair) evince a warm admiration for Roosevelt both as man and as president. Sinclair is socialistic in his personal viewpoint and never attempts to conceal that view in these novels; nevertheless he makes an honest, and generally successful, attempt to present facts about actual persons with accuracy. Reading the Lanny Budd books gives one a sense of reading history with a minor-story thread worked in and some exhortations to appreciate the socialist cause presented at intervals. One might as well read these novels as almost any history of the contemporary period, and few of the histories are such pleasant reading as these books. Since most of the socialistic approaches are quite openly labelled, the reader runs little risk of being enticed into socialism unawares.

The last volume of the series, O Shepherd, Speak!, has Lanny becoming a presidential agent for President Truman, and going to Moscow on behalf of Truman to interview Stalin.

Lanny liked Senator Taft and Governor Dewey and the rest of the Republicans no more than Stalin did, and if there had been some way that Stalin could have made war on them and left the rest of America out of it Lanny would hardly have taken a ten-thousand-mile journey to make peace.²¹

Such statements as the above are likely to anger the reader sufficiently to prevent his accepting Sinclair's political viewpoint.

Most novels which purport to be about real persons and

²¹O Shepherd, Speak!, supra, . 566.

institutions in the federal government are rather admiring of those persons and institutions, although, as indicated in the individual descriptions of the novels, this admiration often stems from reasons which have nothing to do with the ability of the persons so described in their federal capacities. Novels which have the approach of history and reporting devote a far greater percentage of attention to the presidents than do novels which are supposedly entirely fictional politics. In the latter group of novels, novels concerning the president are comparatively rare. It is chiefly in the novels of the past and those of the future that the president is presumed to play an important part in government. Novels centering about actual persons, moreover, appear to concern more personages of the remoter past than those of the more recent past.

CHAPTER V

THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

In the curiously unbalanced world of the fictional federal government, most of the established executive departments have been ignored. In the novels used for this study there is almost no mention whatsoever of the Departments of Labor, Commerce, Defense, or the Post Office. The Treasury Department is mentioned only in historical novels dealing with Alexander Hamilton; the Department of Justice is discussed only in the novels about the Department of Justice's Federal Bureau of Investigation (which novels are discussed in the chapter on federal detection and espionage facilities); the newly created Department of Health, Education and Welfare is mentioned as being a possibility in some of the novels of the future, notably President Randolph as I Knew Him (cited in the chapter on political optimism in novels of the future).

Of the other departments, the Department of the Interior is mentioned in two novels, the Department of Agriculture in two, the State Department -- apart from the Foreign Service and diplomatic establishments -- in six, of which two are primarily about espionage and two are primarily about persecution of employees or officials. Eleven novels are about the Foreign Service, consular service, or diplomatic life; of these two also include some information

about the State Department in its capacities other than as a vehicle for operating the Foreign Service.

In other words, to rephrase somewhat the statements above, the executive departments of the fictional federal government consist of the Foreign Service, which is very important, and the relatively unimportant and almost unrelated Departments of State, Agriculture, and the Interior. It is somewhat puzzling as to why such a relatively large preponderance of novels should concern the Foreign Service unless, as it is necessary to do in considering most of the novels about the federal government, one takes into account the elements of glamor and excitement which the novelist must incorporate into his story in order to be popular with the book-buying public as a whole.

1. The Department of Agriculture

The novel, Plumes, by Lawrence Stallings (which is cited and discussed more extensively in the chapter on the federal employee) concerns a veteran of World War I who obtains a minor position in the Department of Agriculture doing laboratory research in the Bureau of Animal Industry. Stallings is more interested in the woes and vicissitudes of his hero as a crippled veteran than he is in the actual operations of the Department of Agriculture. Stallings does, however, have one of his characters say that the only worthwhile departments in the government are those of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, because, according to Stallings, these three departments require more scientific knowledge than do the

other departments and they are less subject to being used by purveyors of political patronage to care for misfits unable to obtain jobs elsewhere.

George Stewart's novel, Fire,¹ has even less to say about the Department of Agriculture as an entity. Fire is concerned with the National Forest Service in its struggle to save the forests from being burned, and with the fighting of one fire in particular. Stewart evinces a warm admiration for the Forest Service, but his novel does not throw any light on the operations of the Department of Agriculture apart from the Forest Service, nor does it explain more about the Forest Service than its fire-fighting activities.

2. The Department of the Interior

Frances Cambell Sparhawk's novel, Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby,² about the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior is before the time period covered in this study, but it is included here because it was one of the books which called attention to the miserable administration of Indian affairs and was therefore partly instrumental in bringing about a betterment of that administration. Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby is exactly what it purports to be -- a tale of the spoils system in Indian affairs. Inspector Noseby tells Senator Intrigue that no one cares

¹George Stewart, Fire (New York, 1948).

²Frances Cambell Sparhawk, Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby: A Tale of Spoils (New York, 1895).

what they do in regard to the Indian reservations except for some philanthropists who are also interested in investigating Civil Service. Sayre and Hutchins are two men who have been working on the Indian reservations for some years, and although they are far from perfect, they are well liked by the Indians, and their wives have done much to educate and train the Indian girls. Noseby, however, on the spoils system, appoints a new agent and superintendent who are to put Sayre and Hutchins in subordination to what Noseby terms "civilized rule." It is Noseby's contention that inferior persons should be placed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs because it is an economy and keeps out first-class people who would interfere with his administration. The Senator agrees,

For the senator was in no way unmindful of the distance that separates the gentleman who pays for his work to be done for him and the villain who does it for the pay.³

The persons whom Noseby appoints at Intrigue's suggestion are people to whom Intrigue owes a favor; he tells Noseby that they hate Indians and will not stay on the reservation, but at least he will have done his part in finding a place for them. When Green and Barnes, the new men, go with their families to take over the positions from Sayre and Hutchins, the latter have only just been informed of their dismissals, and have not received their last checks. Mrs. Green demands of the Sayres that they move out immediately

³Ibid., p. 106.

and it is the Indians who help their white friends. Sayre is unhappy because he knows that the Indians will suffer under the new men, but there is nothing he can do. Mrs. Green, who is a tyrant, upsets the gentle Indian girl, Wasu, whom Mrs. Sayre had trained for domestic work so much that the girl leaves. Mrs. Green tells her: "'Don't answer me back again, go back to your work. You will do as I tell you. That's what we're here for, to make the Indians mind.'"⁴

The final cruelty which the Greens and Barneses perpetrate on the poor Indians is the holding back of letters which Sayre writes to Wasu and her lover, Chekotoco (whom she later marries), sending for them to come to live with the Sayres in their new home after Sayre has obtained a position. Wasu and Chekotoco, who have waited for a long time to be sent for, finally give up their painfully acquired white man's civilization and revert to savage Indian life.

Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby is a bitter book, but it attempts to be honest in not portraying all Indians as good and all Caucasians as evil. Some of the Indians described are in their own way just as evil as the Inspector and the Senator. What the author is trying to do, however, is to present the plight of the Indians, the evils of the spoils system in relation to Indian affairs, and to point out that more attention in Washington to the problem would result in better conditions for the Indians. In this aim

⁴Ibid., p. 149.

she succeeds admirably.

Caroline Hicks (discussed at greater length in the chapter on the federal employee), by Walter Larig, is a much more recent book -- so recent, in fact, that it is also outside the time span of this study in the opposite direction from Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby, but so few novels deal with the executive departments that it is felt to be advisable to include Caroline Hicks here. The administration of the Department of the Interior is not discussed in any detail since the central character of the book is a secretary; enough, however, is said to allow the reader to gain a fair view of administration on the lower level. Caroline receives her job through a Civil Service examination; she reports to the administrative office of the Interior Department where she is assigned to a typing pool in the Wildlife and Game Bureau while a friend of hers is assigned to the Bureau of Mines; she receives a clerical rating of CAF-3; she takes dictation and types papers about matters with which her bureau is concerned such as migratory-bird laws. Captain Larig is not, unlike Frances Cambell Sparhawk, attempting to demonstrate a thesis or to advocate a reform. He simply portrays the mundane and prosaic matters with which individuals in the Department of the Interior are concerned.

3. The Department of State

Three novels -- A Washington Story, by Jay Deiss, The Sure Thing, by Merle Miller, and The Season of Comfort,⁵

⁵Gore Vidal, The Season of Comfort (New York, 1949). 2

by Gore Vidal -- concern officials in the State Department as such. The two first-named books are about persons in the State Department who unjustly lose their jobs because they are accused of having Communist sympathies. The implication in both novels is that the Department of State is more concerned with the welfare of the Department as a whole than it is with the fate of any one individual: when suspicion attaches to a person he must resign for the good of the Department. The authors of both books feel that their characters are not treated fairly because in both cases the dismissals are based not on independent investigations conducted by the Department of State but upon accusations and investigations conducted under legislative auspices. The Season of Comfort has even less about the operations of the State Department than has either of the other two novels mentioned above. Stephen, the husband of the central character of the book, Charlotte, is in the State Department as a minor official, and later, after she divorces him, he becomes a famous ambassador. How Stephen's change of status is accomplished, however, is never made clear.

Herbert O. Yardley's Red Sun of Nippon, and John Reed Scott's The Cab of the Sleeping Horse (both of which are discussed in the chapter on federal detection and espionage

Washington Story is cited in the chapter on the federal employee, and The Sure Thing is cited in the chapter on federal detection and espionage facilities.

facilities) as well as Judith Kelly's A Diplomatic Incident,⁶ are concerned with the relations of the State Department with foreigners. Both Red Sun of Nippon and The Cab of the Sleeping Horse are primarily about spies of governments inimical to the United States and the relationship of persons within the State Department with those spies and with the representatives of governments friendly to the United States. Scott's novel, which was written in 1916, reveals an easy and intimate atmosphere presently impossible in governmental operations. Harleston, the hero of the story, attempts to trace the path of a letter to the French Ambassador which has been taken by German spies. In his work he is closely associated with the Secretary of State who -- in the novel -- is acquainted with almost every minute happening in the Department. Whenever the Department has a problem which is too difficult for it to solve it calls upon Harleston. In the governmental world as created by John Reed Scott the Department of State appears to be primarily concerned with espionage, and diplomacy is equated with espionage in the minds of the characters in the novel. The Secretary of State personally supervises the attempts to capture the enemy spies, and the Fifth Assistant Secretary of State and Chief of the Cipher Division is the man whose official duty is to decipher messages concerned with enemy operations under the direction of the Secretary of State.

⁶Judith Kelly, A Diplomatic Incident (Boston, 1949).

In Red Sun of Nippon a young State Department official is in love with a beautiful Eurasian girl who is unknowingly working against her homeland, China, and for Japan, which she hates. Bruce, the State Department official, is interested in preventing a war with Japan and the intelligence branch of the State Department works with the friendly Soviet government to discover that the wicked Japanese have attempted to implicate the Russians as enemies of the United States by leaving incriminating papers in the offices of the Soviet Trade Commission. Bruce's superior, Kipp, an Under Secretary of State, as well as the president and the Secretary of State, wish for war -- or at any rate are willing to allow themselves to be talked into a war without difficulty. Bruce and a friend who has been dismissed from government service, however, foil the jingoists who wish for war by sending a cable to Japan contradicting one sent by the Secretary of State and signing the name of the Secretary of State to their false cable. Bruce is forced to resign (although war is averted) but a new president coming in is to reinstate and promote him in the Department. Red Sun of Nippon is a highly romantic and unrealistic novel which attempts to show the higher-ranking officials of the State Department as men who are much more interested in their own prejudices and wishes than in the welfare of either the nation or their own department. Only the underlings who are persecuted for their zeal actually have the welfare of the United States at heart, Yardley implies.

Judith Kelly's A Diplomatic Incident is a novel which is much better written than is either that by Yardley or that by Scott; it is also more realistic both in the portrayal of character and in the depiction of the Department of State. Nevertheless Judith Kelly has also selected a highly melodramatic situation about which to write, and her novel is for that reason less believable than it might otherwise have been.

John Wilson, who is the quite unwitting instrument of destruction and evil in the novel, is a careerist in the Department of State; just what his position is the author never specifies. Gannett, John Wilson's son, is an idealistic and honest person who is losing his fight to go to Congress because he will not tell the people that they may have something for nothing; he warns them that in order to prevent war they must support the United Nations with much more fervor than they are now doing and that they must really work for what they want. Gannett has become acquainted with some members of the Soviet Embassy who eventually trust him enough to tell him that they are members of an Underground force in the Soviet Union which is preparing to overthrow Stalin. In order for their proposed peaceful revolution to succeed, however, they must try to prevent war between the Soviet Union and other countries over the Middle East, which the Soviet Union threatens. John Wilson believes only that his son is being duped by the Russians (whom John believes to be all Soviets) who are trying to use the idea of their being a group of anti-Stalinists in the Soviet Union as a trick

to force the United States to surrender the Middle East to the Soviet without a struggle.

John Wilson is flown out of the United States secretly in order to meet with another Russian leader who also tells Wilson that he, the Russian, is a member of the Underground forces in the Soviet Union and reiterates Gannett's story. John Wilson, however, is more sure than ever that the entire story is only a clever Soviet trick. His lack of belief means the death without the reward of victory for most of the Russians who talked to John and to Gannett, since they have risked exposure in order to try to gain John Wilson's belief. The scheme of the Soviet peace party was to have the United States take the proofs of Soviet aggression in the Middle East to the United Nations and to eliminate the use of the veto. John says that although the elimination of the veto would be an advantage against the Soviet Union, the American people themselves would not be willing to give up their prerogative of the veto.

Through John Wilson the Soviets capture some of the members of the Soviet peace party; Gannett is so angry that he makes a speech in his Congressional campaign voicing his views about the need for a strong United Nations. His speech means the end of all machine backing and the withdrawal of his name from the party ballot, but he is determined upon a write-in campaign.

John Wilson, who is a professional diplomat and has in diplomatic service become so cynical that he cannot believe

anyone or trust the motives of any person, is the unwitting villain of the novel. John Wilson is not a bad man; he is simply a professional at diplomatic fencing; his career has robbed him of his ideals; his lack of faith is responsible for his genuine -- though unrealized -- failure in his real diplomatic mission of attempting to maintain peace.

Judith Kelly also describes some minor character sketches and incidents which are memorable. One such incident is the way in which the two Negroes, Tom and Archie, who are ostensibly servants in John Wilson's home but are actually United States agents, react to the Russians. Archie is a person who genuinely believes in the ideals if not the practices of the government of the United States; he has a racial feeling for Tom, but when the latter reveals himself to Archie as actually a Soviet sympathizer who has been using his position to spy for the Soviet Union, it is Archie who turns Tom in to the FBI. As Tom is arrested, without knowing who has reported him, he tells Archie that his arrest is another evidence of the fascist racial discrimination in the United States; Archie, seized by terrible shame that one of his own people should have acted as Tom has done, tells Tom that it is he who has turned Tom in.

A Diplomatic Incident is a sad book, a novel in which the inherent or acquired faults of character, not merely events, are the instruments of failure. Judith Kelly has managed to make almost all of her characters human beings; none of them is wholly bad or wholly good. Her novel is a plea for more

idealism, more trust, less cynicism in international relations. The author indicts the State Department not for evil intentions but for allowing its officials to become so much involved in the career of diplomacy that they cannot see anything which does not fit into the preconceived idea of the game of diplomacy within the Machiavellian or even the Metternichian framework of each nation's attempting to gain the advantage over the other. Judith Kelly writes little about the system of operation or the hierarchy of the State Department, but hers is a good, impressionistic picture without the details.

Two novels -- State Department Cat,⁷ by Mary Plum, and An Affair of State,⁸ by Pat Frank -- which are chiefly about the admission of prospective officers to the Foreign Service -- also discuss to some extent other functions and branches of the Department of State. In State Department Cat there is something of a struggle between one senior official in the Department with another senior official over the latter's suppression of a report which was sent in by a relatively minor and since-deceased official. For his own reasons, primarily financial, the second official wishes to prevent the papers from going to the Secretary of State or the president because the report would discredit a Latin American leader whom the official is backing. The first

⁷Mary Plum, State Department Cat (Garden City, 1945).

⁸Pat Frank, An Affair of State (Philadelphia, 1948).

official in the Department discovers the suppression when the second official attempts to prevent the son of the writer of the report from passing the Foreign Service examination. Once the report is taken to the Secretary of State and the president, however (after an exciting chase when the report is stolen), the Secretary and the President will have nothing more to do with the Latin American leader who is the subject of the report. Except for the one man who is working for his own gain, State Department officials in general are portrayed as being honest, intelligent and well-intentioned. State Department Cat is not, like A Diplomatic Incident, or even An Affair of State, intended to be taken as a serious novel. It is a good spy story, an adventurous chase which happens to have its locality in the State Department; however, the governmental details which Mary Plum mentions are usually realistic.

An Affair of State concerns the Department as such in its description of the frustrations to which the Foreign Service officers are subjected by the officials at home. One of the excellent men in the Department, in Frank's novel, is Horace Locke, who is shunted up and aside when his views are out of step with those of persons high in the administration. Although Locke still has some entree and can, if he really exerts himself, force his admission to the Secretary of State, he has been made Adviser to the Diplomatic Monuments and Memorial Commissions -- a position nominally high-ranking but actually having little dignity and no power.

The Chief of the Balkans Division, who is the superior of the hero, Jeff Baker, is somewhat suspicious of Baker from the beginning, and is more worried about his own domestic and professional difficulties in having a European wife than he is in the welfare of the Department or the other employees of the Department. The Secretary of State is depicted as a busy, fundamentally honest man, but a man who has little patience for matters outside the ordinary channels of governmental officialdom. On circumstantial evidence he requests Jeff's resignation without a hearing; when Locke calls his attention to the fact that there may be something to Jeff's side of the story he is willing to listen to Jeff. Nevertheless because Jeff has acted in a manner extraordinary in the Department, he continues to request Jeff's resignation. The Secretary is, however, essentially honest enough to reinstate Jeff when later Jeff's version of his actions is proved to be true. In a sense Pat Frank's novel reinforces Judith Kelly's. Both authors plead for more trusting of a fundamental decency in people; both feel not that the officials of the Department of State are necessarily evil but that they have been for so long in the same grooves of diplomatic maneuvering and of distrust that they are unable to understand any actions which appear to be outside of those grooves; unless new idealism can be infused into the veins of the Department in the form of such men as Jeff Baker, the novelists seem to say, diplomacy of the United States must, by its nature, fail.

Diplomatic and Consular Activities
of the State Department

Diplomatic and consular activities of the Department of State are considered apart from the Department because a greater number of novels concern this aspect of the State Department than the Department as a whole. There appears to be some confusion in the minds of most authors of novels about the life of diplomatists abroad as to the actual functions of ambassadors, the relation of the Diplomatic and Consular Services, and the extent of amalgamation of the two, which has taken place through various acts of reorganization.⁹

⁹Elmer Plischke's recent book, Conduct of American Diplomacy (New York, 1950), has a very good and concise statement of the acts of reorganization as well as the function of the organs of the Department of State in the conduct of diplomacy on the part of the United States. Kurt Landon's book (written in collaboration with Kent Ives), How Foreign Policy is Made (New York, 1949), is more of a survey of the conduct of foreign policy in general, concerning other countries as well as the United States. Some other works which bear upon the Foreign Service and the foreign policy of the United States are: Malone Graham, American Diplomacy in the International Community (Baltimore, 1948); J. Rives Childs, American Foreign Service (New York, 1948); and John Mabry Mathews, American Foreign Relations: Conduct and Policies (rev., 2nd ed.; New York, 1938). An interesting contrast in a description of the British Foreign Service is provided in an article by E. Ashton-Gwatkin called "Foreign Service Reorganization in the United Kingdom," which appeared in International Affairs, Vol. XII, No. 1 (January, 1946), pp. 57-74. A popular presentation which emphasizes the role of the people and the parts played by various branches of the government in the shaping of foreign policy may be found in Who Makes Our Foreign Policy?, by Blair Bolles, a pamphlet which is No. 62 in the "Headline Series" of the Foreign Policy Association (New York, March-April, 1947).

In actual fact the Consular Service and the diplomatic service were distinct from 1792 to 1924, when the Rogers Act combined the two and formed the basis for the present Foreign Service. The Moses-Linthicum Act of 1931 further placed officers of the diplomatic and consular services on an equality of footing within the Foreign Service while the Foreign Service Act of 1946 further reorganized the Foreign Service. The 1949 reorganization on the basis of the Hoover Commission Report integrated the Foreign Service more closely with the State Department than formerly and provided for an interchangeability of home service and Foreign Service officers above certain levels. In more recent reorganizations, however, the trend appears to be in the direction of more separation again. There is a further confusion of the history of the Foreign Service in that for a period of time the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce also had separate foreign services which were amalgamated into the Foreign Service in 1939.

In the face of the many changes which have taken place in the diplomatic and consular establishments in real life it is hardly surprising that novelists are not very clear as to the degree to which the diplomatic and consular establishments are related or whether they are related, as to which department the Consular Service comes under, as to the social position of consular and diplomatic officers in relation to each other, and other matters. Generally the Diplomatic Service is placed by novelists under the Department of State while the Consular Service is spoken of as if it were a

thing apart. Until the novels of recent years, the Foreign Service is rarely mentioned, and it is often not equated with the Diplomatic Service. Since novels about diplomatic and consular establishments have been written throughout the period of reorganizations and there is usually no reference made to the reorganizations or to previously existing conditions, the reader becomes even more confused in reading several of these novels. Many of the novels which deal with the separation of the consular and diplomatic services (such as, for example, the novels of Frances Parkinson Keyes) are still popular today and further the impression that the two branches are distinct and often hostile to each other.

Novels about the diplomatic and consular lives of officials usually divide themselves into one of the following categories: novels about diplomatic establishments in past periods of American history; novels about ambassadors; novels about the Consular Service; and novels about career men in the Foreign Service.

Past periods of American history.--A number of novels which deal with historic incidents or time periods have mentioned persons concerned with diplomacy. Two will suffice here to indicate the general trend of the writing.¹⁰ An

¹⁰Some others, such as Mary Dillon's The Patience of John Morland, Marguerite Allis's The Splendor Stays, Samuel Hopkins Adams's The Gorgeous Hussy, Walter Guest Kellogg's Parish's Fancy, and others, may be found discussed in the chapter on the federal government in the historical novel. Most of these novels are primarily concerned with other subjects and mention diplomacy only in passing references.

excellent novel of this type is Constance Robertson's Salute to the Hero.¹¹ Richard Bute is a First Secretary of Embassy, under Mr. Buchanan, to the Court of St. James. Bute is an arrogant politician of a man who is determined to succeed at no matter what the cost to others. Much to Buchanan's disgust Bute sends home his wife, Vinnie, after she is criticized by another woman at the embassy as not being well enough known socially. Again, in order to gain votes and approbation at home, Bute rudely refuses to drink a toast to the Queen. After a most unsavory personal life and a career in the Army during the Civil War, Bute, through the Tammany politics which he has served all his life, is sent as Ambassador to Spain where he makes a brilliant marriage with an innocent and unsuspecting Spanish girl. After Bute gains enemies by helping to overthrow the King of Spain, he resigns over a minor issue, expecting to be pushed ahead, perhaps into the White House. Instead he is a has-been to whom no one listens. He is shunted aside by minor officials and dies almost in disgrace.

This well-written book is a bitter portrait but not a caricature of a man who tried to use, and in great measure succeeded in using, diplomacy as a career in which to advance to higher places. Bute can by no means be taken as typical, in this sense, of the early diplomatists, but

¹¹Constance Robertson, Salute to the Hero (New York, 1942).

Salute to the Hero does demonstrate both through its major and minor characters the fact that the early diplomatic envoys who succeeded were often of ranking importance and of socially prominent families. Moreover, the early diplomatic envoys, by the necessities of poor communication and travel conditions, were endowed with far greater power for individual negotiations than is now true in this day when instructions may easily be obtained from home whenever the necessity of diplomatic negotiations arises. Each early ambassador or minister plenipotentiary was a miniature secretary of state possessed of the power to conduct negotiations with much more latitude than is now possible to him.

Tassels on Her Boots,¹² by Arthur Train, has relatively little about the diplomatic life, being chiefly a novel about Tammany; nevertheless it has as its hero young Barrington Carter who has been secretary to a legation and who is a cousin of Charles Francis Adams (of the prominent Adams family), the former Minister to the Court of St. James. The indication once more is that even the minor embassy or legation officials were of the socially and politically prominent families.

Chiefs of mission.--A swing away from the earlier conception of the diplomat is evident in novels about ambassadors of a more recent period. Both the minister of The Great

¹²Cited in the chapter on boss politics.

Tradition¹³ and the ambassador of The American Ambassador¹⁴ are of relatively unimportant families. Both are wealthy, both are from the Middle West; neither is particularly cultured; neither is prominent outside his own locality, although Colborne, of The American Ambassador, is a former United States Senator.¹⁵

In The Great Tradition, Mr. Rhodes is a kindly man from Topeka who has given large amounts of money to the presidential campaign of President Conrad, and as a result has been appointed Minister to the Netherlands. Mr. Rhodes has a native intelligence and good sense which it takes his pretty but somewhat vulgar daughter, Trixie, years to attain. Mrs. Rhodes is sure that nothing outside of Topeka can equal anything in Topeka, but she is willing not to blame the foreigners too much because they cannot also be fortunate enough to be from Topeka. Trixie, who begins with the same attitude as her mother, gradually acquires some culture in Europe, and Mr. Rhodes, who had not as far to travel as did his daughter, also absorbs the best of Europe.

Rhodes desires to see and take care of the Americans

¹³Frances Parkinson Keyes, The Great Tradition (New York, 1939).

¹⁴Lawrence Byrne, The American Ambassador (New York, 1917).

¹⁵Gore Vidal's novel, Season of Comfort, cited in section 3 of this chapter, mentions an ambassador who rises from a relatively insignificant position in the State Department but does not explain the method by which this advance is accomplished.

who call upon him in the Netherlands but he must constantly circumvent his secretary who seems to feel that the Minister must be made to appear too busy and too important to bother with mere Americans. Mr. Rhodes and his family are gradually accepted into Netherlands society, and Mr. Rhodes conscientiously tries to see and understand the country as well as to keep up his position socially as he realizes he must in order not to lower the dignity of the United States. Rhodes is successful enough in the Netherlands that he is appointed later as Ambassador to Germany. Most of the remainder of the novel concerns the romance of Trixie Rhodes with a half-German boy, and the attempts of the Ambassador to get the young man out of Germany after Trixie helps to buy his way out of a German concentration camp. The Great Tradition is a sentimental novel concerned chiefly with the social life of the diplomats, but it does indicate that the type of ambassador has changed from the aristocracy of family to the aristocracy of wealth.

Ex-Senator John Colborne is the ambassador of The American Ambassador and he is of much the same type as Rhodes of The Great Tradition, except for the fact that Mrs. Colborne is much more socially prominent than is Mrs. Rhodes. The American Ambassador is in the form of a diary of the narrator, the confidential secretary of Colborne. Colborne does not trust the secretaries provided by the State Department to the embassy, and he is determined to push through a project which has ~~189718~~ling United States

diplomats for years.

. . . .Walter protested. "Our service has changed a great deal in the past few years. We have serious men in every embassy now. You are judging, Senator, by your trip to Europe of twenty years ago."¹⁶

Despite this protest Colborne insists on having the narrator as his personal secretary, and the narrator is put through an intensive three-day training period on the social graces, such as the leaving of cards, the returning of cards, the meaning of turning down certain corners of cards when leaving them, how to keep an official waiting until he is just ready to leave before admitting him to the ambassador, how to seat people for dinner according to protocol, and other necessary information.

The narrator (and, soon, the Ambassador as well) discovers that Dalton, the First Secretary, is a fine, conscientious public servant, while Atkins, the Second Secretary, is an odious man who brings out the worst in the Ambassador by being one of the Americans who feel that there is nothing good about the United States, and who try to be more European than the Europeans. When an American lady comes to the embassy for a passport, Atkins is very rude to her in informing her that she must get the passport from the consulate. Dalton, on the other hand, tries always to be polite to the Americans who come to the embassy, because, he says, that is the purpose of the embassy.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.

The Ambassador soon discovers that the running of the embassy is rather expensive because, for reasons of prestige, the embassy cannot have less than twenty-five servants. The Ambassador errs in the opposite direction from Atkins. Says the Ambassador:

"I'll bet this chair came from the U.S.A.

"Yes it did," Dalton replied.

"I knew it. Everything good does."¹⁷

When the Ambassador inquires of the secretaries what he should do first as an ambassador, Atkins says that he should have printed at least five thousand visiting cards. Dalton more seriously informs Colborne that the first thing that a new ambassador should do is to advise the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his arrival; then he should call upon the Minister, and ask for an audience with the King. At the audience the Ambassador should present his letters of credence, after which the King should welcome him and the Ambassador should make a short reply.

The Ambassador, however, has short-circuited protocol. He feels that the informal American way is best, and he blunderingly goes about trying to force this informality upon the country to which he is ambassador. In this attempt, Colborne has Byrne's full admiration. The Ambassador is evidently the writer's ideal and no considerations of diplomacy as such trouble him.

¹⁷ Ibid., . 51.

Dalton attempts to keep the Ambassador out of trouble by telling him what he may do with propriety, but the Ambassador is determined to go his own way. When Dalton says that ambassadors are not so important as they were fifty years ago because the ambassador now must cable to Washington for instructions and even in negotiating a treaty must have the treaty planned for him in Washington, Colborne refuses to heed him.

Like Mr. Rhodes of The Great Tradition, Mr. Colborne has a beautiful young daughter, Kitty. Kitty and the narrator are in love, but when a vital cable to the Ambassador concerning a Count de Stanlau disappears (the Ambassador and his secretaries had left it lying on the table) the Count tries to force Kitty to marry him in order to save the Ambassador from disgrace. All, however, comes out happily in the end.

Although Byrne evidently feels that his bumbling, blundering, bluff and hearty Colborne is an ideal ambassador, this writer cannot agree. It would seem that a person who deliberately ignores and actually flouts the conventions of the country to which he is the representative should be withdrawn. Colborne, although he is told that it is not the practice for the King to receive consular representatives, tricks the King into having presented to him the United States consul and his wife, because Colborne feels sorry for the consul's wife for having little social life.

Some of the details about which Byrne writes are quite

interesting and informative, such as, for example, the fact that the embassies must go into mourning when the Court is in mourning, and the way that the Ambassador saves an American woman from losing her citizenship by marrying a Frenchman (this novel having been written during the period when, under United States law, the citizenship of a woman automatically followed that of her husband).

Dalton, the First Secretary, it would appear, is actually a much better representative of the United States than is Colborne. Dalton does not laugh at what foreigners consider important, nor is he intolerant of others' customs. During the period in which this novel was written there were unfortunately probably more American representatives abroad of the type of Atkins and Colborne than there were of Dalton's, but it is the Daltons who have saved the United States from the worst faux pas.

Consular service.--Life of consular officials is touched upon in at least three novels: Aurora the Magnificent,¹⁸ Parts Unknown,¹⁹ and Islandia.²⁰ The consul is also mentioned in Lawrence Byrne's The American Ambassador as being unable to participate in social life in diplomatic establishments because commercial representatives were not re-

¹⁸ Gertrude Hall, Aurora the Magnificent (New York, 1917).

¹⁹ Frances Parkinson Keyes, Parts Unknown (New York, 1938).

²⁰ Austin Tappan Wright, Islandia (New York, 1942).

ceived by the King.

The consul of Aurora the Magnificent is, however, evidently unbothered by a lack of social life. He is a Mr. Foss, a pleasant, ordinary man, with a pleasant, ordinary wife and several attractive daughters. American citizens in Florence, where he is consul, come to ask his advice on everything from the renting of houses to the buying of horses and the acquiring of servants. The girls have been brought up in Italy, which they love, but they have a certain feeling of insecurity because, as one of them says, "'With every change in administration father may be recalled.'"²¹ At the time that the novel opens, the Fosses have been in Italy for six years. When the beautiful widow, Aurora Hawthorne, and her friend arrive in Florence, the Fosses do everything possible to make her stay pleasant, including the having of a party. Later, in return, Aurora, unknown to the Fosses, makes it financially possible for one of the daughters to marry the man of her choice. Most of the remainder of the novel concerns Aurora's romance with a young man whom she meets in Florence, and finally Mr. Foss's helping to protect her character when protection becomes necessary. Mr. Foss is described chiefly as a nice, ordinary man, and little indication is given of his consular duties beyond the fact that he provides aid and information for Americans in Florence. Whether or not the extent of his aid is deter-

²¹Hall, op. cit., p. 51.

mined more by the kindness of his character rather than by the exactment of his duties is never made quite clear, however.

Parts Unknown is the story of Daphne and Michael Trent, who are sent to La Paz when Michael enters the Consular Service. Their chief trouble on the journey down to La Paz seems to stem from the fact that Daphne possesses only one evening dress. Mrs. Keyes attempts to give a picture of hardship, genteel poverty, low salaries, and poor conditions in the Consular Service. The setting of the story is before the Rogers Act of 1924, for the characters discuss the possibility of the combination of the Diplomatic Service with the Consular Service and the possible effect on them all. Mr. Loose, the United States Minister in La Paz, is a vulgar and wealthy man who has bought his position, and who ignores the Trents until he meets Daphne, sees that the society of La Paz admires her, and realizes that she is a "lady."

Jerome, a friend of the Trents in La Paz, who is also in the Consular Service, loses his wife because she cannot stand the dreary, underpaid life and goes to Europe. Daphne loses her first child because of the bad conditions. Later the Trents are sent to Canton where they are very happy and conditions are much better until in an uprising Michael's father, who was visiting them, is killed and the Trents lose many of their possessions. The State Department, instead of taking into consideration all that the Trents have suffered, sends Michael back to China instead of to Europe where he

wants to go. By being too long out of the country, Michael and other consular officers lose touch with the United States and therefore do not represent it as well as they might otherwise have done. Newspaper owners and heavy contributors to presidential campaigns, instead of persons of real merit, are made ambassadors, and Michael becomes disgusted with the system. When Loose offers Michael a high-paying job with the Loose Company, Michael resigns from the Consular Service and takes the job. Daphne, who has gone back to the United States, is offered the post of Minister to Greece, but she does not take it, chiefly because she realizes that it would hurt Michael's pride. Later, after a near tragedy brings Daphne and Michael together again, Michael, who is now a millionaire, is made Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

As a novel, Mrs. Keyes has written romantic nonsense. She does, however, bring up some points which were germane at the time of which she wrote. It was true for a long period that persons in the Diplomatic or Consular Service needed a supplementary income to the low salaries which they were paid. Consequently many good potential employees did not join because they could not afford it; others, like Michael, became disgusted and left; the wealthy, who could afford the jobs, were not always the best representatives of the United States. The eventual amalgamation of the Consular and Diplomatic Services into the Foreign Service (which Mrs. Keyes discusses as a possibility) did, of course, take place. Another abuse which Mrs. Keyes mentions

is the fact that officers in the Diplomatic and Consular Services were often left out of the United States for such long periods of time that they could no longer represent the views of the United States abroad because they no longer knew what those views were. Attempts have been made to correct this difficulty, and two- or three-year periods of duty abroad are now generally followed by a short period in the United States in order for the representative to reacquaint hi self with his home country.

Austin Tappan Wright's Islandia describes a beautiful, imaginary country to which the narrator is sent in 1907 as the first United States consul. What Wright has to say about John Long (the narrator) as consul is not precisely pertinent since Wright constantly explains that Islandia is different from all other countries, and that therefore the duties of the consul are different from what they would be in any other country. Islandia carries on no trade, nor has it ever carried on trade. Few foreigners visit Islandia. Islandia has stringent exclusion laws; even the prospective consul must submit to a rigid physical examination. Only ministers to Islandia are exempted from the physical examination. At length Long is forced by the United States to resign because he becomes involved in local affairs of Islandia. By this time, however, he loves the country so much that he is determined to return there to live, and eventually he does so.

The only points at which Wright's consul resembles

conventional one are those of his presumed duty of keeping in touch with the American nationals in Islandia, and the fact that he is supposed to try to foster trade between the United States and Islandia.

Career men in Foreign Service.--Two novels about minor officials in the United States diplomatic establishment abroad are Nancy Hoyt's Career Man²² and Pat Frank's An Affair of State (mentioned in section 3 of this chapter).

Career Man has less about Foreign Service life in it than does An Affair of State. James Caswell Galbraith, a Third Secretary of the American Embassy at The Hague, is the hero of Career Man. James has served for years in South American consulates, so that he has lost some of his original passion for the Foreign Service, and his post in the Netherlands is his first good assignment. (This would appear to be an extremely slow promotion, but since Career Man was written about the period of the major reorganization of the Foreign Service it is conceivable that a good man might have been overlooked in this fashion.) James has many admirers, according to the author, of his quietly efficient way of doing things, but even the author makes him appear a timid soul. For example, James reminisces:

That little red-haired Rumanian! What fun it would have been! But the minister's wife actively disliked her, and the minister's wife not only was a sister of one of the assistant Secretaries of

²²Nancy Hoyt, Career Man (Garden City, 1933).

State but a very nice woman who counted on him to help her at all her parties.²³

James is determined to advance. He likes to drink but curbs that impulse as he has many others, in order not to impede his career.

"There was nothing in Europe that could shock or annoy him. How could a man expect to get decent posts if he was easily shocked or annoyed at unforeseen developments?"²⁴

James has conquered his desire for physical violence since entering the Foreign Service, and ". . . foreign service had almost eradicated his ability to see his own side by reason of their insistence on the other fellow's point of view. . ."²⁵

James has entered the Foreign Service because he wishes to serve the United States. The author has obviously wished to present the picture of a young, sophisticated man who is not ruled by his passions, but in the process of eliminating passion, the author has made James a colorless person. The reader finds it impossible to believe that James on an Italian holiday falls in love with a woman who appears to be quite unsuitable as a diplomat's wife. All difficulties are solved, however, when his prospective wife turns out to be the favorite niece of the ranking Senator on the Foreign Relations Committee, and James's career is

²³Hoyt, op. cit., p. 22.

²⁴Ibid., p. 29.

²⁵Ibid., p. 48.

made for life. James may not have known that all would turn out perfectly for him career-wise, but the author certainly knew or she would never have permitted him to fall in love with Allegra. Perhaps the worst thing which one can say about Career Man is that it not only was written by a woman, but it sounds as if it were written by a woman. What James has ever accomplished beyond the advancement of his own career (for which the book is so aptly, although probably unconsciously, named) is never made clear.

Jeff Baker, the hero of An Affair of State, is almost in every sense James Galbraith's opposite. Jeff is the son of a clerk in the State Department, a clerk who always wanted Jeff to be in the Foreign Service. Jeff is quite idealistic about the State Department. Pat Frank has an interesting description of Jeff's oral examination for the Foreign Service. The unusual feature of Jeff's oral is that the Secretary of State himself sits in on Jeff's oral and is one of the deciding votes in accepting Jeff and in assigning him to Budapest, where he wishes to go. The other persons on Jeff's oral committee are the Chief of the Balkans Division, a career Minister in Far East, and a Mr. Dannenberg, who had been preparing Jeff for the examination. Jeff, although his field is eastern Europe, is asked such questions as the naming of the functions of the Far Eastern Commission, the number of the dividing parallel of the United States and the Soviet Union in Korea, and an explanation of the agrarian policy of the Kuomintang. As is true in actual

Foreign Service oral examinations, Jeff is passed more on his poise and presentability than on the correctness of his answers. Mr. Frank has Jeff go through a realistic process of getting ready to go overseas: listening to lectures, filling out preference sheets, taking out insurance, making a will, being given vaccination and shots, and listening to security talks.

When Jeff is assigned to Budapest, Matson, who had been one of the doubtful persons on his examining board, becomes his Chief of Division. Jeff is informed that the reports of the Chief of his Division and the Chief of Mission where he is assigned will be of great weight in the advancement of his career. An admiral is the Chief of Mission in Budapest because the situation there is semi-military.

Jeff is somewhat suspicious of the top-secret Atlantis Project, of which he is informed in Washington -- an attempt Communist Underground army; nevertheless Jeff obeys orders Communist Underground army; nevertheless Jeff obeys orders and tries to carry out his part. Jeff, who is an FSO Class 5, tries to remember the words of Horace Locke, a friend of his father:

"Don't underestimate your own importance. Foreign policy is not made by speeches, or treaties, or directives, or proclamations. It is made by men and what they do."²⁶

Although Jeff is in love with Susan Pickett, who works in the office of the Secretary of State, he knows that

²⁶An Affair of State, supra, p. 49.

Foreign Service officers are not encouraged to marry until they reach Class 3 or 2, partly because the salaries of Foreign Service officers will not support a wife.

Jeff fears that the Atlantis Project may force a war, and when a Russian whom he has known previously during the war, tells Jeff that there is an Underground group of Russians who are anti-Stalinist and who are planning to set up a Free Russia radio, Jeff believes his friend. Leonides, the Russian, also tells Jeff that Atlantis has been penetrated, and that continued contact between Americans and Hungarians only endangers the natives.

Jeff is criticized by the security officer and by others for having conversations with the Russian, and when Jeff informs them of the Soviet infiltration of Atlantis they do not believe him. Budapest is full of Americans (SES, FBI, CIO, G-1, CID, G2, CIA and Treasury agents, all helter-skelter) and Jeff's superiors believe that if there were a Free Russia group as he says, some of the other Americans would have discovered it. Jeff finally convinces Quigley, the security officer, and some others of the failure of Atlantis, but the admiral is determined on his recall.

When Jeff receives a request for his resignation he refuses and determines to return to Washington to fight out the matter. Through Horace Locke and other friends he calls the matter to the attention of the Secretary of State, who listens to Jeff but still calls for his resignation since Jeff is unable to prove what he says. atlantis, however

is called off, at least temporarily, so that Jeff feels that he has accomplished something good. Later, however, when the Free Russia radio is established and Jeff's point proved, he is reinstated.

An Affair of State has more about the administrative relationships and workings of the State Department than almost any other novel. In most of his details Frank is correct though his interpretation is often slanted. Frank appears to believe that many of the good men in the Department of State are shunted sidewise, or pushed up to a position of no influence. Nevertheless, Jeff, the hero, is and remains an idealist who cares much more about the prevention of war and the welfare of the United States, than he does about his career, even though he had been preparing for that career since he was a small child. Frank worked in Hungary as a journalist, and also has had government experience, having worked in OWI (Office of War Information) during World War II, so he does have background for what he writes. The average reader of An Affair of State, however, would probably glean the idea that the Foreign Service and the State Department are full of incompetent or tired-out men, and that only the few persons who circumvent the normal processes of the Department save the United States from ruin.

Mary Plum's State Department Cat is a good mystery story which happens to center around George Stair, a prospective Foreign Service officer. Like Pat Frank's Jeff Baker, George Stair is the son of a man who was a kind of unsung hero in the

State Department. George has made a phenomenally high grade of ninety-six on the written examination for Foreign Service, and he speaks several languages, including Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. He has just recently been released from internment by the Japanese, and it has been his life's ambition to be a Foreign Service officer like his father. However, he is, though presentable and intelligent, self-educated, and the pretty girl who meets him in the building feels that he has no opportunity of passing unless he has attended Groton and Harvard. She is Nancy Colman, the niece of a high-ranking State Department official.

George is examined by five men. His father had informed him that the oral examination is for the purpose of ascertaining physical, mental, temperamental qualifications, as well as culture and experience. The oral is supposed to last ten to thirty minutes. George is asked such questions as the duty of a Foreign Service officer, to which his answer is: ". . .to promote good will and respect for the United States, sir, and to protect and promote her interests and those of her citizens."²⁷

One of the examiners is very hostile to George; he had known and resented George's father. It is he who emphasizes the fact that George has spent a total of only about three years in the United States, and is therefore hardly qualified to represent it abroad. At the end of the examination

²⁷Plum, op. cit., p. 16.

George knows he has failed.

The remainder of the story concerns Nancy's and her uncle's determination to get George accepted by the board by showing how the hostile examiner had had an ulterior motive in wishing George to fail, and had suppressed papers which George's father had sent back from South America years before. When George, who is supposed to be delivering the papers to the Secretary of State or another high official, has them stolen from him, the story becomes a mystery-adventure novel concerned with the recovery of the papers.

An Affair of State and State Department Cat reinforce each other on the points of examination for the Foreign Service and the requirements for Foreign Service officers.²⁸

Paul Bonner's SPQR²⁹ is a late novel about the diplo-

²⁸Pat Frank during World War II performed liaison between the Department of State and OWI and is acquainted with State Department procedures. Frank, nevertheless, has the Secretary of State himself participating in Jeff's oral examination -- a more than extraordinary procedure in actual fact. Both Frank and Mary Plum are correct in having five men on their examining boards, and both authors mention, correctly, the fact that all candidates are asked the question as to why they wish to join the Foreign Service. In An Affair of State, Jeff is told that he will be informed by letter of the decision of the committee in the usual manner, and he is accepted. In Mary Plum's novel George knows from hearsay that if he is accepted he will be told immediately to report for his physical examination while if he is failed he will be told that he will hear the results by letter. According to recently passed Foreign Service officers the procedure now appears to be that candidates are told to report back in two hours, at which time they will be told of the decision.

²⁹Paul Hyde Bonner, SPQR: A Romance (New York, 1952)

matic life, a novel which is in fact outside the time span of this paper. It is, however, interesting to note that it carries out the idea of the young Foreign Service officer who is trying to learn about the country to which he is assigned. The danger of becoming absorbed into a foreign community and losing one's identity as an American is discussed. When the hero is leaving Italy and being sent home to attend a school for Foreign Service officers (the Foreign Service Institute?) he tells a priest and a local girl how much he thanks them for their help, "without which I would have been just as dumb and useless as any other struggling First Secretary."³⁰ Bonner's hero, however, is more fortunate than most of the other fictional Foreign Service officers who try to do their jobs conscientiously: he is not hounded out of the Department by unjust superiors like Jeff Baker, George Stair and John Long, nor is he forced to compromise with himself like Michael Trent and James Galbraith. Instead he is more in the tradition of Dalton of The American Ambassador -- a man who tries to represent the United States but also tries to understand and be sympathetic to the customs of the country to which he is assigned. Perhaps SPQR is an indication that the period of crusading in the field of the fictional Foreign Service is drawing to a close for a while, and that novels about diplomatic life may return to an earlier tranquility.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 317.

No novel surveyed went so far as to demonstrate some of the most important twentieth century developments in American diplomacy, such as the accretion of informational staffs to diplomatic missions, the perennial character of international monetary relationships and agreements as a part of the now-normal background to diplomacy, nor the specialization of tasks within each embassy or legation. The career man is easier to portray and to present as a generalist than as a specialist. American novels leave little room for the parts played in each diplomatic mission by the administrative officer, the communications and cryptography personnel, or even the military, naval and air attaches. One would have supposed that at the least the service officers would in some instances have been made the heroes of novels, or their wives the heroines. This distribution of governmental functions in the novels confirms once again the impression that the selection of material on the part of the novelists is governed neither by their personal experiences in real life nor by randomness, but by their expectations of what the reading public would find understandable and interesting.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEDERAL EMPLOYEE AS DISTINGUISHED FROM FEDERAL OFFICIALS

From the viewpoint of the political scientist, one of the most marked developments of the twentieth century has been the development of a large federal bureaucracy, staffed by career civilian employees. Though the foundations of career bureaucracy go back to the beginnings of the United States government, and though the movement for Civil Service reform was a striking innovation in national politics after the close of the Civil War, no official or writer of the nineteenth century envisioned the sheer size and multiplicity of federal offices which twentieth century administration would require.

Offices, pending the fruition of a cybernetic revolution which will reduce routine human tasks to terms which can be handled by dirigible employing, calculating and administrative machine functions, demand personnel -- employees to perform the clerical, fiscal and administrative tasks inherent in the complex scope of modern government.

At this point fictional government and real-life government are farthest apart. In reality, every federal decision must go through a complex series of physical operations -- the typing, proofreading and validation of papers; the clearance for authority and form; the vouchering for audit and comptroller's purposes; security storage and circulation;

and the like -- while in fiction the policy-makers often live in a comfortable dream world where the decision is the finish of the matter. Novels about the federal employee are scarce. It can safely and positively be said that the great American novel about government, which will portray government from its traditional policy-makers to its newest administrative and security personnel, has not yet been written.

Thus far, what is at hand?

Federal employees -- as distinguished from federal officials -- are comparatively rare in the fictional federal government. The federal employee occasionally receives a casual mention, but even in those novels in which the employee is stated to exist, federal employees are almost invariably considered as part of their jobs rather than as separate entities, and the job, not the person, is almost always the chief subject under consideration by the authors.

As becomes more plain in the chapter on the New Deal and war agencies, most of the persons mentioned as being in the federal government are higher-ranking officials, not employees in the usual sense of the word. The image of the federal government as projected by novelists is one of an army which has almost all generals and no privates.

It is true that authors must find more interesting and exciting the lives of responsible persons in government than those of lowly employees, creatures whose lives are directed by the orders of others and whose responsibilities are generally of minutiae. Nevertheless, the curious unbalance of

proportion is interesting to the political scientist as conveying to the public the almost inevitable impression of the life of the federal government worker as being filled with vital decisions upon most of which depend the fate of the nation. The researcher, the compiler, the government hack writer, the statistician, the housekeeping officer, even the secretary, is almost non-existent in the fictional federal government. The impression conveyed thus is one of a much more glamorous life than is the actual fact in government work.

Curiously enough, the federal employee, when mentioned in fiction at all, is almost always feminine. Apart from the bare mention of the federal employees in novels about New Deal and War agencies only one novel -- Plumes,¹ by Lawrence Stallings -- concerns a male employee, and even this novel is much more concerned with the hero's plight as a veteran of World War I than it is with the man's actual position in the structure of the federal government.

1. The Male Employee

Plumes is the story of Richard Plume, who has been badly injured in World War I and whose legs are crippled as a result of that injury. Shortly before going away to war Richard has married Esme Dozier, and when he returns Richard

¹Lawrence Stallings, Plumes (New York, 1924).

finds himself burdened not only with the necessity of earning a living for himself despite his crippled legs, but also of having to support his wife and son. After a heart-breaking search during which Richard is constantly refused a job because of his injuries, he at last succeeds in locating a minor position in the Bureau of Animal Industries of the Department of Agriculture. As a veteran, Richard has a priority for a Civil Service examination, and the kindly, underpaid chief of the Research Section of the Bureau offers Richard a job as outside helper until he shall have passed the examination. The first duty which the chief, Mr. Gary, gives to Richard is that of reading government bulletins in order to acquaint himself with the work of the Department of Agriculture. Richard enjoys his laboratory work although the small wages which he receives are scarcely enough to support himself and his family.

When Richard becomes increasingly disillusioned about the rewards of working for the federal government and even more so the rewards of having served his country in war, Gary tells him:

"Of course," he said, "if you consider Washington in terms of the White House, Capitol, State, War and Navy and all that rigmarole, you get it in a bad light. You'll conceive of your government in terms of political tricksters, country jesters, drooly-mouthed orators, social posturers, messiahs, correspondents. The only government amounting to a whoop in hell is in the back-ground, ignored by politicians when drained of jobs. . . .

"Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor are the only worth while ones in the government. All the rest of the Cabinet is based on superstition, avarice, deviltry. Just now we scientists -- humanitarians -- get the crumbs

from the table. We get a little revenue and are kicked about for jobs. Every Cabinet member must have a certain number of jobs to provide for the parasites of the Administration. Every Congressmen [sic] must have a certain number to provide for his reelection. Unless you are in a laboratory you are subject to interference, and even then you must hold a mighty small job. They leave us alone because they pay us little and the requirements are special. Aside from humanistic activities, every Bureau swarms with political rats. The scientific side of the government cannot be consolidated yet, because no Cabinet member will trust his rats to the mercy of some other Cabinet member's rats."²

Plumes is a bitter, rather pointless novel. Eventually Richard becomes so unhappy in working for the government that even though he is offered, through a Congressman related to him, a better-paying job in Chemical Warfare, Richard leaves government work and goes back to college teaching.

2. The Government Girl

Some of the novels about government girls (or "G-girls" as they are allegedly known in popular newspaper parlance) also concern disillusionment on the part of the federal employees. The government girl in fiction tends to fall into a pattern and a composite picture of her would show these general features: she is usually from a small town; she is pretty, intelligent, rather naive (although she usually quickly acquires a superficial sophistication in her fictional government life); almost inevitably she is either corrupted (morally or politically) or, if she maintains her integrity,

²Ibid., pp. 123-125.

she is persecuted to such an extent that she must leave her job.

The happy government girl.--One of the few exceptions on many of these points is a sentimental and singularly un-specific novel by the popular women's writer, Temple Bailey, called Red Fruit.³ Here the heroine, Daphne, corresponds to the composite picture in being a pretty, naive girl from a small town. However, although the author implies that Daphne is intelligent, this point is never proved to the reader's satisfaction. Daphne loves Washington indiscriminately and spends long hours simply drinking in the inspiration of the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, and other statues and public buildings. Daphne is supposed to have been appointed to her job through Civil Service, but the author never states what this position is or where it is. Daphne works in the Great Unspecified Department of the fictionalized federal government. Contrary to the composite government girl, Daphne neither loses her ideals politically (so far as the reader can discover she has none except for a vast worshipping admiration for the municipality of Washington) nor is she morally corrupted. Instead, after several months of living in a rooming house with several other government girls, working at her unspecified job, and admiring the monuments and public buildings of Washington intensely, Daphne leaves to work on the Maryland farm of the mother of the man whom Daphne loves from a distance.

³Temple Bailey, Red Fruit (Boston, 1945).

Emilie Loring's novel, Keepers of the Faith (cited in the chapter on espionage and intelligence) and Richard Powell's novel, All Over But the Shooting (cited in the same chapter) concern government secretaries, each of whom works in the Pentagon, and each of whom is instrumental in capturing enemy agents outside of office hours. Of the two, Powell's novel is somewhat more realistic in detail since it gives the secretary a genuine clerical rating and it emphasizes the real need for secretaries in Washington during World War II when each office attempted to hire secretaries away from every other office by inducements of higher pay and better ratings. All Over But the Shooting is quite unrealistic, however, in having one of the characters say that a man in the office has priority over a secretary because she is his own wife, since government practice is generally to separate relatives in government employment as widely as possible. Neither novel is genuinely concerned with the question of the girl in her capacity as a federal employee, however.

The corrupted government girl.--Mary Badger Wilson, whose two books about the life of the government girl were written somewhat earlier than the novels mentioned above, is better than either Temple Bailey or Emilie Loring both as a stylist and as a depicter of character although her heroines carry out the stereotype of the composite government girl. The Painted City⁴ is less a novel than a series of

⁴Mary Badger Wilson, The Painted City: Dry Points of Washington Life (New York, 1927).

related short stories, but it is included here because it makes an over-all picture and because it presents a dramatic contrast to Temple Bailey. The author's preface to The Painted City indicates the entire tone of the book:

" . . . it is singularly bloodless, this painted city. The life of its people is perniciously anemic. A city of employees -- no matter how high-sounding their titles may be. A city where nobody takes a chance. A city of fear."⁵

In one short story Ruth is the usual pretty, intelligent girl from a small town, who comes to Washington during World War I and tastes the "synthetic gin of vicarious adventure."⁶ She is a stenographer in a bureau (unspecified) and she makes a salary much larger than the one to which she is accustomed "even though Washington profiteers confiscated the greater part of it."⁷ Ruth loves her job and the surface gaiety of Washington, and at the war's end she does not want to go back home as so many of her fellow workers must do. Through her Congressman she manages to obtain a less desirable position at a lower pay in one of the older government departments (again unspecified). Here she goes through a period of growing monotony in peacetime, and eventually is fired after a brief and unsatisfactory affair with her boss. The boss, in the best ironic tradition, keeps his job with no

⁵Ibid., p. vii.

⁶Ibid., p. 3.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

loss of status. The entire book is in the same key of minor tragedy, with some characters spending their lives without reward, others being demoted or fired, and those retained living in constant fear of losing their jobs. However, while in Red Fruit the heroine is merely a girl who happens to work for the federal government and to admire it, in The Painted City the lives of the characters are actually and forcibly shaped by their working for the government.

Borrowed Plumes⁸ is in a sense a continuation of The Painted City -- a spiritual though not actual sequel to it. Julia, through her Congressman (and the judicious use of her personal charms), obtains a position in filing in an unspecified department. As a realistic touch the author has had Julia filling out endless application blanks before she gets her job. She meets Roberta, who had obtained her job through her Senator, and gradually she becomes involved in a pointless, amoral social existence. Around her she sees older women, government clerks who have worked for years, who are now without hope of advancement, and who work with unlimited conscientiousness in terror of losing their jobs.

Determined not to be one of these women who have been passed by, Julia goes to lectures in other departments and meets Derek, a young Jew Dealer, who offers her a job as his administrative assistant. Although Derek tells Julia that he loves her, when she becomes involved in a scandal

⁸Mary Sadger Wilson, Borrowed Plumes (Philadelphia, 1935)

through no real fault of her own, Derek tries to leave her. He has planned to run for Congress, and feels that if she comes out of the scandal without great damage he will be magnanimous and marry her; in the meantime he cannot afford to jeopardize himself politically. Julia, in the usual Washington fictional tradition, attempts to get her sister, Agnes, rather than herself to figure as the principal in the scandal. However, Agnes's fiance, Philip, horrified by the selfishness and lack of morality which both Derek and Julia exhibit, forces Derek to marry Julia despite the unfavorable publicity which the affair has received.

"You're a liar. You're a coward. You're a cad"
 [Philip said].

Derek seemed to consider these statements. Then he grinned.

"In other words, I'm a politician," he replied.⁹

Both The Painted City and Borrowed Plumes create an image of a life in which struggle, selfishness, fear, and political expedience play a large part in the struggle to "get ahead." In the fictional world of Mary Badger Wilson the government girl cannot allow herself the decent gestures of generosity; she is moulded by the federal government itself into a greedy, self-seeking person full of false values.

Another book, which is outside the time span of this paper but which carries on something of the tradition of Mary Badger Wilson concerning the government girl, is

⁹Ibid., p. 298.

Walter Karig's Caroline Hicks.¹⁰ Caroline is the pretty, intelligent, small-town girl who comes to Washington innocent and is morally corrupted. Caroline has by far the most realistic government life of any of the girls mentioned in this study. She has taken a Civil Service examination; she reports to the administrative office at the Department of the Interior; she is first a member of a pool of typists; she is assigned to Wildlife and Game; she has a genuine government rating -- CAF-3; she fills out applications for hospitalization and bonds; she tries to understand the incomprehensible and confusing manual for typists and stenographers; she takes dictation about such prosaic and mundane matters as the possibility of changes in migratory-bird laws if a Republican Congress is elected. In other words, Caroline leads a realistic and plausible government life. Karig is much less combative about the evil effects of Washington on Caroline than is Mary Badger Wilson. He simply tells a story; Caroline leads a typical government-girl life, no more monotonous and no more glamorous than any other office life; and what happens to Caroline might have happened to her wherever she worked if, as in Washington, she lowered her moral standards.

The government girl betrayed.--Frances Parkinson Keyes further carries out this tradition of the corrupted small-

¹⁰Walter Karig, Caroline Hicks (New York, 1951 and 1952).

town girl, and also introduces the motif of the girl betrayed from above. Also the Hills¹¹ purports to be the story of pretty Jenness Farnham, who becomes the secretary to a Congressman, Horace Vaughan. Jenness idolizes Horace and does whatever he asks of her, including collecting isolationist speeches and sending them out under a frank. Whenever she voices doubts about the distribution of propaganda Horace assures her that she will be protected. However, when some of the facts become known and Jenness is arrested and indicted before a grand jury, she tries to protect Vaughan, though the extent of his protection for her is the hiring of a lawyer. When she is found guilty and sentenced to prison she realizes that Vaughan's love for her had endured only so long as it was convenient, and that she has merely been used by him for his own purposes. Jenness thereupon commits suicide. Jenness is the fragile and weak woman who does what she does for love, and therefore while in cold fact she deserves her fate, Mrs. Keyes seems to imply that she also deserves the reader's sympathy since the man for whom she worked was consciously corrupt and led her astray.

Two other novels, covered more extensively in the chapter on the New Deal and war agencies, which mention unjust dismissals of women employees are Merle Colby's The Big Secret and Dalton Trumbo's Washington Jitters. In the latter book

¹¹Frances Parkinson Keyes, Also the Hills (New York, 1943).

Eula Keiffer, a faithful secretary in the Agricultural Survey Program, is to be dismissed by Administrator Hamilton Dill because the daughter of one of Dill's friends is coming to Washington and wants a job. In The Big Secret Nancy Bascomb, a statistician in the Bureau of Industrial Research, loses her job because she is sympathetic to Daniel Upstead and the League for the Advancement of Basic Science which advocates freedom from security restrictions for scientists doing basic research.

much more elaborate dilation on the theme of the girl betrayed -- this time an entirely innocent girl -- is A Washington Story, by Jay Deiss.¹² Faith Vance is technically a secretary but actually a kind of executive assistant to Mr. Cunningham in the State Department. She speaks excellent Spanish, and obtained her job through a friend in the Pan American Union. She is married to Thacher, a rather incompetent and quite vindictive man, less intelligent than she and resentful of that fact. Faith is subpoenaed to go before a Congressional committee for no reason that she can imagine. Instead of waiting to find out of what she is accused, or of being sympathetic to her, the Department immediately becomes defensive in remembering that the budget is pending, and Faith's superior informs her that if she is not fully cleared she should, for the good of the Department, resign immediately.

¹² Jay Deiss, A Washington Story (New York, 1950).

"But Melvin, the Department's welfare ultimately depends on the welfare of its employees. How can an agency operate if its people are scared out of their wits?"¹³

Faith appeals to her other friends in high places, including one in the White House, but she soon discovers that fear has paralyzed them all, and that, without anyone's knowing of what she is accused or whether she is guilty, she is regarded as a pariah. Faith's pro-fascist husband says that she should not belong to a union, and that the president himself is a Red. She finds a Negro girl whom she had known previously who tells Faith that the job which she (the Negro girl) had been performing efficiently and well has been abolished, and that her professional rating has been lowered to a clerical one. Whenever the girl has tried to get a new job she has been told that there are no jobs.

The union's attorney tells Faith that he will be unable to have her hearing called off unless she has influence with an industrial organization backing the committee; however, he does find an attorney to represent her during the hearing. He tells Faith:

"They're [the Committee] not really concerned with the truth of whether you're subversive. Not concerned with facts, nor with justice -- but with proving a thesis. The thesis, reduced to its baldest terms, is very simple: the country is being undermined by Reds. A Red, according to them, is likely to be any person or group outside big business and its satellite organizations. They actually want to whip up nation

¹³Ibid., p. 59.

wide hysteria -- and, completely mad as it seems, they are hankering after war."¹⁴

A little later he says, "'People on the Hill rarely do something for nothing."¹⁵ After a very unfair hearing at which Faith declines, on principle, to say whether or not she is a Communist (although she is not one) she is unable to prove that she is an American citizen because she has no birth certificate. Faith further antagonizes the Committee by saying, "'If I show contempt for this Committee, it's because the Committee has shown contempt for my American rights!'"

Faith is unable to get the names of her accusers, and the one Senator friendly to her, a Senator Cahill, is unable to get them for her, although he does get the dossier on her and shows it to her. In the dossier Faith discovers that all of the facts about herself have been twisted and put out of context. The chief bit of evidence against her seems to be the testimony of one of her unknown accusers that she keeps a bust of Karl Marx on the piano. The bust is actually not of Marx but of Mozart.

Faith is fired from her job with prejudice and without a hearing. It develops that her jealous husband is the person who launched the false attack against her. When Faith appeals for a hearing the Board states that it wishes to be fair but the welfare of the Department comes first, and that

¹⁴Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 85.

Faith may not know the case against her because the Department is dismissing her on the basis of the Committee's investigation. Further, one of the Board members tells her that she is fortunate merely to be fired with prejudice and not prosecuted for lying about being an American citizen. When her superior in the Department speaks in her favor before the Board, Faith knows that it will cost him his job also.

The Attorney General refuses to see Faith, and she is kidnaped and sent to Ellis Island, where she is held incommunicado for deportation. Here her lawyer, Dave, who has fallen in love with her, finds her through the influence of Senator Cahill. He hopes to get her free eventually, but physical freedom appears to be the most that she can expect.

This vicious and prejudiced book is rather well written, which is one of its chief dangers; it is a readable story. Jay Deiss takes some facts in the headlines of today and does just what the villains of his book are accused of doing: he twists and enlarges upon them until they are unrecognizable. To the reader who is not lulled by the story into the acceptance of its premises, the investigation is farcical. In the first place, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for Faith to have obtained her position if she could not even show that she was an American citizen. She had been investigated by the FBI, which she termed the secret police, yet no one discovered what her real sympathies were, nor investigated the very easily provable fact that the bust was of Mozart instead of Marx. No one in the

investigation, apparently, questioned the motives of Faith's husband in lodging information against her. And Faith herself contributed materially to her difficulties by refusing "principle" -- her "rights" as an American citizen -- to say whether or not she were a Communist. The story is supposed to be one of great tragedy, of an evil fate pursuing an innocent person, with Faith as a kind of Cassandra to whom no one listens. To a person who looks beyond the author's attempt to present a thesis, and, to paraphrase his own words, to prove that the country is being undermined by Fascists, it becomes apparent that Mr. Deiss, like the committee he accuses, is "not really concerned with the truth not concerned with the facts, nor with justice."

Fascist, in Mr. Deiss's terms, would be anyone who is not vehemently anti-Franco and pro-Stalin.

From the examples of the novels cited above, it is apparent that the government girl in fiction leads an abnormal and vague life with Caroline Hicks as almost the only exception as to specificity. Most of the authors describe their heroines as receiving their jobs through their Congressmen (four cases mentioned -- two in the same book) or a friend (one case). Four books do not mention the way in which their characters get their positions. Only two authors mention the origin of the job with Civil Service, and one of these, Red Fruit, gives no details as to how the heroine obtains her job "through Civil Service." A Washington Story describes Faith as getting her job through her friend

and afterwards straightening out her status with Civil Service. Faith's method is followed at times in government job hunting, but a more usual procedure is for the person seeking the job to be hired in effect before Civil Service is consulted, but not actually being out to work until the prospective employer has shepherded the employee's papers through Civil Service. With respect to obtaining a job, as in other details, Caroline Hicks is by far the most realistic of the books reviewed.

The over-all impression of the government employee which the reader would tend to receive from novels is that women almost entirely fill the lower echelons of government service and are almost entirely lacking in the higher-ranking groups of officials. The reader of novels must conclude that some kind of influence is almost a prerequisite for obtaining a job, and that the life of the government girl is either glamorously corrupting or glamorously dangerous. If one is not being seduced or politically betrayed, one is engaged in capturing enemy agents.

The most nearly lifelike of the government girls is Caroline Hicks and, since this is the most recent of the books discussed, perhaps it indicates a trend toward more reality in the treatment of the subject matter of federal employment at the lower levels. It would appear that perhaps the least requirement which the reader might make of the novelist who purports to write of the federal government is that he attempt to be accurate in details and that he

give the semblance of reality by portraying the background of the federal system of employment with some greater degree of care than is evident in most novels.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW DEAL AND WAR AGENCIES

The tenure of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was remarkable in more than one respect. Political scientists need not be reminded of the bold Constitutional innovations, almost approaching a bloodless revolution, which Roosevelt introduced into the American political and economic systems. Most striking to the eyes of the general public, perhaps, was Roosevelt's restless and dramatic creation of new agencies. Crisis succeeded crisis throughout Roosevelt's four terms, and in each instance the President was ready with an administrative remedy which was sometimes apposite but always worthy of press and radio attention.

The emergency agencies established by Roosevelt had several points in common. They were always outside the traditional framework of the long-established executive departments, each headed by a member of the Cabinet, which Roosevelt took over from Hoover and -- somewhat surprisingly, in the light of his innovations in so many other fields -- bequeathed unchanged to Truman. Truman and Eisenhower modified the Cabinet structure, whereas Roosevelt did not. One explanation of this apparent paradox is to be found in Roosevelt's use of the ad hoc agency as a means of creating a wider and more flexible span of control than the established presidential pyramid of offices would have afforded him.

The emergency agencies early came to be known as "the alphabetical agencies," from the use of initials as a bold, piquant way of denoting their newness in American governmental practice. Usually set up by executive fiat, though New Deal and war legislation was sometimes employed, the emergency agency was sometimes given loose attachment to the White House, on occasion provided with statutory relationships to the existing departments, and most commonly placed in partial or complete competition with a duplication of other, preexisting emergency agencies.

The presentation of these agencies in the American novel is significant in two particular respects: first, these agencies, more than others, invite satire on federal bureaucracy; second, these agencies, because of their partisan politics and special purposes, usually force the authors who deal with them to reveal the implicit political and social theory of the author himself. It is important to note that a high percentage of the novels reviewed and digested in this category were written by persons who were employed in such agencies or who were the spouses of persons so employed.

The following subheads have been found useful in presenting the alphabetical agency in the American novel:

- (1) The presentation of higher officials and elder statesmen;
- (2) Lesser, working officials in the hierarchy;
- (3) The specific wartime agencies;
- (4) Federal administration at the local level;

(5) Procedural difficulties with red tape and confusion; and it must be noted at the outset that these subdivisions reflect the stresses which the novelists themselves imposed on their materials, not the logical order of a political scientist's resume of these facilities.

Over and above the contribution made by the novelist's first-hand experience of government in many of these particular cases, there must also be noted the rather special part played by the American press in supplying the political and administrative raw material for these novels. The New Deal brought its own kind of politics to the American scene -- a politics which involved not only interpersonal competition for the capture of existing offices, but interagency competition for the creation or abrogation of whole organs of government. Such competition invariably and properly made news. The part of the press is stressed in most of these novels, much as it was in the real-life New Deal.

As a whole, executives of the alphabetical agencies appear to have been rather well treated in fiction. Most of the authors have an affection for their characters who head good-will missions, work in the rubber reserve, or become chiefs of the various price stabilization agencies (though the latter show an astonishing propensity to be murdered). As for the machinery of the New Deal and war agencies, however, a number of authors display what may most kindly be described as a friendly contempt. Authors like A. Fleming McLeish and Dalton Trumbo are outspoken in their

satiric fun-making at the expense of the alphabetical agencies. Jerome Weidman is more subtle in his description but is almost equally uncharitable. Other authors picture the high purposes and good will of the agencies and men involved as being frustrated from above or from forces outside the government. Virtually no author pictures the executive agencies as unqualified successes.¹

1. The Higher Officials and Elder Statesmen

The rise of a dollar-a-year man is pictured in Clyde Brion Davis's Follow the Leader² in more or less typical fashion. David's novel is not concerned with the functions of the dollar-a-year man, but with the life which he has led preliminary to his being asked to Washington in the capacity of an adviser. Charles Martel is shown as an ordinary little boy at the turn of the century who becomes a hero in World War I and makes a rather unexpected business success. He is a staunch Republican and when, in 1941, President Roosevelt asks him to come to Washington for a conference, Charles refuses to take a job in which he does not believe. After the beginning of the war, however, when the offer is repeated, Charles accepts because although he does not believe in the

¹An early work which foreshadowed the increasing concern of some political writers with the mushroom growth of government is: Walter Thompson, Federal Centralization: A Study and Criticism of the Expanding Scope of Congressional Legislation (New York, 1923).

²Clyde Brion Davis, Follow the Leader (New York, 1942)

administration's policies he wishes to help win the war.

Charles is pictured as a man who has a certain integrity and who has no illusions about himself. In fact, he is rather inclined to undervalue himself, and is constantly surprised whenever he makes a success at anything. Davis seems to imply that the successful businessman of integrity was frequently asked to participate in the running of the government under Roosevelt, and that this spoke well for the businessman and for Roosevelt.

The hero of The Hour of Truth,³ by David Davidson, has some points in common with Martel, although he comes from a somewhat different background. Will Harmon is a fairly successful young lawyer in his early thirties who, through a friend in the State Department, is appointed legal officer and associate director on a Good Neighbor mission to Latin America. The mission is to last for one year, and consists of a one-million-dollar rehabilitation project in Alba, and includes agriculture, public health, and public works. Will is in the beginning very enthusiastic about his work, and attempts to learn what the people actually need and want. The technical group of which Will is a part consists of a mixture of conscientious men and braggarts. The people of Alba are desperately poor and they cannot understand that the mission is neither religious nor military in its nature. The technical

³David Davidson, The Hour of Truth: A Novel (New York 1949).

group is isolated from what they have considered civilization, and the men soon become quarrelsome within the group. The governor is not sympathetic toward the poor, and says that they are savages who understand only force. Instead of encouraging a gradual, long-range project, the local grandees and the governor attempt to have set up a slipshod and hasty temporary alleviation. The United States Ambassador, who visits Alba, does not even come ashore and exhibits no real understanding of the problems of the local people. He has listened to the governor and the landlords. He attempts to get information about the other members of the mission as he interviews each man alone. Burling, who has been trying to do a good job for the local people, is sent home, and Will, unhappily, is put in charge.

Will at last compromises, for he feels that otherwise he will be able to accomplish nothing, and agrees to pay the local profiteers a percentage of graft in order to get the materials which were previously always promised but never arrived. At last, after the flagrant murder of an innocent worker and the degradation of the women of Alba, Harmon knows that he can compromise no longer. He determines to sign a statement as to how the man was murdered, although he knows that pressures of the local landlords will certainly have him removed from the directorship of the mission and sent home. The Hour of Truth is the rather bitter story of hopelessness of contention against red tape and powerful interests, but it is also the story of the rising above that struggle by some

of the members of the mission. Davidson seems to imply that there is something wrong with the system, but that the men within the system are often good.

The villain of In Secret Battle,⁴ by Lawrence Lipton, is Stuart Baldwin, who, although anti-New Deal, is appointed to key position in the war-production group called War Contracts Administration, or WCA. Baldwin's daughter, Gail, loves Michael, who is a New Dealer. Gail works in the Economic Coordination Authority, which performs liaison between the war-production agencies and the procurement divisions of the armed services. Her superior is Gerald Hannah Buckminster ("Bucky"), a bureau chief. Michael was formerly with WCA and later in the Office of War Information (OWI). Bucky is attempting to get through the various mountains of red tape the papers on a new ring-type parachute, but whenever he tries to trace these papers down they appear to be lost. So many things go wrong with Bucky's plans that he begins to realize, as do Gail and Michael, that the papers are being deliberately held up by anti-New Deal forces who say that only leftists want the papers to go through.⁵

Lipton's is a good left-wing description of the wartime agencies. He describes the abolishment of the card of Eco-

⁴Lawrence Lipton, In Secret Battle (New York, 1944)

⁵For an interesting British novel which would seem to indicate that the federal government of the United States is not the only governmental structure which can become hopelessly ensnared in red tape, see: Gene MacColl, Assignment Stuffed Shirt (Boston, 1952).

conomic Warfare (BEW) and the division of its functions between the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) and the Office of Economic Warfare under Leo T. Crowley. This abolishment of BEW Lipton calls a defeat for Vice President Henry Wallace,

" . . . the one man who more than any other in the President's official family had come to represent liberal New Deal thought, not only to Americans but to millions of militant democrats throughout the world."⁶

Bucky says that the president is unable to go on with the original program of the New Deal and the winning of the war against the Nazis because he is a prisoner of management in the White House. When Michael says that the president has handicapped his program by bringing in persons who are not sympathetic to the administration's aims, Bucky says that Roosevelt has a gun at his back and must do as management and the pro-Fascists desire him.

Even Baldwin at last realizes that the ring parachute is a good thing and that his assistant, who has been hiding the papers from him, is really a pro-Nazi because he has once visited Germany.

Lipton is very bitter in his sentiments against anti-Stalinists, and accuses persons who are not pro-Roosevelt of sabotaging the war. Lipton's recitation of the facts of the history of the alphabetical agencies during the war is interesting, but his extreme left-wing slanting of those facts and his interpretations of them would make it appear that anyone

⁶Ibid., p. 276.

who was not an extreme New Dealer and pro-stalinist was really a Nazi sympathizer. Lipton would blame any failure of the alphabetical agencies not on inefficiency of their management or on red tape inherent in their nature, but on the interference of management and the influence of pro-Nazis (that is, anyone not sympathetic to the Soviet Union).

Foster Ford, in Helen Knowland's Madame Baltimore,⁷ is an elder statesman who has testified before the Senate Finance Committee as an expert. His position in the government is never made clear in the novel, although the author states that whenever Ford might be interested in the federal budget he could confer with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the head of the International Bank, the president, and others.

With Drucie's [his wife's] financial backing, he was able to study at leisure, to lend, not sell, his brains, and he could say, "No, I don't agree," right out loud to the President of the United States and be quoted in most of the papers in the country.⁸

Foster's political orientation is not mentioned in the novel, and he does lead a very unsavory personal life, for which he is eventually murdered. His chief qualification which is mentioned in the novel, as a statesman, is his wife's money.

Richard Starnes in And When She Was Bad She Was Murdered⁹

⁷Helen Knowland, Madame Baltimore (New York, 1949).

⁸Ibid., p. 21

⁹Richard Starnes, And When She Was Bad She Was Murdered (New York, 1950 and 1951).

writes of another executive of the same type as Foster Ford. Deane Brafferton, who had been one of the original brain-trusters in the early days of the New Deal, has a wealthy wife who has aided him socially and in his work. Deane, while working in government utilities, has been brought before a Senate investigating committee which has uncovered a suspicion-arousing connection between Deane and Middle Eastern Oil. Although Deane had planned to run for Congress,

In an election year it was dynamite and Deane was turned out of the party councils as if he'd been an unwed mother. But I must say he was agile as hell for a big man.

A week after he'd been asked to turn in his uniform as utility infielder for the Administration, Cord International Oil announced with dignity and restraint that "Mr. Deane Brafferton, attorney and foreign relations expert, has joined the firm as vice president in charge of foreign sources development."¹⁰

Starnes seems to imply that although Deane had been successful for a while his lack of integrity had eventually been discovered and disqualified him for continuing in the government. Nevertheless his government connections earned him an excellent position in private business.

The Man Next Door,¹¹ by Mignon G. Eberhart, is a standard mystery story which happens to have as two of its central characters a government official (the head of an unspecified department) and his confidential secretary. The characters exhibit a remarkable lack of intelligence in their actions.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹Mignon G. Eberhart, The Man Next Door (New York, 1943).

Maida, the secretary, finds a man murdered, and a confessed spy tells her that unless she cooperates by stealing information for him from her superior, Steve Blake, Blake will be blamed for the murder. Maida loves Blake, and instead of reporting the spy to the FBI, she attempts to pretend to cooperate with him, planning later to try to entrap him. Only near the end of the novel does anyone get around to calling the FBI. That the novel turns out well for its chief characters is certainly not their doing; and if the novelist intends to imply that the government of the United States is in the hands of such completely incompetent and unintelligent persons as these, the readers of the novel should have great cause for alarm.

2. Lesser Officials of the Hierarchy

Two novels with much in common are But Not Yet Slain,¹² by Benjamin Appel, and The Question of Gregory,¹³ by Elizabeth Janeway. In both of these books the hero is a left-over New Dealer in a later period of government and finds himself in many ways out of step with the administration.¹⁴ In But

¹²Benjamin Appel, But Not Yet Slain (New York, 1947).

¹³Elizabeth Janeway, The Question of Gregory (Garden City, 1949).

¹⁴A study of the Hoover Commission report which covers not only the bureaucracy of government but also the established portions of the federal structure is: Frank Gervasi, Big Government: The Meaning and Purpose of the Hoover Commission Report (New York, 1949). This study concerns reformation of the more obviously inefficient governmental prac-

Not Yet Slain, Matt Wells finally commits suicide when he is confronted with the question of compromise with himself in order to remain in his job or the retention of integrity which would mean the loss of the job. In The Question of Gregory, John Gregory first runs away from his job and himself, and at last realizes that he must simply await some kind of answer. The characters in The Question of Gregory are much more real people than are those of But Not Yet Slain. Elizabeth Jane-way's is a sad book and it reaches no very definite conclusion except that there are more grays than black-and-whites in the world of government as elsewhere. John Gregory is an under secretary in the Department of Public Information, and he deals in such matters as turning OSS reports over to General Donovan. His secretary, Rose, is an understanding and intelligent woman who admires Gregory. It is the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt closely following the death of Gregory's only son which finally makes Gregory go so much to pieces that he disappears for a while. When Roosevelt dies Gregory feels that the whole pattern of his life has been changed, as indeed it has, but not precisely in the way that he had thought.

But Not Yet Slain is a more blurred and fuzzy novel about people who are so concerned with the possibility of losing their jobs that they are unable even to be human. Matt Wells is the chief of an information division in an unspecified

tices, and marks the beginning of a kind of permanency or rigidity in a structure formerly extremely fluid.

government department. He is also the ghost writer of the speeches for the agency's director. The problems with which the novel is concerned are the fact that Matt is out of step by being too New Deal in his feelings, and the fact that the agency is faced with a cut in its budget. Matt finds that the sections in his speeches for the director dealing with economic utopias and a planned economy are cut out; he is much hurt by not being allowed to write as previously. Matt is informed that he must take on a new employee, a Miss Plomer, who has influential connections, at the same time that he must fire six other employees because of a cut in the budget. Each of the employees who may be affected by the reduction in force attempts to maneuver so that it will be someone else rather than himself who will be fired. One of the men takes Matt out with some girls at a time that Matt is feeling especially lonely, and gets him drunk; then he tacitly implies that this is a kind of blackmail so that Matt will not be able to afford to fire him.

In his anger about the budget cut Matt's boss, Mr. Sessions, says:

"This agency is part of the executive branch of Government, not a unit of the legislative. There has always been some opposition in Congress to any program that benefits the average man. . . . It was a mistake to ask for six million! We should have asked for fifteen million as we did last May. . . . If we ask for five million we may end up with four or even three. In that case we'd be a dead agency. . . . I can do a job of sorts if we get six or five, but five is rock bottom. If we get less I intend to resign. The three division chiefs under me will also resign."¹⁵

¹⁵Appel, op. cit., p. 21.

Att complains that the so-called glamor agencies of the government are being hatched.

"Farm Security! TREC! Filed away in the archives with a dozen other ambitious agencies. Every damn liberal post war agency is dead! FEPC. OWI. OCD. UNRRA. OWIB. OPA! They've about killed the New Deal!"¹⁶

Mr. Appel is hardly accurate in the statements which he has his hero make. Far from being dead, the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) was an issue of the presidential campaign which followed the publication of Mr. Appel's book. The OWI was not a postwar but a wartime agency, and its functions, which might properly be continued in peacetime, were taken over by the State Department in its Voice of America and information programs. The functions of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which it was necessary to continue were also taken over by other agencies such as the International Children's Emergency Fund and the International Refugee Organization. Moreover, the UNRRA was never set up to be a permanent agency, but was established as an emergency organization with a limited schedule of providing postwar aid. The Office of Price Administration (OPA) also was an emergency measure with no intention being expressed by its framers that a permanent system of price control be set up. When it was felt once more that prices did need control, another temporary agency, the Office of Price Stabilization, took the place of the erstwhile OPA. Thus Appel

¹⁶Ibid., p. 23.

makes implications and outright statements which are not correct and attempts to demonstrate that the idealistic persons in government are hamstrung by over-conservative self-seekers. He might be more convincing had he not let himself be carried away in the writing of a novel to the point where the "facts" with which he attempts to bolster his arguments are also fiction.

The Big Secret,¹⁷ by Merle Colby, is another novel of the same general type as But Not Yet Slain, in that the work of the Bureau of Industrial Research is impeded by the fact that physicists there are not allowed for reasons of security to make known their scientific conclusions. Daniel Upstead, a young professor from a New England college, has gone to Washington to hear the paper of Dr. Trebst, a famous physicist, and feels that there can be no advance in technology without full freedom of basic research. Daniel (and the author) attribute the stoppage of military secrets from circulation to fascist "red-baiters" in the government.

"You can probably get access to the Trebst paper, Dan -- under wraps."

"Sure," said Ed Levison, the tall dark youngster beside Chuck, "under wraps. That means that you'd be given a security investigation. Everybody you know or ever knew would be grilled about your past, present, and future."

"Gossip and rumor actively solicited," said Chuck. "Please file your anonymous letters early and avoid the rush. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member

¹⁷Merle Colby, The Big Secret (New York, 1949).

of a subversive organization known as the League for the Advancement of Basic Science"¹⁸

Colby's implications about the nature and purpose of security investigations are very misleading and his contention seems to be that scientific branches of the government cannot operate without complete freedom regardless of the national security.

Pat Frank's Mr. Adam¹⁹ is a hilarious tale of government misunderstandings and confusions when all of the men in the world except for one are accidentally sterilized by an atomic explosion. Only Mr. Homer Adam, who was at the bottom of a lead mine at the time of the explosion, is left intact. The National Re-fertilization Project (NRP) is set up with unlimited funds allotted to it by the president, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff decide that Homer is national property. The NRP and the National Research Council quarrel as to which is in charge of Adam, as do Congress and an Inter-Departmental Committee. The NRP wants Adam for A.I. (artificial insemination) while the NRC wants him for experimentation in an effort to undo the damage to the rest of the human race. The government expands rapidly under these pressures, and it is felt that the chief of NRP is the up-and-coming man in government:

"Of course it has been an uphill fight all the way. First the Interior Department tried to take over, and then the Public Health Service claimed it was their baby. Right now we're operating under the Executive Office of the President, so we don't have much budget trouble. The real test will come when we go to Congress for regular

¹⁸ Ibid., 3-9.

¹⁹ Pat Frank, Mr. Adam (Philadelphia,

annual appropriations. I guess our big break was when we got Adam away from the National Research Council."²⁰

Just before a tonic which restores potency is discovered, Adam deliberately sterilizes himself in gamma rays because he cannot stand being the center of such a bureaucracy.

"I found that all I was doing was attending meetings and conferences. I believe it was a conspiracy."

"That wasn't a conspiracy," I said. "It was just ordinary procedure."²¹

Mr. Adam is a very funny and well-written book, but it is rather bitter also, because it implies that even in a situation of extreme crisis persons in the United States are unable to consider the real situation but worry instead about their positions and priorities in the administrative hierarchy. The problem of whether or not someone else is getting ahead of one is much more important than the problem of the future of the human race. Mr. Adam is not so much an indictment as a warning: if the bureaucracy is unable to rid itself of some of its bureaucratic tendencies, it will destroy itself.

Walter Karig's Zotz!²² is in somewhat the same vein of warning that the governmental bureaucracy is not constituted so as to be able to take care of the important matters. John Jones, by reading an ancient disc, acquires the power through

²⁰Ibid., pp. 67-68.

²¹Ibid., p. 230.

²²Walter Karig, Zotz! (New York, 1947).

the pointing of a finger and the saying of the word "Zotz!" instantly to destroy whatever object he desires. When he tries to take this power to the government to be used in the hastening of the close of the war, however, he is shunted from one government office to another, most of the shunting being done with the best of good intentions. Karig, who is in fact a Navy captain of career, writes the book in first person and states that he is one of the persons to whom Jones came with the secret which he tried to give without success to the United States government. The war is over, however, before anyone makes use of Jones's power, and, in despair, he goes into the exterminating business.

3. The Wartime Agencies

Being the chief of a fictional wartime alphabetical agency is a dangerous job since, in two out of four books treating of this subject, the heads of the agencies are murdered. In The Silent Speaker,²³ by Rex Stout, Cheney Boone is the Director of the Bureau of Price Regulation (Stout's fictional designation for OPA), who is murdered at a meeting of the National Industrial Association, just before he is to make a speech. The NIA is in haste to have the mystery solved, for NIA members fear that the known hostility between the NIA and BPR will lead to the conclusion that the NIA is responsible for the murder. Boone's immediate office had consisted of a

²³Rex Stout, The Silent Speaker: A Nero Wolfe Novel (New York, 1946).

secretary, a statistician from the BPR's Research Department, and a Deputy Director (who becomes Acting Director on Boone's death). Boone is pictured through his secretary's eyes as a good, honest, clean man, often tired and irritable, but a man who was working hard to oppose a greedy, selfish group of dishonest men. Miss Gunther, the secretary, almost immediately finds out who the killer is, but she delays in passing along this information because she knows that it would please Boone to have the NIA damaged as much as possible by Boone's death before the mystery is cleared. Nero Wolfe solves the mystery when a recording cylinder in Boone's voice is discovered in which it is revealed that an NIA man had come to Boone to inform him that the former had discovered that another NIA man was paying a spy (Boone's research assistant) within the BPR. The NIA man who had informed Boone was opposed to the BPR but objected to the methods of corrupting employees within the BPR itself.

In general the picture of both government and opposing groups is fairly presented by Stout, and there is an emphasis that only greedy and selfish individuals were working against the government, not an entire force which is in conspiracy to wreck government programs.

Leslie Ford's Murder in the OPM²⁴ is another novel in which there is a murder of the chief of an agency -- this time the head of the Office of Production Management. Lawrason

²⁴Leslie Ford, Murder in the OPM (New York, 1942).

Hilyard is a dollar-a-year man for OPM. Officially he is an Assistant Branch Chief; actually he conducts liaison between OPM, the Board of Economic Warfare, and Army and Navy procurement agencies. A vital metal, promethium (a fictional metal), is on priorities lists to be allocated as a critical and strategic metal. Hilyard happens to be both the producer of promethium and the person who allocates priorities on it. At the time that Hilyard is murdered, there is to be an investigation of OPM because of some Congressional demands that a ceiling price be put on promethium and that the same man not allocate the metal as produces it. Bowen Digges, the hero of the novel, a young man who had been an assistant to Hilyard, states that promethium really is in very short supply and that Hilyard, against great difficulties, has been allocating it honestly. The murderer turns out to be Hilyard's brother-in-law, Folger, who had for years been keeping from Hilyard the fact that Digges had discovered a cheaper way to make more promethium; Folger wished to keep promethium in short supply so that the family could remain wealthy. Hilyard at last had found out about the new process and, being a real patriot, was going to turn the secret over to the government and resign from the OPM; therefore Folger killed him before he could reveal the secret.

The descriptions of the allocations of strategic materials, the operations of the BEW (Board of Economic Warfare) and the OPM, are in general quite accurate, but the picture is not very clear unless the reader already knows something about

the work of BW during the war and its relationship to other governmental agencies and to industry.

The Woman in Black,²⁵ also by Leslie Ford, is more of a standard mystery than is Murder in the OPH. The Woman in Black is the story of Susan Kent, whose husband is in the Rubber Reserve in Washington, an agency which is conducting experiments as part of a research pool. Susan is induced to show some of the secret papers concerning the pool's experiments to some "friends" for money. Later she realizes that these acts may ruin her husband and she does not know how to protect him. Most of the remainder of the novel concerns the connection of the acquisition of these secrets with the murder of a Mr. Stubblefield, who had been trying to use his wealth and power to spearhead a movement to elect himself president. There is comparatively little about the actual operation of the federal government's agencies.

Too Early to Tell,²⁶ by Jerome Weidman, is the excellent and only slightly fictionalized story of the training of employees for OWI (Office of War Information). Weidman was himself in OWI during the war and, although in an introductory note Weidman states:

It is possible that there may be some among the several hundred men and women with whom the author worked between Pearl Harbor and V-J Day who will attempt to identify characters and events herein portrayed. This

²⁵Leslie Ford, The Woman in Black (New York, 1947).

²⁶Jerome Weidman, Too Early to Tell (New York, 1946).

would be an unfortunate mistake on their part as well as a matter of deep regret to the author.²⁷

other persons who worked in (MI claim that the portraits are unmistakable. At any rate, the general picture may be taken as quite accurate and the "Bureau of Psychological Combat Training School" certainly had its counterpart in real life. Too Early to Tell is the story of the two-week training period given to persons employed by the Bureau of Psychological Combat, and the persons in charge of that training. An estate on the Hudson has been donated for the war by its owner, Sedley Spoor, to use as a training center. Here Whitney Trencher is Commandant of BPCTS and Lily Chace is a kind of executive assistant. Each group of people is briefed and lectured to, and, as a kind of graduation exercise, required to get out a sample leaflet or newspaper of the type which would presumably be dropped in an occupied or enemy country. Lily has begun to feel that the school is a little too far from reality and the real war. She is beginning to resent the frequent graduation parties:

"They're getting to be hell," Lily said. Every second Friday night, twenty or thirty grown-up people, every one of them stiff as goats all over the house. For heaven's sake, Whit. Congress and the papers are sniping at us. Those dumb stories about running a million-dollar country club. If they get hold of just one of these graduation brawls, we're dead pigeons. Not only us. The whole 3rd C."²⁸

²⁷ Ibid., -

²⁸ Ibid., 3-4.

It is Whitney's sister, Nellie Hind, who outwardly organizes such details as the requesting of cars to take students back to New York, or the ordering of taxis, but it is generally Lily who must attend to these matters in fact. Lily is a CAP-5 (a clerical rating before the 1949 reorganization) at \$2,600 a year. Colonel Mark Pyle, who periodically gets drunk is one of the lecturers at the school; it is constantly necessary for Lily, Whit or Nellie -- generally Lily -- to pull him together enough to perform his classroom duties.

When Lily discovers through a piece of wet negative after one of the graduation parties that two of the students have been photographing documents to which they have no right, she and the other persons who run the school feel it is necessary to inform the National Director of the BPC and the Chief of the Overseas Division. Nellie feels that the two persons whom she suspects should immediately and without a hearing be fired from the BPC. One of the two suspects commits suicide, while the other, a girl, resigns with much unfavorable publicity for the BPC; Nellie, however, forces the girl to retract her original statement that the BPC had been the direct cause for the suicide's death.

The most interesting parts of Too Early to Tell are not the story but Weidman's delicate fun-making at the expense of the BPC. The scene, for instance, in which the officials of the BPC talk over some films which had been made to show prisoners of war in the custody of the United States as being happy and well fed is excellent. These films had originally been destined to be shown in enemy or occupied countries. One

of the officials, however, brings up a point which no one had considered up to then: the problem of the showing of these films. They could not simply be dropped like leaflets in the hope that someone would find them and exhibit them, and the United States was not in a position to set up movie theaters within these enemy countries. Another official suggests that, as the original use seems to be impossible, the films should be exhibited in friendly or neutral countries to gain good will for the United States. However, another person brings up the fact that if the food which the prisoners are shown to be eating is beef, the films cannot be shown in India; if it is pork, they cannot be shown in Moslem countries. When Lilly suggests that the films be shown in the freed parts of Germany she is told that the new directive is to be harsher with Germany and there should be no more reassurances of good treatment to the Germans.

"We can send the films out to the school," Mahoney Roe said haltingly to the three soldiers on the wall. "Even if we never find a place to send them overseas, showing the films to the students at Vaudracour, I mean to every class from now on, that in itself would justify the expense of making them. What do you think Whitney?"

Trencher looked at the Director of the Overseas Division with respect.

"That's an idea, Mahoney," he said.²⁹

There are a number of equally good descriptions of the classroom lectures, the inept attempts of the students to get out their sample leaflets and newspapers, the visit of a

²⁹Ibid., p. 244.

Scripps-Howard reporter to cover the school, the graduation parties, the failure of the volunteer cars to take the students away from the school, and other scenes. Lily, at last unable to stand any longer the unreality of Vaudracour, requests a transfer to London, where her husband is. She is to be sent to Madrid instead, but she is happy about even this since she feels that she is getting out of a comfortable fox-hole into the real war outside.

Too Early to Tell has very little plot, but it is extremely well written indeed and most of the scenes and persons whom Weidman describes become quite real to the reader. In general Weidman appears to have been accurate in his descriptions.

. Local Administration of the Federal Agency

. Balch, in Lamps at High Noon,³⁰ has a rather poorly written and poorly portrayed picture of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) on the local administrative level. Chiefly the novel describes the projects undertaken by the WPA in the locality described, the activities of the unions, and the deification of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the eyes of most of the protagonists of the novel. One of the chief incidents of the novel centers about the firing of sixteen persons on the Authors Project -- Balch's designation of the Federal Writers Project -- (a writing scheme by which

³⁰J. Balch, Lamps at High Noon (New York, 1941).

a number of books were composed in the various states, some dealing with state history, others the cataloguing of state documents, and other similar works). Some of the persons on the Authors Project have gone on strike; others, who do not, say that they are hounded. When the local administrators finally agree to rehire eight of the sixteen persons fired, it is on the strict understanding that none of them is to be an editor or supervisor in the future.

"If you decide to turn it down, I want you to know, right here and now, that not one of you will ever be returned to work anywhere in this state on WPA. We will cancel the Authors' Project before we will allow Reds to dictate to us."³¹

The firing and strict terms of reinstatement of the persons involved is pictured by the author as being the result of a lack of understanding of the broad purposes and idealism of the WPA. Although some of the characters wish they were back in the days of privacy as before the Project, most of them feel that the Project is a good thing and that only bigotry and prejudice hinder the carrying out of the idealistic purposes of the WPA.

5. Red Tape and Confusion in the Alphabetical Agencies

At least two novels deal almost entirely with the condition of utter confusion which they imply to exist in certain of the government executive agencies. These books are

³¹Ibid., p. 387.

Washington Jitters,³² by Dalton Trumbo (later one of "the Hollywood Ten" accused of Communism) and Infernal Machine,³³ by A. Fleming McLeish and Robert de San Marzano. Both novels are stories of mistakes which become magnified with the red tape of Washington and have far-reaching effects upon the government.³⁴

Washington Jitters concerns a sign-painter, Henry Hogg, who, while waiting for Miss Eula Keiffer in the office of her superior, the Administrator of the Agriculture Survey Program (AS.), sits down behind a desk on which he has propped his newly painted sign reading "Coordinator" and is then assumed to be the actual Coordinator. Hogg has been offering his sympathy to Miss Keiffer, who has just been informed that her job is terminated in order to make way for the daughter of a friend of the Administrator, Hamilton Dill. When the columnist who writes about Washington in the column entitled "Washington Jitters" finds Henry behind the desk with the sign reading "Coordinator" and assumes him to be a newly appointed superior to Dill, he asks Henry a number of questions about the ad-

³²Dalton Trumbo, Washington Jitters (New York, 1936).

³³A. Fleming McLeish and Robert de San Marzano, Infernal Machine (Boston, 1947).

³⁴A study of the bureaucrat which makes an interesting confirmation of many of the contentions of writers such as McLeish and Marzano and Dalton Trumbo is: John N. Crider, The Bureaucrat (Philadelphia, 1944). Two more serious works are: Paul I. Appleby, Big Democracy (New York, 1945), and E. Pendleton Kerring, Ph.D., Public Administration and the Public Interest (New York, 1936).

istration of ASP. Henry's rather bitter answers are immediately written up in "Washington Jitters" where Dill and his backer, Senator Marple, read the fact that Dill has a new superior. Dill and Marple assume that they have been knifed politically.

"A Co-ordinator!" interrupted Dill, wringing his hands and sniffing at the hateful word as if it were tied around his neck and befouling his nostrils. "Now I ask you -- what is there to co-ordinate over at ASP? You know as well as I do there isn't anything. We don't do anything. Everybody knows that. Oh, why can't they leave me alone?"³⁵

Marple promises to try to get a judgeship for Dill if the worst comes to the worst, but tells Dill that in the meantime he should treat Hogg like a brother since it seems probable that Mehafferty, one of the higher-ups, has put in Hogg. A Senator Briggs, who has seen the paper and likes what Hogg has said, goes to see Henry and tells him that there are twenty-three Senators lined up to back Hogg, and that if the Administration does not back Hogg, they will vote against the Brittenden Bill which Marple wants put through. When Henry reads the paper and sees what has happened, he decides to play along and to act as Coordinator. Miss Keiffer is horrified, but agrees to help him out. Hogg buys a very controversial book which a ghost writer had already written for a client who did not like the finished product, and Henry becomes famous. He does quite well on the job, but eventually the Administration wishes to get rid of him. When officials

³⁵ Washington Jitters, supra, p. 22.

threaten to fire hi , however, Henry prevents them by saying that if they try to fire him, he will expose the fact that he was never hired and thus embarrass the Administration.

Much pressure is brought on all sides on Henry concerning the Brittenden Bill, and he is supposed, according to his backers, to be against it. However, when the time comes for him to make a speech against the bill, Henry throws away his prepared speech and tells the people of the United States to make their wills known to the Senators concerning the bill. This revolutionary approach of telling the people to make up their own minds results in the passage of the bill, but even the anti-Brittenden Bill forces do not dare publicly to oppose Henry's appeal.

After an abortive attempt of a third party to run Henry for president he finally accepts an appointment by the president as Permanent Adviser to GCNEC (the General Council for the National Rehabilitation Committee) and sails for Europe. In the meantime, the ASP, having functioned for some years, is declared unconstitutional.

Washington Jitters might be taken for just one more better-than-ordinary satiric comedy, grossly exaggerated, were it not for two circumstances: one is the fact cited above, that Trumbo is one of the accused "Hollywood Ten" and therefore might be suspected of an ulterior motive in writing a book which ridicules certain government operations; the other is that Senator Joseph McCarthy, who is generally considered as being one of the most conservative persons in government,

appears on the surface, at any rate, to agree with Trumbo on the subject of government mix-ups.

Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin said today his Senate Investigations Subcommittee is looking into the case of a State Department employe with a poor sense of direction.

Senator McCarthy refused to name the man who, he said, was hired in 1950 as an "information consultant of some sort, but got into the wrong building" when he showed up to go to work.

He said the man apparently went to work in the wrong division, and stayed there until his dismissal a few days ago.

The case, he said, will get a full airing later this week.

Senator McCarthy announced his subcommittee will resume public hearings tomorrow to take testimony "on the alleged waste and claimed mismanagement in the State Department's Voice of America propaganda broadcasts."

He said that hearing will deal with construction of a "Voice" transmitter in Vienna. He added the case involves a costly change in plans.³⁶

This unexpected agreement of Dalton Trumbo and Senator McCarthy would seem to indicate that perhaps the exaggeration in Washington Jitters is not so great as the reader might have thought, after all, and that perhaps in this case Mr. Trumbo wished to be honestly constructive in his criticism of government operations and procedures. At any rate, in his criticism of the alphabetical agencies and his attribution of their failures to their own inherent faults rather than to malicious outside forces of ultra-conservatives, Trumbo is not following

³⁶The Associated Press, "Worker 'Lost' for Three Years in Wrong Building Faces Probe," The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), March 11, 1953, p. 1.

the usual line of the left-wing writers of a slightly later period.

In Infernal Machine the story plot is somewhat different but the conclusion is certainly the same as in Washington Jitters. Infernal Machine, like Washington Jitters, is well written and very funny. A typist who "probably couldn't even have secured an interview with the assistant secretary of an Assistant Secretary"³⁷ makes a mistake in typing which upsets the government considerably: in a report from some geologists from South America she types vast oil resources instead of no vast oil resources. Immediately the newspapers take the item and enlarge upon it, putting into headlines such statements as:

"OFFICE OF CO-ORDINATOR FOR INTER-PUNTA-MINORCAN AFFAIRS TO BE SET UP"

and

"... WOULD? ASKS CMI"³⁸

The Civil Service newspaper immediately announces that ten thousand typists are needed for the Inter-Punta-Minorcan Affairs Office and other newspapers take up the story.

From the syndicated column of A. Peers Grewsome, August 19:

"A terrific behind-the-scenes fight is going on here in Washington for the Office of Co-ordinator of Inter-Punta-Minorcan Affairs. I can definitely state that the post will go to a man recognized for mature judgment and no experience. I am divulging this information now because, in spite of the War Department, I do not believe

³⁷McLeish and Sarzano, op. cit.,

³⁸Ibid., 4-5.

it violates military security and because the American people have a right to know. The Office of Co-ordinator of Inter-Punta-Minorcan Affairs will go to Saul P. McNot."

GOLLY KEIGHLEY GETS IIPA POST

Senators Critical of Appointment

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WAILS GOLLY KEIGHLEY CHOICE

But Many Feel Better-Known Men Passed Over

From the syndicated column of A. Peers Grewsome, August 20:

"As I predicted in my column yesterday, the young unknown Golly Keighley has landed the richest political plum in the --"

GOLLY KEIGHLEY TO CONFER WITH EVERY DEPARTMENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT

CONGRESS APPROVES ONE HUNDRED FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS FOR
IIPA ADMINISTRATION³⁹

The geologists in South America keep sending messages asking who discovered oil, and reiterating their original statement that there are no vast oil resources but they are fired for impeding the operations of the government.

Sybil, Keighley's fiancée, attempts to see him but wherever she goes it is taken for granted by the persons in charge that she is trying to get a job, and she is forced to fill out paper after endless paper. She is hopelessly lost in a sea of processing, red tape, annexes, and forms.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Two days later, after having been successively hired as a swimming coach, eurhythmic dancer, potato-grower, glazier, field botanist, glass blower's helper, psychiatrist, bartender, minister, and chimney-sweep Sybil sat staring straight ahead at the huge electrical adding-machine in front of her and wondered what she was supposed to do with it.⁴⁰

OWI gets out purple passages of publicity about Punta Minorca in an effort to make up for the fact that they have written nothing on the place formerly:

OWI Release:

Two millenniums have looked down on the shifting sands of Central America since Assurbanipal swept down on Punta Minorca with his wolf-like cohorts and Lord Byron. . . . Until this month's discovery of its unrivaled oil resources by three top-drawer geologists, Punta Minorca has slept unchanged. The inhabitants subsist on whole blubber and fish-heads. . . .⁴¹

In the meantime, although as yet nothing has been done in Punta Minorca, Congress charges waste in the IPMA. Sybil after a grilling by the FBI, who feel she must be a subversive for filling out her papers incorrectly, finally gets to Punta Minorca to see Golly. The geologists who say that there is no oil in Punta Minorca are told that they are mad, and, indeed, when they see the huge establishment of I PA at Punta Minorca they conclude that the government is right and that they are crazy. Sybil is entirely disgusted when she sees the huge office establishment of typists who are deliberately filling in papers with gibberish in order to "save time."

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 49-50.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 51.

When she asks where the oil wells are she is informed that there are none yet. Furious at the waste and bureaucracy, Sybil breaks her engagement and returns to Washington. With poetic justice, Golly, after marrying an IMPA girl is to be inducted into the Army after IMPA is absorbed by the Home Owners Loan Corporation. When Golly attempts to evade the draft he is told to see the former Coordinator of IMPA.

Washington Jitters and Infernal Machine are, of their kind of writing, excellent. Neither is flattering to the government, however, and both attribute failures of the bureaucratic machine to internal flaws. Each makes use, in somewhat exaggerated form, of a kind of incident which did frequently occur in the executive agencies. As in Washington Jitters agencies which had functioned for years were found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (such as, for example, the NRA); as in Infernal Machine an agency or its functions were frequently absorbed into another agency, almost without warning (as, for example, the BEW). Some of the persons caricatured in both books certainly have their real-life counterparts. A number of Golly Keighleys (originally spelled, and still pronounced, "Kelly") arose during and after the war in government -- wealthy, uncultured, youngish men who had nothing to do with government previously, but, once in, became swept away by the bureaucratic tide. Both Washington Jitters and Infernal Machine, though nearly eleven years apart in time of writing, were published during a period in which there was greater concern with the dangers of bureaucracy in the United States, than

is now true. At the present time the large and somewhat inefficient federal government with its overweight of executive agencies has become so much a part of the thinking of the people of the United States that it is simply accepted, and no longer noticed as anything unusual. In that sense, Washington Jitters and Infernal Machine are remainders from an earlier age in which the bureaucracy was considered not the norm, but the abnormal manifestation of the federal government.

Novelists of the New Deal and wartime agencies in general based their somewhat exaggerated characterizations on actual facts. In some instances, it is true, more than poetic license was taken, but usually the writers who describe the inefficiency and waste, the confusion and red tape, were simply mirroring conditions which did exist to some degree. The fact that these conditions did exist was not caused so much by inability on the part of the persons working in the agencies, or, actually, by anything wrong with the agencies themselves, but by and large the confusion was the result of the fluidity of the government during this period of its history. President Roosevelt created and demolished one agency after another in the effort to maintain his own pattern of administrative balance and design. The resulting chaos out of which the present governmental structure is only now beginning to emerge was a by-product. An important human result was that people participating in the agencies were given a sense of excitement and participation in a newly created structure, and that a forever-improvising executive met basic challenges of depression and war in a manner unmistakably his own.

CHAPTER VIII

FEDERAL DETECTION AND ESPIONAGE FACILITIES

Novelists who confound or admix the various federal detection and espionage facilities rarely affront the originals, since the United States government has, since its inception, used a wide variety of more or less regular agencies to fulfill these tasks. The detection of crime, including subversion and treason, and the collecting of information concerning actual or potential enemies, are in reality very different governmental operations,¹ but since the two tasks lend themselves to some of the same performances in detail, they have often been confused across the years.

The detective story and the spy story are closely linked as genres of popular literature, even though the governmental needs expressed by the two are indeed very different. The detective story often makes a poor distinction between the

¹Two of the rare books on intelligence as a function of the U.S. government are George S. Pettee, The Future of American Secret Intelligence (Washington, 1946), and Sherman Kent, Strategic Intelligence (Princeton, 1951), both of which cover the problems of espionage and the processing of foreign intelligence, once it reaches the American government. There is, as yet, no across-the-board survey of all the various kinds of intelligence needed by the government, governmental methods of collecting and distributing knowledge, and methods of keeping knowledge collected, available, and coherent. It may even be said that monographs on "the politics of knowledge" are needed as illumination in a dark corner of the present-day political-science field.

federal and state roles in the exercise of the police power; very few novels distinguish between the responsibilities of Army intelligence in detecting or preventing foreign military espionage against our land forces and the role of the police of the District of Columbia -- of which, in turn, there are at least four systems -- in detecting or preventing offenses against the United States or District of Columbia codes of laws.

The espionage facilities of the American government have been meager and poorly distributed. As is well known, President Lincoln went so far as to rely upon contracts with the Pinkerton agency for some aspects of the defense of his government. In interwar periods espionage agents often reported on an informal basis to a White House staff member or to one of the Cabinet secretaries. The redoubtable Lanny Budd, in the Upton Sinclair novels, reported direct to his fictitious President Roosevelt. In this he may have had an occasional factual precedent.

With the advent of World War II, the intelligence facilities of the two military services -- the War and Navy Departments -- were already strained to the utmost. The State Department was doing what it could, and other departments, such as Commerce and Agriculture, reported in their fields of technical competence. In 1942 the first serious approach was made with the establishment of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) as a regularized central intelligence office; this superseded the ad hoc Office of the Coordinator of Informa-

tion (COI), which had for a while combined the intelligence and propaganda functions.

With the ending of the war, the OSS was disbanded. Part of its facilities went into the Office of Intelligence Research (OIR) of the Department of State; the remainder was successively reconstituted as the Central Intelligence Group (CIG) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the post-war years.

It will be noted below that the novelists have an inadequate grasp of the structure and intent of United States intelligence agencies. Such specialized agencies as the Counterintelligence Corps of the Army receive very little attention. Matters which belong in one agency are often attributed to another. In practical terms, the field can best be surveyed by accepting the categories established by the writers of fiction, and of then discriminating between the fictitious operations of government which have been portrayed in the intelligence field and the real operations, which are more varied and more purposeful than any lay author has managed to explain. In this field, in particular, it must be explained that the paucity of political-science writing provides an added excuse for the inaccuracies of the novelists. Governmental publications on the subject have, quite naturally, always been reticent. Writers of one nationality often portray the espionage system of another; rarely do they describe their own.

Traditionally, the most glamorous and exciting of govern-

ment work consists of espionage, detective work, and the capturing of enemy agents. The agents of the fictional federal government do nothing to spoil that picture. Beautiful women spies (both foreign and American) abound. Private citizens capture spies which the FBI, CIA, OSS, and all the police forces either overlook or are too stupid to capture. Authors of "secret service" stories appear to mingle the functions of all the agencies which deal in any way with espionage. There is a really charming abandonment to sheer imagination and fantasy on the part of most authors who write of spies, intelligence, and counterintelligence, presumably on the theory that since most of the real workings of these agencies are secret, the public will never know the difference. Disguises, ciphers, codes, secret signals all jostle one another delightfully in a hodge-podge of misinformation, sheer fiction, and outright deception.

The novels dealing with espionage or detective work on the part of the federal government may be divided into roughly seven categories, based upon the agencies with which they are concerned. These categories have no relationship to actual espionage and related activities, but are dictated in the character of the novels themselves. These categories are: the private citizen (usually a government worker in some other department who happens upon enemy agents); the presidential agent; the secret service; the "American Black Chamber" (Herbert Yardley's own designation for the United States code-breaking facilities); military intelligence in

North America for the Free Nations (a kind of Office of Strategic Services); Army Intelligence and G2 (some of which novels have a passing reference to Central Intelligence Agency); and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

1. The Private Citizen

One of the better novels of the private citizen as the capturer of enemy agents is Richard Powell's All Over But the Shooting.² In this novel Andy Blake, who is an officer in the War Department on active duty, and his wife, Arab, happen quite plausibly on some information which leads them to suspect that a certain house is being used as headquarters by spies. Arab gets a room in the house where a number of other government girls live, and discovers that by piecing together the bits of seemingly meaningless information which the girls mention casually, a person can put together a good picture as to where the next United States landing will be in Africa. The Air Force does some investigating in the book, but it is Andy and Arab who capture the spies.

Powell is a popular writer of detective stories, and he uses his detective-story technique in All Over But the Shooting to good advantage. But the rather slick product does not explain why, following the Air Force investigation, there were no further investigations by the Air Force, police, FBI, or Counterintelligence Corps.

²Richard Powell, All Over But the Shooting; Starring Arab and Andy Blake (New York, 1944).

Emilie Loring's Keepers of the Faith³ is the kind of book that women's magazines delight in. Red-haired Nancy Barton, who works in the Pentagon and who loves Major Bill Jerrold, after much difficulty captures the enemy agent, Souvoir. Jerrold aids her somewhat in the capture. This sentimental story of true love's running most unsmoothly, misunderstanding, and virtue-which-wins-out-in-the-end, is the kind of nonsense which leads the indiscriminating reader to think that beautiful girls and handsome young men capture the evil enemies when government agencies refuse to listen and stupidly trust the wrong people. Love Came Laughing By,⁴ by the same author, is practically indistinguishable from Keepers of the Faith except that the heroine, Wendy, is in love with a young Congressman instead of an army officer, and Wendy's stepfather is an unsympathetic character who appears to have been dealing with the enemy. Wendy, with the help of Vance, the Congressman, gets some secret papers back to the State Department, and manages to outwit the traitors. Unfortunately, Emilie Loring is quite a popular woman's writer and her books have undoubtedly spread a great deal of misinformation and a number of false concepts about the federal government.

100%, by Upton Sinclair,⁵ was written more than thirty

³ Emilie Loring, Keepers of the Faith (Boston, 1944).

⁴ Emilie Loring, Love Came Laughing By (Boston, 1949).

⁵ Upton Sinclair, 100%: The Story of a Patriot (Pasadena, 1920).

years ago, and its chief purpose at the time of its writing was to make light of the Bolsheviki menace and to gain sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti. The book is a very tongue-in-cheek story in which Sinclair pretends to be sympathetic to his "hero," Peter Gudge. Peter is a stupid man, actually, who is used by others for their own purposes. According to Sinclair, Peter is a secret agent and undercover operative (though not on the federal payroll) who works to show the inside methods of the way in which the Bolsheviki are fought down and the country delivered from the Red Terror. Peter seduces an innocent young girl, Jennie, in order to get information from her, and then tells others that she (who gave herself to him because she loved him) believes in free love. Jennie commits suicide and Peter is relieved. When Peter hears of the "Daughters of the American Revolution" he feels that since the forbidden word, "revolution," is used, that its members must be parlor pinks. Sinclair, by making his hero completely unsympathetic, attempts to make the idea of the Red Terror ridiculous.

At the end of the book there are a number of testimonials, including one by Judge Anderson:

I cannot adopt the contention that Government spies are any more trustworthy, or less disposed to make trouble in order to profit therefrom, than are spies in private industry. Except in time of war, when a Nathan Hale may be a spy, spies are always necessarily drawn from the unwholesome and untrustworthy classes. A right-minded man refuses such a job.⁶

⁶Ibid., p. 320.

Sinclair slyly adds: "It appears that Judge Anderson does not share the high opinion of the 'under cover' operative set forth by the writer of '100%'."⁷

2. The Presidential Agent

In later years, however, Sinclair appears at least to have modified his opinion. In the last six books of the Lanny Budd series,⁸ Lanny, the hero, acts as a secret agent extraordinary, a kind of super-spy, for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, personally, with the firm approval of Upton Sinclair. The moral appears to be that, if one spies on a grand enough scale, anything is permissible. In the Lanny Budd series, Lanny is a young man who has grown up chiefly in Europe, and, through his parents and family, has become acquainted with almost every person of any importance in Europe and the United States. Roosevelt therefore summons Lanny to the White House, secretly, and makes him a presidential agent -- a person who is to visit Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, the officials of France and England, and to bring back to Roosevelt the "real" story of what is going on. In order to do this Lanny must conceal his true sympathies which have always been somewhat British, and pretend to be a ser-

⁷Loc. cit.

⁸Upton Sinclair: Presidential Agent (New York, 1944); Dragon Harvest (New York, 1945); A World to Win (New York, 1946); Presidential Mission (New York, 1947); One Clear Call (New York, 1948); and O Shepherd, Speak! (New York, 1949).

fascist. The world history related in the entire series is very interesting, though thoroughly slanted in favor of the Communists and, more especially, the Socialists. Roosevelt, being the kind of man and kind of president that he was, might have easily have had a personal presidential agent of the general type that Sinclair describes. The books, however, are the very interesting vehicles of Sinclair's socialistic propaganda rather than a genuine relation of the workings of the federal government. In detailed fact, though not always in interpretation, however, Sinclair is usually quite accurate, and his books abound with details. They are discussed at greater length in the chapter on the President in the contemporary scene.

5. The Secret Service

"Secret Service" appears to be a catch-all term for any agency involved in operations which have an espionage flavor. Two such books are John Reed Scott's The Cab of the Sleeping Horse⁹ and Arthur Stringer's The Door of Dread.¹⁰ In The Cab of the Sleeping Horse Harleston finds in an empty cab with a sleeping horse a number of interesting clues including a code and a picture of Madeline Spencer, a beautiful adventuress. Harleston is called upon by the Secretary of State

⁹John Reed Scott, The Cab of the Sleeping Horse (New York, 1916).

¹⁰Arthur Stringer, The Door of Dread: A Secret Service Romance (Indianapolis, 1916).

to aid in the solution of the mystery of what happened to a secret letter which an agent was carrying to the French Ambassador. Carpenter, the Fifth Assistant Secretary of State and Chief of the Cipher Division, attempts to solve the coded message which Harleston has found. Madeline Spencer is the beautiful enemy spy, and another equally beautiful woman had carried the message for the French Ambassador and had had it stolen from her. Scott appears to confuse diplomacy with espionage and completely to equate the two. Says one of the characters:

"Murder and assassination, both of men and of reputation, seem to be a portion of this horrible business, and perfectly well recognized as a legitimate means to effect the means desired. I'm not in it -- diplomacy, I mean -- and I'm mighty thankful I'm not."¹¹

A little later the same character says:

"I thought also that diplomacy was the gentlest-mannered profession in the world -- and the most dignified."

"It is -- on the surface. Fine residences, splendid establishments, brilliant uniforms, such bowing and many genuflections, plenty of parade and glitter -- everything for show. Under the surface: a supreme contempt for any code of honour, and a ruthlessness of purpose simply appalling -- yet, withal, dignity, strained at times but dignity nonetheless."

"Then it isn't even a respectable calling!" she exclaimed.

"It's eminently respectable to intimidate and to lie for one's country -- to stoop to any means to attain an end!"¹²

¹¹Scott, op. cit., p. 158.

¹²Ibid., pp. 16^a-169.

The American agents in The Cab of the Sleeping Horse appear to be singularly unprofessional since Harleston gives one beautiful woman information which could have sent him to prison, and would have succumbed to the charms of Madeline Spencer had he not already come under the spell of the other woman. Also, Carpenter, who is attempting to find the code word which would unlock the cipher, enlists the aid of a known enemy agent and agrees to let the enemy see the cipher message in return for a list of code words. Carpenter is so interested in breaking down the cipher that he does not even notice that the enemy is copying the cipher message.

When Harleston takes the agent, Madeline Spencer, to the office of the Secretary of State, no one bothers to search her and she is consequently able to hold the Americans at gun point and make her escape after burning the incriminating evidence. Harleston and she remain friends and he wishes her luck, while the Secretary of State is so fascinated by her that he is glad that she has made her escape.

Moreover, for the clues which Harleston happens upon at the beginning of the story and other aid in solving the case, the Americans are almost entirely indebted to chance.

The American secret agents of Arthur Stringer's The Door of Dread are only relatively more professional than are Scott's characters. At least there appears to be an office for the hiring of agents, the cooperation of agents working with one another, and other visible indications of some kind of formalized official life. The hiring of an agent, however, is

treated quite casually. For example, the chief of the secret service hires Sadie Wimple as an agent:

He sat pondering her for a silent moment or two.

"What nationality are you?"

"Come again," said the puzzled girl.

"Are you a good American?"

"I won't gamble on the 'good.' But ain't bein' just American about enough in times like these?"

"It's enough!" acknowledged the man at the desk with a sigh.¹³

Sadie, however, resents even these simple questions, and a query as to whether she has been married brings forth Sadie's comment that she will not continue to undergo this third degree. In the present day of loyalty probes and security checks, as well as the intricate and involved methods of hiring for even the most unsensitive of government positions gives The Door of Dread a flavor of unreality to the present-day reader.

Security measures as such appear to be completely lacking in Stringer's fictional secret service, since Sadie, before she goes to be interviewed for the job, is already aware of the problem which she will be hired to help solve; namely, the tracing down of a leakage of information in the Navy and in the Aviation Corps. The entire workings of the Secret Service in The Door of Dread appear to be on a much more personal basis than is presently possible. Sadie, for in-

¹³Stringer, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

stance, volunteers to go back to the secret service in order to aid Wilsnach, with whom she has worked before. The agents who work on the particular case with Sadie are taken to see the Secretary of the Navy and the president in order to be given background information, rather than being given written reports to read, or being briefed by some minor official as would probably happen today.

Sadie is termed by one of her superiors "the most valuable woman agent in all the Service",¹⁴ and indeed it is she who solves the case almost single-handedly. At the end she dies happily with Wilsnach (whom she loves but feels she is not good enough for) at her side.

In The Door of Dread Stringer appears to have made some attempt to use a plausible case and to inject some realistic details. Sadie is certainly an unconventional heroine. However, the overtones are so romantic in nature that one is unable to take The Door of Dread seriously as a description of the operations of the Secret Service.

4. Codes and cryptography

Herbert O. Yardley wrote two novels about the agency he terms "the American Black Chamber." Yardley himself was a cryptographer of the United States government, and at the 1921-22 Naval Conference in Washington it was he who broke the Japanese code so secretly that the Japanese did not even

¹⁴Ibid., p. 153.

realize that their code had been broken and went on using it throughout the conference. Yardley, therefore, has some genuine background for the stories which he has written. Unfortunately, however, he is not a novelist, and his attempts to romanticize secret operations make them appear completely unrealistic. The Blond Countess¹⁵ is the better of the two for the demonstration of the workings of the American Black Chamber, though Yardley states in his foreword:

. . . while the methods of decoding messages, discovering secret writing, and running down spies are similar to those employed during the War by the United States Secret Service and the American Black Chamber, they are not identical, and no official secrets have been disclosed.¹⁶

Yardley's Black Chamber has a cover name, "Department of Chemical Supervision," which the employees use when speaking of their place of business to outsiders. Nathaniel Greenleaf is the chief of the Chamber and his secretary is a girl named Joel Carter. Among the employees of the Chamber is a forger, Whitey, who has been released from prison to try to earn his freedom by legitimate forging for the government. As one of the characters remarks: "It is not only lawful but beautiful in the eyes of God to do in war what you'd be hanged for in time of peace. That is if you do it for our side".¹⁷

¹⁵Herbert O. Yardley, The Blond Countess (New York, 1934).

¹⁶Ibid., foreword, n.p.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 8.

Greenleaf is portrayed as a man who is a patriot but not a romanticist about his work. Whenever Yardley writes about the details he knows from his own work, he writes interestingly. His descriptions of the attempts to break the German code, and the complicated methods used to test a letter believed to contain secret writing are worthy of careful perusal. Greenleaf's anger at the way in which everyone talks too much, the description of the early-morning banter in the office about the employees' violating the penal code by beginning work too early, the discovery of a secret ink impregnated in women's undergarments, are all realistic. But with the supposedly hard-headed Greenleaf's trusting of a beautiful blonde countess (whom he knows once to have been a spy), and the countess's kidnaping of Joel because the latter noticed a difference between two of the countess's scarves, the novel becomes over-romantic. In Yardley's world of fictional espionage the embassies are the centers of foreign spying in the United States, and the agents of countries friendly to the United States cooperate with United States agents in order to capture the agents of enemy powers. If Yardley's portrayal of the lack of security measures in the Black Chamber is correct, the persons in charge are guilty of criminal negligence in allowing suspected spies to walk into rooms full of secret material, in accepting notes purportedly from United States officials at face value and without investigation of the actual sender, and in other similar acts. After Greenleaf discovers that

the countess is the spy whom he has been seeking, he allows her to escape, partly because he has an affectionate, reluctant admiration for her, and partly because she is the wife of a Scandinavian ambassador. (Yardley is carefully no more specific in identifying the country from which the countess's husband is the diplomatic envoy.) Says the wife of the Secretary of War: "Even your letting the Countess get away was highly thought of, I may tell you. It would have been very awkward if they'd had to arrest and try her as a spy."¹⁸

Yardley's other book on the American Black Chamber, Red Sun of Nippon,¹⁹ was published in the same year as The Blond Countess, but Red Sun of Nippon has Greenleaf as a semi-outcast in a new presidential administration, unheeded and working more or less on his own. Cherry Garden, a beautiful Eurasian girl, half Chinese, is in love with Bruce Caldwell, in the diplomatic service of the State Department. Cherry is being used unwillingly by the Japanese who are attempting to steal some secret documents from Bruce. The Japanese "plant" the papers in the office of the Soviet Trade Commission so that the Russians will be blamed. While the Russians work with the intelligence branch of the State Department, Greenleaf and Bruce pursue their investigations independently. When Greenleaf gets Bruce's sister, Prudence, to steal back

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 298-299.

¹⁹Herbert O. Yardley, Red Sun of Nippon (New York, 1934).

the document at a time during which she has access to it, and Bruce shows it to Cherry, the latter is horrified to realize that she has been used to aid not her native China but Japan, which she loathes. She fears (as do Bruce and Greenleaf) that officials of the United States State Department will try to use the document to jingo the United States into war. With much melodrama the United States is saved by Bruce's and Greenleaf's manipulation of United States cables, and, although Bruce is forced to resign from the State Department, Greenleaf is a friend of the new president-elect who is more realistic, and will reinstate both Bruce and Greenleaf.

Red Sun of Nippon is a much more conventional thriller than is The Blond Countess, and the former has not even the saving grace of reality of detail which the latter possesses. Red Sun of Nippon is rather interesting simply as a thriller, but it throws almost no light upon the workings of the United States espionage system.

5. A Civilian Espionage Agency

A novel which portrays a kind of fictional Office of Strategic Services (OSS) is Howard Swiggett's Most Secret, Most Immediate.²⁰ The hero of this novel is Maynard, who is head of the Military Intelligence in North America for the Free Nations, in Washington. The FMNI, as it is known for

²⁰Howard Swiggett, Most Secret, Most Immediate (Boston, 1944).

short, has agents all over the war zones, including England and Occupied France. FNMI performs many of the functions of economic warfare through the Free Nations Supply Mission which attempts to get supplies in where needed, and to divert supplies from the enemy. Many of the agents are in danger of their lives; some have been killed; all have code numbers for identification, and messages are sent by cipher. The phrase, "most secret, most immediate," in a cable is an indication of the necessity for speed and attention to the message to which the words are appended.

In the description of the functioning of the Washington office, the necessity for security, the committee meetings and decisions, Swiggett appears most realistic. For reasons of security, FNMI keeps many details from the State Department, and for the same reason, the State Department does not press for these details. FNMI works closely with the War Department, the Office of Production Management (OPM), and the Treasury as well as the State Department.

Over Maynard's objections, and by majority vote, FNMI puts in as deputy Tregoning, whom Maynard has known for years and with whose wife Maynard is in love. When it is necessary for Maynard to go briefly to Europe to investigate a leak which has caused the death of several of the FNMI agents, Tregoning is made head of the Free Nations Supply Mission (with access to secret information which Maynard had not wished him to have) and Moncesu, whom Maynard trusts, is to be in charge of military intelligence, or MI, while Wacorski, another of Maynard's

proteges, is to be in charge of economic warfare.

Enemy agents impersonate Free Nations men in Washington and create incidents to attempt to arouse ill feeling against the Free Nations on the part of the United States citizens. In Europe Maynard tracks down the double agent who has been betraying the Free Nations and comes across information which enables him to expose Tregoning as a Nazi spy when he returns to Washington. To protect Elly, Tregoning's wife, Maynard lets Tregoning go free, but the Nazis murder him for his blundering.

Most Secret, Most Immediate, is excellent as a spy and adventure story, and is above average in the portrayal of the administration of details of the espionage incidental to the operation of a civilian espionage establishment.

6. Army Intelligence and G2

Some of the novels which deal with the problem of espionage from the viewpoint of the United States Army are Hildegard Teilhet's The Double Agent,²¹ Carmichael Smith's Atomsk,²² and Van Wyck Mason's Major North stories, including The Washington Legation Murders²² and Dardanelles Derelict²³ to

²¹Hildegard Tolman Teilhet, The Double Agent (Garden City, 1945).

²²Carmichael Smith, Atomsk: A Novel of Suspense (New York, 1949).

²³Van Wyck Mason, The Washington Legation Murders: Captain North's Ninth Case (Garden City, 1935).

²⁴Van Wyck Mason, Dardanelles Derelict: A Major North Story (Garden City, 1949).

name only two.

Mrs. Teilhet, whose husband, Darwin Teilhet, was for a while an intelligence officer in the Army and later in OSS, has written an interesting spy story set in France shortly after the German defeat. John Houton, an artist, has been acting throughout a great part of the war as a double agent, actually, however, being a loyal American in the employment of the intelligence service. His wife, Callie, who has believed him dead, discovers him in France and, believing him a traitor, inadvertently almost betrays him to the German agent whom he has been trying to capture. The rest of the novel concerns a wild chase through France and Spain until the Nazi is captured. Houton, who has been working for Colonel Samuel Hook, AUS, SHAWP, in the intelligence service, is induced to stay on in intelligence as a second lieutenant by dint of Hook's threatening to have him inducted into the regular army as a private. Very little of actual administration and office work is discussed in The Double Agent, the story being chiefly concerned with the adventurous escapades of Houton and Callie, first in being hunted and later in capturing the Nazi spy.

Atomsk is somewhat similar in format to The Double Agent although the story is entirely different. Major Michael A. Dugan is sent by General Coopersaith to find the Russian atomic city of Atomsk and to spoil the secret of the city so that the Russians will realize that the Americans know of the Russian atomic preparations.

the offices of General Connersmith, the briefings of Dugan as to his mission, the furnishing of background intelligence to him, the carefulness of Dugan's physical preparation for his mission, are details which lend verisimilitude to Atomsk. This is an excellent spy story with an aura of truthfulness about it. The reader has the feeling that Army intelligence agents do indeed go about their tasks in much the same manner (though perhaps not as excitingly) as Dugan does. This impression is further verified by the fact that Smith himself served under G2.

Van Wyck Mason's stories of G2 (Intelligence) of the Army also contain more details as to methods of the agents and the administrative operations above the agents, than do the average stories. Mason, like the other writers of army espionage stories, has had some contact with the material of which he writes. Having served in World War I, first as an ambulance driver and later as lieutenant of interpreters, he maintained his Army interest through the National Guard. In World War II he served with SNAEP overseas as a historical officer. This experience has helped to qualify him to write the approximately sixteen books dealing with North of Army Intelligence. Of these, only two, The Washington Legation Murders (a relatively early North book) and Dardanelles Derelict (a relatively recent North novel) will be discussed here since all of the North stories are similar in interpretation of the intelligence officer and his duties. The Washington Legation Murders concerns the efforts of Captain Hugh

North, a West Point graduate whose father had been Attorney General of the United States, to capture enemy agents who are preventing the passage of the Freeman Act which would enable the United States to bar undesirable aliens and punish criminal conspiracy in the United States. After several murders, a kidnaping, and North's involvement with a beautiful Irish girl who had seemed to love him but who turns out to be in the enemy service, North, with the aid of other intelligence service officers, captures the enemies and reveals a conspiracy among American politicians (including a Senator) to weaken the United States. This is a good adventure story and some of the earlier discussions of North's planning with the Chief of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the head of the Ordnance Department, are quite good, although it is improbable that the close relationship of the higher echelons and the lower army officers there implied are possible today.

Mason himself, in Dardanelles Derelict, which was published in 1949, does not attribute this close relationship to the military intelligence officers and their superiors any longer, although North in this later story is quite a senior officer. (North, however, retains the rank of major in order not to be shuffled off into a desk job.) In Dardanelles Derelict Major North pretends to have become disgusted with G2 and the Army and to have become an adventurer. Actually he is carrying out this role in order to infiltrate the group of American traitors who are aiding the Soviets in the Middle East area. However, so realistic is North's pretense that

the girl who loves him, "Jingles" Lawson, and others among his friends actually believe that he has become a derelict. Says Major Stoddard, one of North's closest friends who is attempting to rescue him from the mire into which he believes North has fallen:

"I expect he's suffered just one too many double-cross from those amateur 'international experts' at the State Department and so-called policy makers in Washington."²⁵

Despite the implication of treachery from Washington in the above quotation, however, Mason does not pursue this line of thought further. Most of the remainder of the book is concerned with North's making himself a member of the group of traitors, discovering that the Soviet MVD has penetrated the military mission at Istanbul, and with the help of Jingles Lawson, capturing the spies and forcing the Soviet Union to withdraw an ultimatum which would have meant surrender or war. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is mentioned briefly as cooperating with North in his work in Istanbul.

The North stories make good reading, although they are obviously romanticized and appear to suffer from an overabundance of beautiful woman spies, while most serious books about actual operations of espionage mention relatively few of the type of spy of which Mata Hari was the chief example.

The super-adventure spy story of the type related in the

²⁵Ibid., p. 5.

books mentioned above -- The Double Agent, Atomsk, and the North stories -- has gained in credibility in recent months, however, because of a number of newspaper stories, editorials and columns of the type below:

Of all the stories of recent weeks, the most fantastic involves the pilot in the Polish air force who flew a jet fighter from Poland to the Danish island of Bornholm where he turned the plane over to the Danish authorities and asked for asylum as a political refugee.

According to newspaper reports, representatives of British and American intelligence agencies were immediately on the spot to examine the plane, a copy or variation of the Russian MIG-15, regarding whose construction the Western powers are interested.

The Polish government demanded repatriation of plane and pilot; the Danish government agreed to the former, but granted asylum to the flyer, as a political refugee.

Then, the former Governor of Maryland, William Preston Lane, Jr., now a member of the board of the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Corp., publicly took credit for this derring-do. He reported that Col. Ulius Amoss, a former OSS operator, told members of the Fairchild Corp. that he had contacts in Poland but needed money to swing a deal to get out one of the new planes, and that Fairchild put up \$7,500. Mr. Lane said two men had been killed during this operation and hinted that other deaths might have been involved, but the United States got the secrets it needed, and so, one may infer, did the Fairchild Corp.

The talkative Mr. Lane has certainly got this country, the Danish government, the Polish pilot, and no doubt many other people into a fine plight. The flight of the Polish pilot, originally excellent Western propaganda, is put into reverse. The Danish government is hugely mortified, and the Polish pilot flatly denies that he was party to any plot whatever. But his status as a political refugee is now in question.

Mr. Lane also has confirmed that representatives of American business are engaged in espionage behind the Iron Curtain. This was the charge made against Robert Vogelers, representative in Hungary of the International Telephone and Telegraph, and against William Gatis, AP correspondent in Prague, who is in prison. Mr. Lane's statement will not improve his position.

In the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., has repeatedly denied Soviet accusations of espionage. Now what do we do? Say that the State Department and counter intelligence don't know what American citizens are up to?

Former Gov. Lane and the Fairchild Corp. officials say themselves have been taken for a ride; the money they put up may never have been used for the purpose designated. The Polish flyer, who, according to Mr. Lane, received no money, may not have been their "man," or, if he was, may not have known it but have been genuinely and innocently anxious, on his own, to escape. Still, we must ask whether it is permissible for private citizens to engage in espionage even in behalf of their own country. And it is quite credible that a responsible citizen, familiar with government, would embark, with the consent of his firm's directors, on such an enterprise without consulting Government officials? Or issue a statement without previously getting a green light?

Brutal purges are on in the satellite states of any persons even suspected of contacts with the West. What will happen to the Polish flyer's relatives, or even most casual friends, now that an apparently responsible American has stated that the pilot was a collaborator in a conspiracy involving others?

And what is and will be the reaction of our allies, who already, according to Secretary of State Dulles' report from his European trip, doubt whether America possesses the experience or wisdom to fulfill her role of world leadership? If Americans do not know when to keep silent, we are dangerous to every ally with whom we associate.²⁶

7. The Federal Bureau of Investigation

The government agency in the detective field which appears to have received one of the most careful appraisals as to its actual functions and methods is the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). One of the best novels about the FBI in

²⁶ Dorothy Thompson, "A Talkative Fellow, Ex-Gov. Lane: His Tale of Private Espionage Aids Red Propaganda By Hurting U.S. Defense Against Soviet Charges," The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), March 19, 1953, p. A-23.

point of accuracy is William DuPuy's Uncle Sam Detective.²⁷

DuPuy's book was written about twelve years after the FBI of the Department of Justice was set up. In his introduction DuPuy states that the FBI is the greatest detective bureau of the world, and that it is in charge of secret work of the government for which no provision has been made elsewhere, some of its cases involving national relations with other countries, and other important subjects. Says DuPuy in his introduction:

I wish to assure him [the reader] that I have taken infinite care that Billy Gard [the hero] should work out his problems by the methods that are actually employed and that the Government machine operates in just this way.²⁸

DuPuy further assures the reader that he has culled hundreds of FBI cases and that his cases are the composite of several actual cases or are themselves very similar to actual cases solved by the FBI. The reader of Uncle Sam Detective will soon assure himself that DuPuy speaks the truth. The chief fault which one may find with the book as a fictional portrait of the federal government is that it would perhaps be somewhat more interesting reading if its author were not quite so literal and so factual as he is in portraying the FBI. In making his hero a composite of the young men whom he has known in the FBI, DuPuy has made him dull; in making his

²⁷William Atherton DuPuy, Uncle Sam Detective (New York, 1916).

²⁸Ibid., p. xiv.

cases accurate, he has made them rather uninteresting.

Billy Gard is a young college man, a lawyer or an expert accountant (Dupuy does not specify which). He is nondescript. One of his cases is the solving of a murder case (the murder of a man who informed the revenue agents about a still) in the Cumberland Mountains. Gard pretends to be a recuperating invalid and goes to the Cumberlands where he boards and rooms with a local family. He gets a hint of the probable murderer and leaves, pretending to be somewhat recovered. He then sends in another FBI agent who pretends to be a criminal escaping from prison. To lend credence to the second man's story the FBI has "wanted" posters of the second man posted in the Cumberlands area. The second man gets the confidence of the moonshiners and together he and Gard capture the murderer. Another episode concerns the capture of a young man who tries to escape after abusing his credit at a bank; another, a clever scheme to avoid or reduce the sugar import duties by forcing the inspectors to declare sugar impure; another, the capture of an absconding bank cashier; another, the capture of a group of would-be revolutionaries on the Mexican border, and a number of other cases. The FBI is shown in all episodes as being fair, efficient, and unhurried -- a picture which is almost invariably borne out by the news reports of FBI cases in actual fact.

Most other novels also bear out this picture. The sole exception which the present writer has been able to discover

is A Washington Story,²⁹ by Jay Deiss, in which the only reference to the FBI is for the heroine to call it the secret police -- an appellation which, according to all other reports, is most unfair and undeserved. Merle Miller's novel, The Sure Thing,³⁰ makes reference to the fact that the FBI does not find evidence derogatory to the innocent hero, but he is nevertheless persecuted by individual Congressmen of an investigating committee.

Four of the other novels which bear out the picture of the FBI as being quiet and efficient as well as just, are Leslie Ford's The Murder of a Fifth Columnist,³¹ Frances Parkinson Keyes's Also the Hills,³² Walter Carig's Zotz! and Helen Knowland's Madame Baltimore. (The last two novels are discussed in the chapter on the New Deal and War Agencies.)

In general, to sum up the novels discussed above, novels of espionage and detective work in the United States government are somewhat romantic and attempt to make the professions appear glamorous -- much more so than would appear to be justified by the actual history of such operations. In point of fact, operations of the Office of Strategic Services

²⁹ Jay Deiss, A Washington Story (New York, 1950).

³⁰ Merle Miller, The Sure Thing (New York, 1949).

³¹ Leslie Ford, The Murder of a Fifth Columnist (New York, 1941).

³² Frances Parkinson Keyes, Also the Hills (New York, 1943).

do appear actually often to have been dangerous and glamorous, but these operations have been better written about in non-fiction than in novel form.³³

Novels about the United States Army intelligence work appear to have been written, in general, by persons who have had more contact with or experience in the work about which they write than do other writers of espionage stories; and, perhaps for that reason, their novels have somewhat more realistic details of operations than do most other espionage stories.

Novels about the FBI are generally the most careful of all of the novels about government detective and espionage work. This very carefulness, however, tends to make the books -- and the agency -- rather didactic, and therefore perhaps not so popular as the more romantic adventure-type story. The picture, therefore, which the public would tend to receive of government espionage and detective work would be much more glamorous and much less subject to discipline than is true in actual fact. Most of the fictional spy mysteries are solved more by coincidence than by careful work, more by the hero's happening to be on the scene than by the building up of evidence.

³³See particularly: Elizabeth P. MacDonald, Undercover Girl (New York, 1947); Lt. Col. Corey Ford and Maj. Alastair MacBain, Cloak and Dagger: The Secret Story of OSS (New York, 1945 and 1946); and Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden, Sub Rosa: The O.S.S. and American Espionage (New York, 1948). Ray Franklin Kauffman's novel about OSS, The Coconut Wireless (New York, 1948), is chiefly about operations in Malaya and Ceylon (in which, incidentally, Kauffman served with OSS) and deals more with the British operations than it does with the American.

which only two novelists of the group here discussed have written at length) and the committee investigation.

It would seem somewhat strange that there is not more fiction about filibustering than there appears to be available. Filibustering is, after all, a dramatic aspect of government and an interesting and traditional prerogative of the Senate. It has an aura of glamor -- one of the prerequisites for the subject of a novel -- and the technicalities of filibustering are not familiar enough to the public at large so that the novelist need fear boredom on the part of his reader. The investigation, on the other hand, which possesses many of the same attributes as filibustering, with respect to the dramatic clash of personalities, in so far as either may be used as the subject of a novel, has been very popular with novelists, particularly in recent years. Perhaps filibustering lacks, as the subject for fiction, the immediacy which the investigation possesses, but the contrast is so marked between the treatment of the two subjects that it is worthy of note.

There appear to be several types of novels about Senators: novels about the good Senator; novels about the Senator in which his senatorial activities are of secondary importance; novels about bad or corrupted Senators; novels in which the politics of becoming a Senator is of paramount importance; novels in which the passage or impeding of a certain bill is of primary importance; novels about the filibuster; and novels about the investigation conducted by a senatorial committee.

Almost without exception novels which concern Senate investigating committees are hostile to the Senate and friendly to the persons brought before the committee. Frequently, in fiction, the investigation drives innocent persons to suicide or to ruined personal lives. Almost without exception the persons investigated by the fictional Senate are innocent.

The stereotype of the Senator may appear in almost any of the above categories of novel. The most frequent stereotype shows a Southern self-made man from a backwoods community, who is a corrupt politician in late middle life, whose wife was finer than he and left him or died years before, whose beautiful and idealistic young daughter almost inevitably falls in love with the idealistic young man who is the downfall of the corrupt old Senator. Not all parts of the stereotype appear in all novels, and many novels avoid the stereotype altogether; but enough novels do follow the general pattern of the Senator as outlined above to make this the prevailing stereotype of the typical Senator of the fictional government.

1. The Good Senator

With only one exception -- Allen Glasgow's The Voice of the People¹ -- novels about good Senators are so overdone, so excessively sweet and noble, that they are even less attractive to the reader than are the corrupt and evil.

¹Allen Glasgow, The Voice of the People (New York, 1962).

Senators of fiction. Faith Marlowe, the feminine Senator of Frances Parkinson Keyes's novel, Senator Marlowe's Daughter,² is a noble woman who has suffered through an unhappy childhood, marriage and widowhood before the local boss, Caleb Hawkins, in her native New Hampshire, helps to maneuver Faith into politics in order to soothe her personal worries. Hawkins had earlier backed Faith's father, a kindly and maligned man who had died shortly after having been defeated for reelection to the Senate. Hawkins helps Faith to come into political power by deftly making use of Neal Conrad, who is running for the presidency. Faith, who eventually becomes the first woman Senator, must endure calumny in her campaign concerning her relations with Catholics, her position on repeal of Prohibition, and her own activities during World War I during which her German husband was killed fighting for Germany. This latter slander shocks her son into a serious illness and Hawkins makes political capital of the boy's shock to the extent that she wins great sympathy and is voted into office overwhelmingly. Faith suffers nobly throughout the campaign and the kindly, homespun boss of the locality who is also a noble man with a warm-hearted, earthy sort of common sense, aids her to the Senate partly because he knows that she will make a fine Senator and partly because he feels sorry for her and wants to help her to for-

²Frances Parkinson Keyes, Senator Marlowe's Daughter, (New York, 1933).

get her difficulties. Mrs. Keyes in this novel and its sequel, The Great Tradition (discussed in the chapter on the State Department and other executive departments) does not explain what Faith's activities are once she is in the Senate, but the reader may rest assured that they are always noble.

Julia Scott Vrooman, the wife of a Cabinet officer in World War I, has written a novel about an almost equally noble Senator -- this time a masculine Senator. The High Road to Honor³ is about the true, noble and pure inspiration which Mathilde gives to scientist Charleston Bryce and political candidate David Brandon. Eventually Mathilde marries Brandon but she continues to be the inspiration for both men. Mathilde constantly urges Brandon to maintain his political ideals as he continues to succeed in politics. Brandon's wish is to lead a struggle against dishonesty in politics and to maintain what he terms "constructive conservatism" -- a protection of the interests of all people and the avoidance of a class war.

Well along in the book Brandon is appointed to fill out the unexpired term of a Senator who has died in office, and he is placed on the Foreign Relations Committee. Just at the time that Mathilde is expecting their long-hoped-for first child, Brandon is involved in a great struggle to get a bill in which he believes through the Senate. King, one of the corrupt politicians whom Brandon has been attacking, learns

³Julia Scott Vrooman, The High Road to Honor (New York, 1924).

that Mathilde is to be confined and attempts to use an attack on Brandon for not being at his wife's side to prevent the passage of the bill. Brandon, however, knows that Mathilde wants him first of all to work for his bill and he makes a very effective speech:

"Democracy," he thundered, "is a religion. It stands for organized righteousness in government. . . . The real danger to popular government lies in the Judas kiss of its professed friends, with the catch words of democracy on their lips, perfidious legislative jokers in their hands, the passports to plutocratic favor in their pockets, and treason to the people in their hearts."⁴

Brandon's speech, combined with the distaste on the part of the other Senators for King's attempted use of Mathilde's condition against her husband, causes the passage of the bill and Brandon hurries home to Mathilde who has been saved by the efforts of the other man who loves her, Charleston Bryce.

The High Road to Honor is an idealistic book with a message -- a plea for more honesty and integrity on the part of the elected representatives of the people. Unfortunately The High Road to Honor constantly betrays the unprofessional status as a writer on the part of its author, and the gaucheness of the writing detracts considerably from the force of the book.

An Emilie Loring novel which sounds like all other Emilie Loring novels, except that this one has a Senator as one of the central characters, is Across the Years.⁵ Senator Joe Teele

⁴ Ibid., p. 284.

⁵ Emilie Loring, Across the Years (Boston, 1939).

is a pugnacious, honest, determined man who wishes to make sure the inventions which will protect the United States will be properly received and safeguarded. He says of himself:

"I'm out to preserve human life and American liberty in a time when it faces more great problems than ever before in its history, by strengthening ourselves, before strengthening our friends. One answer to that is, air superiority."⁶

In his efforts to aid America first the Senator gets Duke Tremaine to help him perfect an invention. Faith Jarvis, who loves Duke, is the social secretary to the Senator's sister, Kitty. Life in the Loring fictional world is complicated by the fact that Faith's brother, Ben (who also works for the Senator), is in love with the Senator's sister, Kitty, while being married to Irene, a suspected Nazi sympathizer. Wayne Marshall, an old friend of Irene, is Senator Teele's secretary.

Duke Tremaine gazed unseeingly at the door he had closed behind Madam Carr /Irene's nice grandmother/. She had charged him with indifference. Little she knew of his anti-spy activities. She mustn't know. No one must suspect that a quarter of his time was devoted to charting the source and following the course of subversive propaganda. Even Ben didn't know. Only Senator Teele. He worked under his orders.⁷

When the Senator's office is broken into and the specifications for the demon bomber disappear, Faith is concerned because she believes that it is her brother, Ben, who took the papers. The Senator says that he is concerned for fear that foreign agents have the specifications; he was keeping them

⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷ Ibid., p. 55.

in his office because he wished to introduce a bill for additional air-research appropriations.

The solution to the mystery comes after many complications and quite unnecessary pursuits; Ben had taken the papers at the Senator's behest in order to prevent their being stolen by anyone else. Ben had been seen, however, by Marshall, who was a Nazi agent and had been blackmailing Irene; Marshall had then stolen the papers from Ben. True love conquers all and the Senator, who believes in setting his own house in order, in order to preserve peace (as he says in his speeches), gets his specifications back.

Senator Teele may, as Fannie Loring states, be attempting to work for the welfare of the United States, but his methods leave much to be desired. The Senator manages to complicate matters almost to an insane degree, first by taking specifications which should have been in more secure custody than he was able to provide, and then in having one of his own staff "steal" the papers in order to deceive the enemy agents. The Senator's reasons for not trusting the FBI and other normally secure government channels with his problems is never explained by the author.

Ethel Houston's novel, The Honorable Uncle Lancy,⁸ (a predecessor to Uncle Lancy for President, discussed in the chapter on the presidency as an office) at least has the merit of being written in a professional manner. Uncle Lancy is

⁸ Ethel Houston, The Honorable Uncle Lancy (Indianapolis, 1939).

always a kindly, ineffectual man who is well managed both in personal life and in politics by his wife, Aunt Olympia, and his three beautiful nieces. Aunt Olympia (Ollie) maintains a constant campaign to have Uncle Lancy portrayed in the newspapers as a simple, homespun man. Uncle Lancy is an obstinately honest man but Ethel Hueston never says about what he is obstinately honest. After an exciting campaign during which the three girls help Uncle Lancy with their beauty and innocence, Uncle Lancy wins the election. The Honorable Uncle Lancy is a shallow but cleverly written novel which carefully avoids any flavor of the political.

Clarence Budington Kelland's The Cat's-Paw⁹ is another easily read, professionally written novel which says not very much of anything. The Cat's-Paw is the story of Ezekiel Cobb, an erudite but naive young man who comes home to the United States from China for the first time. In the small town to which he goes, a political group attempts to use Ezekiel as a political cat's-paw by running him for mayor of the town. Ezekiel becomes angry and genuinely runs for the mayorship; he wins the election as well as the enmity of the political gang. With the help of Petunia Pratt, a beautiful and knowledgeable young woman, Ezekiel reforms the town and Petunia prepares him to run for the Senate. The Cat's-Paw is a novel about an idealist whom fortuitous circumstances continually help.

⁹Clarence Budington Kelland, The Cat's-Paw (New York, 1934).

The only genuinely serious novel of this entire group of novels about good Senators is Ethel Glasgow's The Voice of the People, cited above. Nicholas Burr, the hero of the novel, is the son of a poor farmer; he wishes to be first a lawyer and then a judge. Burr is aided by the judge of the circuit court to achieve his ambition and as he grows older he falls in love with Eugenia, a girl much above him socially. Eugenia's brother, however, seduces a young girl and then induces the girl to blame Burr. Eugenia in disgust marries Dudley West.

As Burr rises in politics he is much admired by many of the persons of his home town.

"There's a statesman that came a century too late," he ∕a friend of Burr/ remarked to Tom Basset. "He's a leader, pure and simple, but he's out of place in an age when every man's his own patriot."¹⁰

After fifteen years in politics Burr is definitely a party man but he continues to keep the interests of the people at heart. As Governor of Virginia, Burr wishes to run for the Senate. Eugenia, who has long since discovered the truth about the seduction, asks Burr to pardon her brother who is now in prison on another charge. Although it costs him great effort and much soul-searching, Burr eventually does pardon the man. He begins to lose political support, however, when he vetoes a bill desired by one of the men who had aided him to become governor.

¹⁰ Glasgow, op. cit., p. 308.

"I laugh at you -- the whole lot of you who come to cozen me with party promises. So long as I spoke your speeches and did your bidding I might have the senatorship for the asking. I was honest Nick Burr, though I might belie my convictions with every step. So long as I wore the collar of your machine upon my neck my honesty was the hall-mark of the party. Where is my honesty, the first instant that I dare stand against you? Defy you? Pahaw! You aren't worth defying."¹¹

Before the issue can really be put to the people, however, as to whether Nicholas's honesty or the machine's influence will be paramount in the election for the Senate, Nicholas is killed in attempting to stop a lynching. Those who admire him sincerely wonder whether or not he would have been elected Senator, but they feel that he was a truly great man.

2. The Senator for whom Politics and Matters Other than Senatorial Activities are Paramount

In several novels, although the Senator is one of the central characters and is generally described as a good man, his Senatorial activities take a definitely secondary position in the novel. Gertrude Atherton's Senator North¹² is a novel of this type. Betty Madison, a pretty, twenty-seven-year-old young woman, comes to Washington with her mother and determines to find out something about Washington's political life. As she sits in the gallery and watches the Senators speak, she comes to admire Senator North, who makes a speech denouncing a certain bill as a political measure. Eventually Betty meets the Senator and learns that he has

¹¹Ibid., p. 391.

¹²Gertrude Atherton, Senator North (New York, 1900).

an elderly, ailing wife. When Betty discovers by accident that she has a part-Negro half-sister, she is hurt and bewildered as to what to do; instinctively she turns to Senator North, who advises her to see the girl and then to decide what should be done. Betty takes his advice, and although the young half-sister's life eventually turns out tragically, Betty feels that she has done her duty. After Senator North's wife dies, the Senator and Betty marry.

Senator North is supposed to be some kind of ideal man, but the ideal never becomes very clear. Gertrude Atherton's descriptions of the persons in the galleries listening to the speeches of the Senators are very interesting, and one wishes that she had described further the Senators and the speeches themselves. The activities of Senator North, aside from the first speech which Betty hears him make, appear to consist chiefly of dominating Betty.

Frances Parkinson Keyes has written three novels in which other considerations than senatorial activities dominate the Senators of whom she writes. Of these books, the earliest and at the same time the one which is most exclusively about a senatorial career is Queen Anne's Lace.¹³ Queen Anne's Lace is actually the story of Anne, a poor girl, who grows up to marry Neal Conrad and to help him on his political career until he becomes first a Senator and then president of the United

¹³ Frances Parkinson Keyes, Queen Anne's Lace (New York, 1930).

States. According to the statements of the author, Anne is Neal's inspiration and it is she who leads him on to believe truly in the government which he serves. According to the evidence which the author offers, however, Anne is forever failing to come up to Neal's expectations. She is dowdy when he needs her to be smart; she fails to hold receptions and at homes for other wives of government officials and legislators because she does not know Washington social customs; she offends the wife of a powerful Senator over a question of precedence. Anne's difficulties seem to stem chiefly from the fact that she does not have enough expensive gowns and does not know which corner of a card to fold down to indicate a given line of action. When Mrs. Stone, the woman whom Anne has made an enemy, attempts to keep Neal from winning his Senate seat, Anne, with the help of the wife of the vice president, performs a minor blackmail which results in Mrs. Stone's at least concealing her enmity. This action appears to be the sum total of the extent of Anne's helping Neal in his political career. It is obvious that the world of adult political behavior receives short shrift.

In Honor Bright¹⁴ Mrs. Keyes writes of a Senator who fails to marry the woman he loves (although he has seduced her) because the seduction becomes known and he feels that his wife should, as the wife of a politician, be above reproach. He has a successful life as a politician (although what his activities are Mrs. Keyes never describes) and one

¹⁴ Frances Parkinson Keyes, Honor Bright (New York, 1936).

of his sons eventually becomes Senator in his place after he dies. Although the son is a member of the party out of power, the president and his wife frequently spend weekends with the family of the Senator; all of them feel that politics should not interfere with friendship and all have been friends from childhood. Here, too, serious political behavior plays a minuscule role.

All That Glitters¹⁵ is the story of four young couples, members of two of which are Helen and Bob, the children of Senator and Mrs. Merton. Aside from the fact that Senator Merton has fathered two children, almost nothing else is said of him. He is a kindly, ordinary person who merely happens to be in the Senate instead of a bank or an automobile dealership.

Mrs. Keyes, who undoubtedly picked up some information about the lives of Senators from having been married to one, occasionally gives the reader a glimpse into a realistic phase in the life of a Senator. Most of her characters, however, who are in government life, might just as well be occupied at something else for all the effect which their political careers appear to have on them. While it is an obvious truism that Senators are people, one finds it hard to believe that a Senator can be so little concerned with his senatorial duties as Mrs. Keyes's characters appear to be.

¹⁵ Frances Parkinson Keyes, All That Glitters (New York, 1941).

Anne Goodwin Winslow's novel, Cloudy Trophies,¹⁶ is the story of the life of Senator Richard Steele, a Southern gentleman in love with his wife, Laura. Laura worries about the fact that the Senator has made a number of enemies by his ridiculing them; although his opinions are generally respected, he is unable to take most things seriously. The Steeles's only son has been drowned some years previously in a small pond on their estate in the South. When Laura suddenly becomes obsessed with the idea that the little boy was drowned by one of the Senator's enemies, she is unable to bear the thought. She takes an overdose of sleeping tablets and while the author implies that the overdose was an accident, it is obvious that at least the subconscious motivation for suicide was present in Laura's mind. The Senator after a period of quiet grieving goes on about his life as before.

The Unterrified,¹⁷ by Constance Robertson, is an excellent novel, but it has little more information about the Senator in his capacity as Senator than do most of the other novels discussed in this section of the chapter. Senator Edward King and his son idealize each other. The Senator retires and marries a beautiful Southern girl, Lacey, who is eventually revealed as a Copperhead. In his capacity as a Senator, Edward King is not discussed.

¹⁶ Anne Goodwin Winslow, Cloudy Trophies (New York, 1946).

¹⁷ Constance Robertson, The Unterrified (New York, 1946).

Mannix Walker, in Everything Rustles,¹⁸ describes a portly, intelligent, and kind Southern Senator, Cassius Herriweather of North Carolina, who enchants a proper Bostonian lady. The Senator is a stereotype of the Southern Senator, but he is portrayed with humor on the part of the author, as well as a Senator. One of the Senator's statements to Charlotte, the Bostonian, characterizes him:

" . . . I am to have the honor of addressing a gathering -- a political gathering -- on the following subject. The subject is: 'Were we prepared for Pearl Harbor?' The answer is obviously 'no', but I shall elaborate upon that simple negative. In fact, I shall speak for three-quarters of an hour. Then there will be a question-and-answer period, which promises to be most interesting. I only hope that I know all the answers."¹⁹

Obviously the Senator as created by the author is consciously making the best possible professional use of being a Southerner and a Senator.

Franklin Ellsworth's novel, The Bandwagon,²⁰ is more political in character than are most of the novels described above, although the political activity with which the book is concerned has little to do with the senatorial duties of the central character. Truman Broadwell, an attorney and political worker, determines to acquire what he terms a political bandwagon. Truman's philosophy is that whenever a political

¹⁸ Mannix Walker, Everything Rustles (New York, 1945).

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

²⁰ Franklin Ellsworth, The Bandwagon: A Political Novel of Middle-America (Philadelphia, 1921).

candidate shows some indication of winning there is a mad scramble to join the winning side, or to jump on the bandwagon. Truman admires Senator Clapp:

"He's the only one that I'd give a continental about seeing," declared Truman, "because he's true-bite and genuine and frank and honest about things and he doesn't indulge in those little, sneaky tricks that make you feel like an inferior or some small crawling thing upon the face of old m' earth. . . . he don't jolly you along with guff or some mysterious 'power' like a certain old crop-whiskered Congressman I know. And he seldom says, 'Wait, dear friend, the time is not yet ripe,' to those who deserve favors."²¹

When Truman is himself elected to Congress he votes for war though his district is against war, and many feel that he has smashed his bandwagon. Nevertheless Truman continues to be elected but he is very much upset when the state adopts a bipartisan policy and no longer designates the parties of candidates on county and state office ballots.

. . . thus absolutely and completely abolishing political party organization and leaving the state at the kind mercy of packed committees constituted by the political clique. . . .

He saw clearly the rising tide of popular disgust and sentiment against the most corrupt and relentless state political machine in existence -- the bi-partisan clique of Minnesota.²²

²¹ Ibid., p. 180.

²² Ibid., pp. 269-270. Harvey Walker, in his book, The Legislative Process: Lawmaking in the United States (New York, 1948), says: "Two states, Minnesota and Nebraska, elect legislators on a nonpartisan ballot. If a partisan election is justified anywhere, it is in the election of legislators. These states appear to go too far in their effort to take government out of politics." (p. 93.)

The Bandwagon, as may be seen from the quotations and descriptions above, is more concerned with the local aspects of election and the politics necessary to election than it is with senatorial activities as such.

3. The Bad or Corrupt Senator

Eleanor Gizycka's novel, Glass Houses,²³ is an ugly book about ugly people. The central character of the novel is Mary Moore, who is the mistress of Senator Bob Miller. Miller has been a colorful figure on the Senate floor but eventually he is defeated because of an oil scandal. Miller, from the short descriptions of him which the author gives, appears to have been something of an orator and to have made effective use of dramatic devices such as the wearing of a black frock coat. He is a politician to his fingertips. Eventually Miller and Mary go to Mary's ranch, Silver Snake, in the West, where another man who has loved Mary for years murders Miller and makes the death appear an accident. The rest of the novel concerns Mary's attempts to be happy with another man. Glass Houses treats of a number of unsavory characters, of whom one of the most unpleasant is Senator Miller. Eleanor Gizycka carefully avoids, however, mentioning his activities in his capacity as a Senator.

Frederic Arnold Kuppen's novel, Design for Murder,²⁴ concerns people almost equally as unpleasant as those de-

²³ Eleanor Gizycka, Glass Houses (New York, 1926).

²⁴ Frederic Arnold Kuppen, Design for Murder: A Novel (Boston, 1936).

scribed in Glass Houses. At a house party, held by Senator Tom Kirby and his wife, the Senator's wealthy wife is murdered. The Senator is an arrogant and cold man who has been trying to force his wife to give him a divorce; he has at the same time been hoping for a Cabinet appointment. Aside from the fact that the Senator's secretaries and aids do not really help him by telling all and sundry that they may not drag the Senator into the scandal caused by the murder because he is too big a man in the government and in the party, there is no mention of his senatorial status or activities.

Robert Rylee's novel, The Ring and the Cross,²⁵ is the story of evil, powerful, wealthy and disliked old Senator Denbrow. Denbrow and his friend, Clayton, have made brutes out of the people of their home area; they have committed or have incited murders for which innocent persons have been blamed. Denbrow is, in fact, so much disliked that he finds it necessary always to have bodyguards to protect him, particularly in his home vicinity. Among his other evil deeds, after having first defeated Senator Vaiden MacSachern (who dies shortly thereafter), Denbrow then has MacSachern's son murdered because the latter was friendly with the Negroes, Mexicans and labor leaders, and has been mentioned for the governorship of Texas. Judith Clayton, who had loved young MacSachern for years, has at the same time had a kind of daughter-mistress relationship with Denbrow. After young

²⁵Robert Rylee, The Ring and the Cross (New York, 1947).

MacCachern is murdered Judith decides to become a nun, and the Senator, who has always placed his entire reliance on things material, decides to return to Washington:

He sat like a baby huddled in his seat. It was warm in his small compartment. The steel walls, the armed body guards at the only door, protected him from the terrors of life. The Senator relaxed and smiled, as in these things, at last, he found his symbols of peace.²⁶

Another evil Senator whose misdeeds, at least as described in the novel, appear to be more personal than senatorial, is Senator John Copely of Francis Backett's novel, The Senator's Last Night.²⁷ John Copely has married a wealthy woman whom he does not love in order to aid his political career. Now late in middle age, Copely is an isolationist, an atheist, the possessor of a caustic tongue; he attempts to prevent his son, Bill, from marrying Kitty, whom Bill loves, and lectures to his son on the folly of love matches. The Senator has had a number of mistresses; he has worked his way from being a poor boy from a backwoods area to being a man in a position of power; he is noted for the betrayal of his friends. Eventually as the Senator is very ill a servant, Alfhild, whom the Senator had seduced many years previously and by whom he had had a child, kills him by giving him an overdose of his medicine when he accuses her falsely of betraying his faith in her. The death is diagnosed as having been caused by heart failure and the Senator is eulogized by all

²⁶Ibid., p. 308.

²⁷Francis Backett, The Senator's Last Night (Garden City, 1943).

who have not known his personally.

McCready Huston's Dear Senator²⁸ is an interpretation of Senator Daniel Scott Meredith, who begins as an idealistic and honest man in politics and becomes a professional politician. "People first said that Dan Meredith looked honest. After saying that for a while they found it easy to say he was honest."²⁹ Many years earlier Dan (or Scott, as he was then called, he having begun to use the name Dan when he went into politics because of its more homespun flavor) had aided a Miss Laurel Wile when she was destitute.

Dan is a Republican in the state of Illyria whose rise in politics has paralleled that of the Ku Klux Klan. He has married Alice, a wealthy woman whom he does not love, and he does not dare divorce her or separate from her because he does not want to lose the senatorship. When Alice, who has become a semi-alcoholic, takes poison in mistake for a headache remedy, however, her death does not seriously affect Meredith's career. Laurel, who has in the meantime become a famous actress, continues to admire Dan whom she still believes to be the idealistic and innocent person she had known. Her friends demonstrate to her what he has become, however, and when he asks her to marry him she refuses; Dan is by this time so far sunk in political corruption that he does not even understand what Laurel means when she tells him that she does not like

²⁸McCready Huston, Dear Senator (Indianapolis, 1928).

²⁹Ibid., p. 19.

what his associations and activities have done to him.

Meredith, who had backed as Senator a man named Bostwick because the latter was doomed to die momentarily of a stroke, hopes to be appointed Senator in Bostwick's place when the latter dies. Since Dan has lost his wife's money, however, he is to be dropped politically. Laurel, for old times' sake, although she no longer loves Dan, contributes sufficient money so that Dan receives the appointment. Dan, who believes that he is too valuable to be dropped, and does not realize that only Laurel's money has saved his political career, makes a sickeningly sentimental speech of acceptance in which he mourns Bostwick and regrets that his dear wife is not alive to share his honor with him. He tells his friends afterward:

"Anyhow I'm a senator, -- a United States senator. You can't deny that. And in the end I got it myself. Money or no money Albee had to give it to me. He knows my strength. They can't take that away from me. . . . I'm a senator."³⁰

Dear Senator is a sad and fairly realistic book about a man who sacrifices everything to what he holds to be success -- and even then his sacrifice is not enough. McCreedy Huston depicts a political world in which each person is interested only in himself; if one falls by the wayside that is his own bad fortune; if he succeeds, it is at the cost of injuring others.

Sophie Kerr's Fine To Look At³¹ is similar in tone and

³⁰ Ibid., p. 333.

³¹ Sophie Kerr, Fine To Look At (New York, 1937).

feeling to Dear Senator. David Courency is a Junior United States Senator at forty-two. David's wife is Janice, and Janice is very loyal to him although she sees all of the faults which persons on the outside do not. Vera, David's secretary, had been mildly in love with David when she first came to work for him. After a time, however, she prepares to leave to marry Johnny, because, as she tells Janice in some disillusion, while a Senator's life is fine to look at, she cannot stand the surface of petty betrayals and deceptions. Vera has overheard David discuss a situation in which the evidence of his taking a bribe was to be published by a reformer; when the reformer dies before he can publish the evidence (although David abtully had nothing to do with the man's death) he is greatly relieved to avoid exposure. Janice, who knows the whole story, knows that David is not remorseful for having taken the bribe but only at having been nearly caught. Janice feels that she must stay with David as much for her children's sakes as for her own, but she is happy that Vera does not also compromise between duty and inclination.

From Hell to Breakfast,³² by Edward Kimbrough, is the story of Mississippi Senator Gus Roberts, whom even the author admits to be a caricature of a type. Roberts is a professional cracker who was once a revivalist. Roberts's mistress is Nan, who runs a house of ill repute. Roberts is anti-

³²Edward Kimbrough, From Hell to Breakfast (Philadelphia, 1941).

Negro, gets drunk in public, and is very popular. His wife has left him years earlier, but Roberts does not wish a divorce, because while his electorate will forgive him almost anything else, they will not, he believes, elect a divorced man to the Senate. Roberts sincerely loves his daughter, Julia, who in turn idolizes her father. Julia is in love with Jerry Clinton, who, despite the fact that he is the son of one of Roberts's old friends, is himself an idealistic friend of labor. Jerry, whom Roberts terms a Red, is going to run for the Senate against Roberts. Roberts's mother, whom Julia loves and trusts, tries to explain to Julia that perhaps idealism is an attribute of the young. She tells Julia that Roberts was once as idealistic as Jerry, but that when he eventually realized that people could not be changed and that life could not be made perfect on earth, he became disillusioned and determined to get that which he himself wished from life.

Roberts's wife selects the time of the campaign to demand a divorce, and she threatens scandal if Roberts does not allow her to get it. Bowing to the inevitable, Roberts allows her to get the divorce but he makes a public statement to the papers that he had wished to save his home and manages by his statement to salvage most of his votes.

When an ex-Communist named "Crowpants," who is working for the labor movement, kills a Negro in a fit of drunkenness, Roberts determines to free the man in order to attract the labor vote. Roberts does get the man free and he does win the election. Jerry and Julia, who are to marry, are not really

discouraged, however. They have lost a battle but the war is still to come.

Hodding Carter's Flood Crest³³ is a variation on the same theme as Kimbrough's novel. G. Cleveland Pikestaff is a United States Senator who adores his daughter, Sudie, and who allows Sudie to be his silent partner in his political career. Pikestaff, like Roberts, has risen from a poor family; he is from the South; he is anti-Negro; and he hates labor because he feels that it is "Red." Kent Vilyard, Sudie's fiancee, is disliked by Pikestaff because the latter feels that Vilyard sees the kind of person that Pikestaff really is. Vilyard, in the meantime, dislikes himself because he realizes that he does not really love Sudie but is attracted to her physically and wishes for the aid which she as her father's daughter can give him.

Vilyard is attempting to aid efforts to halt a flood of the Mississippi and in his work meets a professor's daughter, Bethany Parr, and her father. Vilyard soon realizes that she is the girl he has been hoping to meet, and he earns Sudie's enmity by allowing her to know that he has fallen in love with Bethany.

When a convict, whose way Pikestaff had once bought out of prison, escapes and seduces Sudie after beating up her father, Sudie attempts to use the beating of her father as a means of getting the Parrs killed by blaming the Parrs for

³³ Hodding Carter, Flood Crest (New York, 1947).

her father's beating. Vilyard saves the Farris, but it is evident that Pikestaff will continue as Senator in his usual amoral and corrupt fashion.

As is true of most of the novels about the evil or corrupted Senators, Carter's book is more concerned with the personal life of the Senator than it is with his genuinely senatorial or even political actions.

George Cronyn's novel, Caesar Stagg (discussed in the chapter on boss politics), also concerns a corrupt Senator-elect, J. Caesar Stagg, who is finally assassinated not so much because of his evil deeds (although he has long been the political boss of his community) but for his part in the death of a young show girl.

Van Wyck Mason's The Washington Legation Murders (discussed in the chapter on federal detection and espionage facilities) has as one of the characters a Senator who is conspiring to aid the enemies of the United States. Unlike most of the fictional Senators, Phineas B. Babcock of The Washington Legation Murders limits his evil-doing almost entirely to political activities. He helps to prevent the passage of a bill to eliminate undesirable aliens even though it is pointed out to him that the stopping of passage of the bill will injure the United States and aid her enemies. Babcock gives as his reason for refusing to support the bill that it is a tradition of the United States to help her neighbors. Eventually the Senator's seeming naivete is revealed as being outright treason since he had been wittingly working for enemy governments against the United States.

Democracy, by Henry James (discussed in the chapter on the presidency as an office) is by far the most revealing and political of the novels discussed in this section. Senator Silas P. Ratcliffe of Illinois is a power-hungry and amoral man. According to Henry James, Ratcliffe is typical of all Senators in his thirst for flattery, his belief that the Senators are the most important persons in government and his complete party regularity. Ratcliffe, by clever machinations and by dint of knowing Washington better than does the president-elect (whom Ratcliffe despises) soon has the president in his power, and it is Ratcliffe, in effect, who is dispensing patronage and power. Madeline Lee, who is at first attracted to Ratcliffe because of his power, believes that he is attempting to aid the country; she becomes disillusioned when she finds out the truth about some of his financial operations. When Madeline dismisses the Senator from her presence she writes to a friend: "The bitterest part of all this horrid story is that nine out of ten of our countrymen would say I had made a mistake."³⁴

Adams, in contrast to the other novelists who write about corrupt Senators, takes Ratcliffe as his norm and appears to feel that Ratcliffe is doing nothing which all of the other Senators would do, given the opportunity. Most other novelists treat their evil Senators more as individuals. The authors may deplore a system or a population which would allow the

³⁴ Adams, op.cit., p. 246.

election of such men as they describe, but they by no means imply that the corrupt Senator is the average Senator.

4. The Election Practices of a Senator

Margaret Culkin Banning's novel, The First Woman,³⁵ concerns not the election of a Senator but the part taken by Senator Jed Floan in a state election. Floan attempts to use a scandal to prevent the election of Lund to the governorship, whereupon Lund, in a compromise with Floan, agrees to sacrifice Cinda (the heroine of the story), who has been working for Lund, by not giving her any credit for helping to elect him. Aside from the fact that The First Woman would indicate that Senators take a great deal of interest in local politics and participate in state election campaigns, there is nothing about Floan's senatorial activities in the novel.

Mr. Crewe's Career,³⁶ by Winston Churchill, is in part the story of Senator Whitredge who is under the domination of boss Hilary Vane. Hilary is working in the interest of the railroads, but his son, Austen, is more idealistic and opposes his father. Whitredge, who has been receiving outside aid, hopes that after the question of who shall be nominated for the governorship is decided, that it will be Hilary who will have to come to Whitredge instead of the reverse, as has formerly been true. At the convention Hilary's man wins and the

³⁵ Margaret Culkin Banning, The First Woman (New York, 1935).

³⁶ Winston Churchill, Mr. Crewe's Career (London, 1908).

Senator and others are forced to apologize to Hilary for their attempted desertion. Mr. Crewe's Career, like The First Woman, has its chief interest for the person who wishes to know something about the Senator in its indication of the close relationship of national and state politics. The Senator in Mr. Crewe's Career, like the one in The First Woman, has a deep personal interest in who shall be governor of his state.

Another novel by Winston Churchill, A Far Country,³⁷ concerns a Senator more intimately than does Mr. Crewe's Career, since the Senator in A Far Country is the central character. The narrator has been concerned with the railroad lobby and state politics. He has become somewhat disillusioned with life and with politics in particular, and he decides to run for the Senate:

. . . but once in the Senate, I might regain something of that intense conviction of fighting for a just and sound cause with which Theodore Watling had once animated me: fighting there, in the capitol at Washington, would be different; no stigma of personal gain attached to it; it offered a nearer approach to the ideal I had once more begun to seek, held out hopes of a renewal of my unity of mind.³⁸

Rugh, the narrator, has become a member of a group which is ruining his own city. He is the object of scorching articles and speaks angrily against the writer of the articles, Krebs. When, however, Krebs suffers a heart attack and Rugh goes to visit him and talk to him, he realizes that Krebs is right, and he determines to reform. As is evident from the quote-

³⁷ Winston Churchill, A Far Country (New York, 1915).

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 422-423.

tion on the preceding page, even when Hugh is still in the clutches of "bossism," he still retains ideals about the Senate and feels that the Senate is an august body to which the taint of personal gain does not adhere.

Mathilde Eiker's novel, The Senator's Lady,³⁹ is a poorly written and inconclusive story of Horace Prescott, a politician (whom, incidentally, the novelist evidently admires), who falls in love with Marylily, the wife of his brother-in-law. After having induced Marylily to divorce her husband, Horace feels that he cannot afford to divorce his wife and marry Marylily because he wishes to go to the Senate. Instead, Marylily becomes Horace's mistress, and all goes well in Horace's political career until by accident Horace's wife discovers that Horace is having an affair with Marylily. Mrs. Prescott runs Marylily down in an automobile in an effort to kill her; Marylily is badly injured and in the resultant scandal Horace fails to get the nomination for the Senate. Horace appears to be more interested in the Senate than in Marylily, but he also wishes to have Marylily provided that having her does not cost him anything. After he knows that the Senate is an impossibility he marries Marylily but until that time he attempts to have everything. The moral of The Senator's Lady appears to be that one should be careful about hiding one's private scandals.

Although Royal Wilbur France dedicates his novel, Cog-

³⁹ Mathilde Eiker, The Senator's Lady: A Novel (Garden City, 1932).

promise,⁴⁰ to "my brother, Joseph Irwin France, former United States Senator from Maryland, a wise statesman and a true friend,"⁴¹ the character which France describes in his novel is far from possessing the attributes which France assigns to his brother. Esory Young, the central character of Compromise, spends his life from college on suppressing his original ideals and succeeding politically. Eventually he runs for the Senate:

"God, what a politician he is," exclaimed Sam Langwell, in the gathering of the newspaper men afterwards. "He got the pro-Ally crowd and the pro-German crowd as well. And he promised nothing."

"Oh, yes he did," replied Bob Watson with his usual cynicism.

"What?" demanded George Williams hotly.

"To follow his gang."

On the following Tuesday, Governor Young was elected to the Senate by the largest majority ever polled in the state.⁴²

Esory has a successful career in the Senate because he continues to compromise and to make no one angry. Just as he is about to be offered the nomination for the presidency, however, Justine, the girl whom Esory had first loved, dies, shot by strike-breakers. Before she dies she begs Esory to go back to his old ideals; he makes a strong speech for labor and loses the presidency. Esory is a weakling who is led away from

⁴⁰Royal Wilbur France, Compromise (Philadelphia, 1936).

⁴¹Ibid., n.p.

⁴²Ibid., p. 303.

his ideals by Judge Dodge (who starts him on his political career) and is returned to them by Justine. Even in reverting to the ideals which he had presumably held as a young man, Emory is in fact committing another compromise.

The Great One, by Henry Hart (discussed in the chapter on boss politics), is another story of a former idealist who compromises in order to advance politically. Bayard Stuart, like Emory Young, becomes a Senator. Bayard's failure to become president, however, is not caused by a reversion to his old ideal but to political circumstance; when he is most powerful in his party the other party controls the administration. Bayard's early love sends her son back to visit him as he is dying, but although the boy makes Bayard realize that what he has gained politically has not been worth the price he paid for it, it is too late for him to go back to his former beliefs. Both The Great One and Compromise, though not the stories of admirable men, are well written and make their characters understandable.

5. The Passage of a Senatorial Bill

Some few novels are concerned with the passage or impediment of a bill in the Senate. It would appear that the drama of a struggle over a given legislation would offer an excellent opportunity to the novelist. Background material on the Senate is readily available in the works of such political scientists as Kenneth Colegrove, George H. Haynes, and others.⁴³ Never-

⁴³ Kenneth Colegrove, The American Senate and World Peace

theless, even the novels which do mention Senate bills are usually very romantic and unrealistic in nature and often do not agree with the political-science literature or with actual facts.

One such romantic novel about a Senator and the passage of a bill is Max McCann's Mollie's Substitute Husband,⁴⁴ a story reminiscent of The Prisoner of Zenda. Mollie Partridge is married to Senator George Norman of Illinois much against her will, since she loves Norman's second cousin, John Merriam. Norman, a much older man than Merriam, nevertheless resembles his young cousin strikingly, so much so in fact that each is often taken for the other. Norman is dissolute, wealthy through his dead first wife, and known for his political corruption. At a time when a reform bill is imminent George Norman becomes very ill and his friends and Mollie's who are also reformers persuade Merriam to pretend that he is Norman and to tell the Mayor, who is under the domination of Norman (who in turn is under the domination of the boss, Crockett), that the reform bill should go through. Although Norman had in fact planned to betray the reformers at the last minute and inform the Mayor that the bill should not be passed, Norman's friends tell

(New York, 1944), and George E. Haynes, The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice (Boston, 1938), are only two of the many books which contain excellent material about the practices of the Senate. See also the political-science works cited in the chapter on the House of Representatives, and elsewhere in this chapter.

⁴⁴ Max McCann, Mollie's Substitute Husband (New York, 1920).

Merriam that the latter will in fact actually be helping his cousin as well as the reformers since if Norman does not soon espouse reform he will be through politically. When Mollie adds her pleas to those of the friends, Merriam agrees to be a party to the deception.

Norman becomes sicker while the substitution is still in progress. While Merriam makes campaign speeches for Norman and wins him votes, the bosses, suspecting trickery, kidnap Norman and he dies shortly after his friends recover him. The friends -- and Mollie -- decide that "Merriam" should be buried and that the real Merriam should go on with the deception but should resign from the Senate on grounds of illness because carrying on as a Senator "would be too dangerous -- and too serious a fraud besides."⁴⁵

The one sentence quoted above appears to be the only time in the novel when the question of fraud occurs to anyone; neither does the book give any details as to either Norman's or Merriam's activities in attempting to get the bill through except for telling the Mayor that it should go through. All in all, the novel can hardly be termed realistic.

A novel by Leslie Ford, called The Strangled Witness,⁴⁶ has as one of its characters a Senator Greer who has been working with one group of interests led by a Mr. Quinn but who now begins to feel that it is expedient for him to change

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 352.

⁴⁶ Leslie Ford, The Strangled Witness (New York, 1934).

sides. Quinn discovers the proposed defection and the fact that Greer is to snow his bill under in the Senate by his switching sides. Quinn owns a river in which there is a great deal of potential water power and he wishes the water power to remain in private hands rather than to go into public utilities. The Senator is found murdered just after a radio speech is purportedly made by him favoring private ownership. The remainder of the novel is concerned with the solving of the murder and a subsequent murder of Quinn's beautiful lobbyist. The novel is interesting to the political scientist chiefly because of its indications of the pressures from outside placed upon Senators for the passage or impediment of a bill.

Leonard Ross's novel, Adventure in Washington,⁴⁷ is the story of a correspondent in Washington who admires Senator Morley and wishes to help the Senator to maintain his position against outside interests for specific measures. Morley is investigating the fact that a man named Drew (who happens to be in love with Eden, the same girl whom correspondent Jeffrey Brett loves) made a bribe of \$75,000. Morley is unable to prove the fact of the bribery although he knows that it must be true. If the fact cannot be proved Morley will be unable to be reelected because he will be accused of going off on an incorrect assumption. Jeff, in order to aid the Senator, puts false stories in the newspapers and earns his own dismissal, but eventually through the aid of Eden Jeff manages

⁴⁷ Leonard Ross, Adventure in Washington (New York, 1938).

to find the one witness to the bribery and they save the Senator's dignity and position in Congress.

Richard Starnes's mystery novel, Another Mug for the Bier,⁴⁸ concerns Senator Philander Chance, who introduces a bill for the building of a pipeline to tap a rich fuel supply economically; the Senate, however, is apathetic. Chance is a man from the West, a poor boy without such education who has made good in politics. His wife is dead and he has an attractive, golden-haired daughter, Sidney, who is the guiding hand behind his speeches. Sidney, however, has come under the influence of a lobbyist of bad reputation. Sidney and a number of other persons are murdered before the revelation to the reader that one of the persons murdered had made the discovery that there was no fuel in the place that the Senator had thought, and that the Senator's secretary had been accepting bribes. Chance had not known the doubtful character of the bill he sponsored. Although Another Mug for the Bier is an exciting mystery story, it contains very little information of a serious political nature.

6. The Senate Filibuster

It appears obvious from the examples of the novels within the scope of this study that novelists who describe filibusters have had little contact with the political-science literature on the subject. Both the novels concerned

⁴⁸Richard Starnes, Another Mug for the Bier (Philadelphia, 1950).

were written in 1937, perhaps in a backwash of interest which had earlier been stirred by some of the filibusters of the late Huey P. Long. Dr. Franklin L. Burdette's interesting and informative study, Filibustering in the Senate,⁴⁹ did not make its appearance until 1940, but it seems odd that no novels have been published since that time which might be based on some of the extremely colorful incidents described in Dr. Burdette's book. Of all phases of Senate activity, filibustering would seem to be one which has most human interest and most dramatic appeal, and there seems to be no obvious reason for the failure of novelists to present more carefully detailed filibusters in their novels.

Both of the novels concerning filibusters were written by men who are well known, but who are not professional novelists, though both have been newspapermen and writers in other fields. The fact that their novels are peculiarly uninteresting seems strange in view of the fact that both men are accustomed to presenting, in the newspaper world, stories of human interest, and each novel concerns a dramatic filibuster. In actual fact, it would be difficult to say which is the poorer novel: Marquis Childs' Washington Calling!⁵⁰ or Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr.'s Woman of Washington.⁵¹

⁴⁹Franklin L. Burdette, Filibustering in the Senate (Princeton, 1940).

⁵⁰Marquis Childs, Washington Calling! (New York, 1937).

⁵¹Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., Woman of Washington (New York, 1937).

Washington Calling! is in great part the story of former Senator Charley Squires who, when the novel opens in 1932, has managed to save most of his personal fortune. He continues to live in Washington, though he is no longer in the Senate, and his daughter, Darnell, and his alcoholic sister, Molly, also live with him. Squires continues to maintain his interest in Senate bills, and in one bill he has a direct personal interest. Squires has the account of the Industrial Association of America, which is in opposition to a pending bill that would prevent the pollution of navigable streams by industrial waste. At the same time, a railroad company has an interest in a case which is to come up before a district court to which no judge has as yet been appointed. The railroad company asks Squires to determine for them the kind of person who will be appointed judge; for his aid he will be paid in cash.

Squires attempts to use the influence of his old friend, Senator Deltus Mayne, to appoint Tyler to the federal judgeship, since Tyler would be friendly to the railroads. Deltus, however, who has a social consciousness, refuses because he feels that Tyler is not the right kind of person to be a federal judge. Over a minor bill -- a Treasury bill which would prevent the foreign holders of American bonds from collecting the equivalent of their pledged gold value in the devalued currency -- Mayne filibusters.

Mayne's friends, who cannot understand his essential honesty and genuine integrity -- an integrity which makes for

him a minor bill quite as important as a major one -- cannot understand the reason for his filibuster. Only Squires, who has not Mayne's honesty but can admire it, says that Mayne is a believer in his own convictions and that his courageous filibuster is made on principle. The strain of the filibuster is too much for Mayne's heart and he dies. With Mayne out of the way there is no opposition to the appointment of Tyler to the federal judgeship, and President Winthrop appoints Tyler. Squires, however, remembering Mayne, feels that his is essentially a hollow victory.

As may be seen from the digest above, Childs's story has distinct dramatic possibilities, but it is played in a minor key and the dramatic interest is muted by over-explanation. The filibuster is not described in any detail; neither does Childs explain Mayne's precise technique of the filibuster. The entire episode, which is the highlight of the novel, is almost glossed over, as if the author feared that it might become too important in the story.

A Woman of Washington purports to be the story of another courageous filibuster on the part of a man of principle. Senator Harrow, a kindly man who knows nothing about the devious machinations of Washington politics, is attempting to put through the Senate a bill for public utilities. A Mrs. Glendara, who is an arbiter of Washington society, and who opposes the bill, deliberately arouses the Senator's interest in her; she then pretends to be betraying a trust in order to help the Senator and informs him that it is really the in-

terests who are back of the public utilities and that he is being used. The Senator believes her, and, angry at being tricked (as he believes) into backing a bill which would aid the trusts, he filibusters against his own bill.

Many of the men who had come from the Senator's Western state in order to hear him speak for public utilities are bitterly disappointed when he begins to talk on the other side, and they believe that he has sold out to the trusts; one eventually attempts to assassinate him. The Senator, however, continues with his filibuster, until Constance Bacon, an adopted daughter of Mrs. Glendarn, who loves the Senator's son, manages to get a message to him on the floor, informing him that he has been deceived by Mrs. Glendarn. The Senator, as ready to believe Constance as he was to believe Mrs. Glendarn (and with as little evidence for believing one as the other) immediately changes his filibuster into a speech for his bill and public utilities are saved.

Vanderbilt's book attempts to be a novel with a message, but its supposedly independent Senator is actually a weakling who is swayed by the last person who has been talking to him. Even the filibuster, which might have been made accurate and detailed, is a purely artificial device. The author states that the filibuster arouses a great deal of interest, but the interest appears to have been aroused chiefly by the fact that the Senator was speaking against his own bill than for any other reason.

7. The Senate Investigation

The investigation by a Senate committee or subcommittee has become in recent years a relatively popular subject for novels. The impression conveyed by almost all novels about Senate investigations, however, is that the investigations are carried on by vicious men who have the intention of injuring the person being investigated rather than the purpose of remedying evils or suggesting subjects of future legislation as would be the proper purpose of the investigation. Only Richard Starnes's novel, And When She Was Bad She Was Murdered (discussed in the chapter on the New Deal and war agencies) describes an investigation which results in the exposure of a dishonest business venture in Middle East oil and a consequent dismissal of the guilty person.

In Jay Deiss's A Washington Story and in Merle Miller's The Sure Thing (cited in the chapters on the federal employee and federal detection and espionage facilities, respectively) an innocent liberal is described as being hounded from a government job by the indiscriminate and willfully vicious attacks of an investigating committee. Faith Vance, of A Washington Story, is the victim of a witch hunt for Communists, in the author's own terms. Because of untruthful information turned in to an investigating committee by her jealous husband, Faith is called before the committee and is asked a number of unfair and leading questions. She is not permitted to have her say, she is disgraced without being given the opportunity of fighting back. When Faith goes for

help to a Congressman whom she had believed to be an honest person he tells her with a fanatical gleam in his eye that Communists must be wiped out and that, if a few innocent persons must suffer in the process, that suffering is a small price to pay. Eventually Faith is dismissed from her job without a hearing and is almost deported to Spain although she is an American citizen; as she has been working against Franco she feels sure that if she is deported it will mean death.

In The Sure Thing the innocent victim is a man, but the story is almost identical. Bradley Douglas is accused of being a Communist by Congressman Jensen, who resents the fact that Douglas once called him an isolationist. Although the FBI has investigated Douglas thoroughly and has found no evidence of disloyalty or subversive activities, Jensen denounces him to the press as a Communist. The rest of the committee are angry at Jensen for naming a person about whom they have no evidence, but they feel that they must be loyal to their fellow committee member. The Senators are portrayed as unintelligent and vicious men who are interested only in getting reelected and in justifying themselves by means of their attacks on persons in the executive branch.

Merle Colby's novel, The Big Secret (cited in the chapter on the New Deal and war agencies), is another novel of the same general type as those by Deles and Miller, except that it is more poorly written and the liberal's life and career are not completely ruined. Senator Sontag J. Skimmerhoff is the head of the Senate Temporary Committee on Subversive Associations

and Disloyal Thoughts (SCAT). A. Harding Framm is a friend of Skimmerhoff and SCAT attempts to make life difficult for scientists, by preventing the free flow of basic scientific information. Merle Colby is much less subtle than Deiss and Miller in the use of obviously German names for his villains (with the implication, although never the statement, that they are probably Nazis at heart) and the use of names of prominent Republicans (such as that of Harding in the name of A. Harding Framm) as part of the names of other persons of evil intent. Skimmerhoff is never as dangerous a figure in The Big Secret as are the Senators in A Washington Story and The Sure Thing because Colby succumbs to the temptation of making Skimmerhoff and Framm into comic-opera figures; their evil machinations cannot be taken seriously. The intent of Colby, however, to defame the investigating committees, is quite as obvious as is that of Deiss and Miller.

Samuel Hopkins Adams's novel, Plunder,⁵² is another novel which describes the members of the Senate investigating committee as being either incredibly stupid or incredibly vicious. The central character of Plunder is Senator Strabo (a combination of Senators Long, Bilbo, and McCarthy, from the author's description). He is the father of Leonie, a pretty, idealistic girl who is in love with a young Army officer. A professor Fozer, who has invented a lead spray which he believes will protect persons from the effects of atomic radiation,

⁵² Samuel Hopkins Adams, Plunder (New York, 1948).

interests Strabo (who wishes to be a national hero) in his spray, which he calls tozerite.

Strabo becomes filled with the belief that the Communists dominate education because of a statement which his daughter makes:

"When are you going to take over, Dad?"

"Take over what?"

"Why, the White House. I'll bet you're figuring on it."

"Aw, say! Come off it, Lee!" suddenly he was like a flattered schoolboy. He almost blushed. It was rather touching.

"Why not? You're the type. Our Professor of Politics says so."

"More sense than I'd expect from a long hair."

"He made an equation of it. Ambition plus dollars minus conscience equals the Presidency."

"Why the goddam Communist!" he yelled. "You're well outa that stink hole. Whaddayah going to do now?"⁵³

In particular Strabo loses his vindictiveness against Sanderson, a professor who says that the United States is able to learn in science from Russia. The fact that, after the publicity which Strabo has given tozerite, Tozer discovers that his spray is ineffective, adds to Strabo's intention of lashing out at someone. He prevents Tozer from making his new discovery known, so that Tozer commits suicide rather than be responsible for the radiation deaths which the ineffectiveness of his spray will cause. Strabo then begins an investigation of Sanderson.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 59.

The testimony before the investigating committee is quoted below. The present writer felt that a comparison of the fictional testimony in Plunder (which is very similar in nature to that in The Sure Thing and A Washington Story) should be made with the testimony in a genuine investigation, and some notes from the hearings of an investigation before the Subcommittee on Internal Security follow the long quotation from Plunder.

Chairman Pyke: You are the head of the Chemistry Department at Castleton College, Professor?

The Witness: Yes, sir.

Chairman: Have you or your associates worked on the atomic bomb?

Witness: No, sir.

Chairman: In the interests of this or any other nation? Any other nation, I say, Professor Sanderson?

Witness: No, sir.

Chairman: Not Russia?

Witness: No, sir.

Chairman: Not a South American country which I will not name here?

Witness: No, sir.

Chairman (weightedly): Are you sure, Professor?

Witness: Atomic fission is foreign to my branch of science, Senator.

(The yellow Mergrove press headlined: "Scientist Grilled on Atom Aid to Enemies")

Chairman: Humph! You claim not to be a Communist, Professor?

Witness: I am a scientist, sir.

Chairman (cunningly): I suppose the two never go together.

Witness: I have given no special thought to the point.

Chairman: Did or did you not in 1948 endorse the views of (peering at his notes) this Russian fella, Whats-hisname? Looks like Lipsticksky. (Laughter)

Witness: His chemical theories, yes.

Chairman: Is or is not this Professor Lachkesky a Communist?

Witness: I do not know.

Chairman: You don't know! I thought Professors knew everything. (Laughter) And why don't you know, Professor?

...did you or did you not say that we have much to learn from Russia?

Witness: I may have, we have.

Chairman: That is still your belief?

Witness: It is (Boos from the Veterans Intact).

Chairman: And you are still spreading the doctrines of this notorious Red among the youth entrusted to your care?

Witness: His chemical theories, Senator. Science has no politics. (Hoots)

Chairman (witheringly): I know. That's what all you fellow-travellers claim. Will you state here under oath that your intention to abandon the teaching of this Luspupsky's staff?

Witness (patiently): Why should I? His propositions are as true today as then.

Chairman: Don't ask me why you should. Ask your heart. Ask your conscience.

(Headlines: "Pundit Confesses Advocacy of Red Creed")

...Are those your words

Witness: No, sir.

Chairman (formidably): Are you trying to deny them? On oath?

(Margrave Press sub-head: "Prof Seeks to Eat His Words")

Witness: They are Richard H. Tawney's words. I quoted them.

Chairman: Who's he? Another Bolshevik? (Laughter) Do you endorse this Tawney's words?

Witness: Unqualifiedly.

Chairman: Then I ask you on oath -- on oath, mind you -- who supports this godless propaganda?

Witness: I do not understand, Senator. To what propaganda do you refer?

Chairman: This Tawney. Do you know him?

Witness: No, sir. Not personally.

Chairman (accusingly): No evasion, witness. You know who he is?

Witness: Yes, sir.

Chairman: Tell this committee.

Witness: An English university professor -- Cambridge, I believe.

Chairman (triumphantly): Uh-huh! Another of your high-brows. Now, I ask you, witness, what fund pays you to undermine democracy in its cradle? Do you draw on a secret Communist account?

Witness (wearily but firmly): On no fund, secret or otherwise.

Chairman: We will pass that for the moment. Your

wife is a foreigner, I believe?

Witness: My wife, sir, is dead.

Chairman (briskly): Sorry to hear it, Professor. But you can't expect to shelter behind that. What was her name?

Witness: Kosciusko, sir.

Chairman: Uh-huh. Now we're getting it. I've heard that name before. (To a committee investigator): Look it up in our list of alien suspects. (To the witness) What was she? A Russian?

Witness: By ancestry, a Pole. Her great-grandfather, of whom you may have heard. . . .

Chairman: We're not interested in her great-grandfather. What we want to know is -- Wotzat? (Interrupts himself as a scrawled note is handed up from the press row. (Reads slowly) "And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell." (Suspiciously) Sounds like poetry. Was your great-grandfather's wife a -- I mean your wife's great-grandfather a poet?

Witness: No, sir; a patriot.

Chairman: That's what you claim. Since you've dragged your wife's family into this -- Huh?

A Committee member (in a stage whisper): For God's sake, can it! (Leans over to Chairman's ear, speaking urgently.)

Chairman (setto voce, but not so well modulated as to escape the edified reporters below): Huh? Fought in the Revolution. What Revolution? The Bolshevik?

Protesting Member (in an insistent mutter): Aide to Washington. Aide to Washington.

Chairman (virtuously): We don't need any of that kind of aid here in Washington.

Member (desperately): General Washington. Our Revolution.

Chairman: Don't believe it. Never heard of him. Oh, all right; all right! Have it your own way. (To witness) Never mind your late wife. She is not before this committee. No more of this irrelevant matter from you if you please. We will now come back to your radical classroom policies.⁵⁴

As may be seen from the quotation, the professor is portrayed as honest and open, a man who is attempting to tell the entire truth while the chairman is attempting to twist his words and to lead him into making statements incriminating to himself.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 126-131.

Also, the professor is blamed for not knowing whether or not a given scientist is a Communist. In actual fact the persons who were blamed by investigating committees for not knowing whether or not certain persons were Communists were persons concerned with politics whose business it was to know whether or not the persons to whom they spoke were Communists.

The hearings on N. Gregory Silvermaster which the present writer attended were in an entirely different tone from that which Adams describes in fiction. Moreover, Adams is incorrect in making his fictional hearing a public one since public hearings are only held after evidence has been gathered, and persons about whom there is no real evidence are not questioned in public hearings.

The hearing in which Silvermaster testified was held on April 16, 1953, before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate (Eighty-third Congress, first session). Silvermaster was interrogated by Chairman Jenner as well as Senator Welker and, for a short while, Senator Hendrickson; Silvermaster was represented by two lawyers, and before beginning the interrogation he was permitted to read a written statement for the record.

In his statement Silvermaster said that he had been subjected to personal harassment; that he is not and has never been a security risk; and that there have been constant attempts by persons (undefined) to injure him. When Silvermaster was

questioned as to whom he had conferred with in making his statement he said that he had conferred with his lawyers. Senator Jenner asked if he had conferred with the Communist Party and Silvermaster refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination. When he was asked if he had given American secret documents to a foreign power, Silvermaster again took refuge in the Fifth Amendment. Senator Jenner asked why, if his preliminary statement were correct, he took refuge in the Fifth Amendment on the question of passing on United States documents. Silvermaster said that he was under no obligation to incriminate himself. Senator Jenner reminded Mr. Silvermaster that it was Silvermaster in his preliminary statement who brought up the question of his own loyalty.

Questioned as to whether or not his partner had any photographic equipment Silvermaster once more claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. When asked if he were a Communist at the time of taking the oath of loyalty to the United States when he became a citizen, Silvermaster once more refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination. Questioned as to whether he had been or presently were active in an espionage group of a foreign power, Silvermaster pleaded the Fifth Amendment. Questioned as to the subject of his dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy, Silvermaster refused to give the title of the dissertation on grounds of self-incrimination.

Senators Jenner and Welker asked Silvermaster if he were a Communist during the time that he was teaching and whether

he helped to recruit other teachers to the Communist Party. Silvermaster refused to answer both questions. Eventually Senator Jenner became somewhat annoyed at Silvermaster's constant refuge in the Fifth Amendment and asked Silvermaster why, if he were the loyal citizen he claimed in his preliminary statement, he took constant refuge in the Fifth Amendment. Silvermaster replied that there was no relationship between loyalty and a refusal to incriminate himself.

Questioned as to whether he knew one named person after another, Silvermaster almost always refused to answer, claiming the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. He was questioned as to whether he ever went to the White House; he answered, yes. Asked whether he had ever met Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, he said that he could not remember. Silvermaster admitted having known Harry Dexter White, but when asked if he had ever discussed communism with White claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment once more.

Silvermaster also refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination questions on: whether he were at present a member of a courier and spy system in the United States; whether he were photographing top-secret government material and giving it to an enemy power; whether he presently owned or ever had any photographic equipment; whether Earl Browder had sought sanctuary in his home; and a great many more questions. Silvermaster refused to say whether or not he had ever met a man named William Stone until he was reminded that Stone had been his immediate superior in AEC. When one of the research

assistants read, at the request of the subcommittee, Silvermaster's statement which he made at the time that he was employed in the HEW that he was a loyal American and not a Communist, he refused to state whether or not his statement as made at that time were true.

For two hours, in a calm, judicial atmosphere, Silvermaster was questioned. Aside from occasional slight gasps from the audience at times when, for example, Silvermaster refused to say whether or not he were not a Soviet agent, there were no disturbances, no laughter, and no comments from the audience. Silvermaster was a thoroughly uncooperative witness, and the committee showed remarkable restraint and calmness in handling him. It was obvious that the background work of the committee had been carefully done, and that the Senators knew the background facts for the questions which they asked. The research assistants who sat in the background had ready a wealth of material for which the Senators had only to call in order to have it brought forth.

A person who has been a constant reader of the newspapers could not receive the impression which an actual witness to the investigation does receive. The account in The Washington Post on the day following Silvermaster's investigation was misleading, but not in the sense that Samuel Hopkins Adams's fictional newspaper account of the professor's testimony was misleading:

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who has repeatedly figured in Red spy ring charges, yesterday refused to say whether he is now active in Communist espionage.

Almost continually since 1948, the name of the former Government economist has been mentioned in congressional hearings.

Before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, Silvermaster reiterated, as he had five years ago, that he is a "loyal citizen" who has been "hounded without cause."

His statement that he is not now and never was "a security risk," when coupled with his refusal to say if he is presently engaged in espionage, drew the wrath of the investigators.

Chairman William R. Jenner (R-Ind.) told him that is "a direct contradiction."

"I see no contradiction in this," replied Silvermaster.

Sen. Herman Welker (R-Idaho) told him he was engaging in "contempt" of the investigators; Subcommittee Counsel Robert Morris called it "a conspiracy against this committee."

Silvermaster, 54, a Russian-born naturalized citizen, was the third of what may be a long list of repeat witnesses named in the 1948 House hearings on Communist infiltration of Government. Each of the three has again refused to testify on communism as the questions retreaded the same charges.

In probing deeper into the circumstances surrounding the employment record of the witnesses, the subcommittee says this information will show "a pattern of interconnection" between the alleged Communists and the way they got into Government. This has resulted in placing in the present record the names of many persons who were fellow employees or superiors of accused Communists, but who have not themselves been accused of Communist activity.

Silvermaster, a Government economist from 1935 to 1946, said in 1948, "I am not and never have been a spy or agent of any foreign government." He did not repeat that statement yesterday, but declined to answer all questions involving the passing of secret papers.

Elizabeth Bentley, former Communist underground courier, has testified that Silvermaster was the head of eight to 10 Communist agents, and used the basement of his Washington home to photograph Government documents.

One of the members of the Silvermaster group, Mrs. Bentley said, was William L. Ullman.

Silvermaster testified in 1948 that he was living at

Harvey Cedars, N.J., and he said yesterday he and Ullman are in the building business there now.

Morris stressed the location of Harvey Cedars, a small town on a strip of beach about 40 miles north of Atlantic City.

Silvermaster declined to say if he has been visited there by Soviet officials, or if he has any photographic equipment there.

His Government employment, ending in November, 1946, included service in the Resettlement Administration, Maritime Labor Board, Farm Security Administration, Board of Economic Warfare and War Assets Administration.

The subcommittee repeated testimony that Silvermaster had been "cleared" on security charges by the late P. Robert Patterson [sic], then Assistant Secretary of War, after Army counter-intelligence in 1942 reported charges that he was a Communist.

Silvermaster refused on ground of possible self-incrimination to say if he knew scores of former Government employees coming from Alger Hiss to Patterson.

Silvermaster refused

Under questioning, Silvermaster stated he had visited the White House on "about two occasions," to attend receptions. Asked to identify who was present, he said that was impossible for there were "literally hundreds and hundreds of people."⁵⁵

One must conclude that the novelists who have written fictional accounts of investigations have received their impressions from newspaper accounts, or have had a thesis to expound. The novelists are either naive or are deliberately misleading in their accounts, and more particularly in implying that the unfair investigations which they describe are not particular but are general and typical of all Senate investigations.

Altogether, when one examines the novels about the Senate and about the individual Senators, one sees that although a

⁵⁵ The Washington Post, April 17, 1953, p. 27.

great number of books have had Senators as their central characters, or have mentioned Senators, the function of the Senator remains unexplored in fiction. Many novels malign all Senators as corrupt, professional politicians; those which attempt to portray the idealistic Senator go so much to the other extreme that they are unconvincing. A straightforward account of a Senator's life and activities in a work of fiction would be of genuine service in teaching a large segment of the reading population something nearer the truth about their own Senate. Until the time that such a novel has appeared, the political scientists are failing to reach a wide group of citizens and to correct a number of misconceptions which have grown up in fiction about the Senate.

CHAPTER X

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Although the House of Representatives is represented in fiction much more meagerly than is the Senate, a number of novels have been written about members of the House. When one examines these novels an interesting pattern appears. In novels in which the central character is running for the House he is almost always idealistic; in a few novels an idealistic man is described as having been elected to the House. A number of idealistic men in the House or running for the House are almost corrupted; if their ideals are preserved, the preservation is almost inevitably caused by the efforts of the woman whom the Congressman or would-be Congressman loves. Several Congressmen who are described as having been relatively honest or idealistic when elected soon lose their integrity in the House. Very few members of the House are described as always having been evil or corrupt, but some are described simply as having been quite businesslike in their Congressional capacities.

The composite member of the House of Representatives, as one fits together the novels about Congressmen, appears to be a man who is idealistic and honest when running for office but who is soon corrupted once he is in office unless he is saved by the influence of a good woman. The member of the House who emerges from this fictional composite is a

man curiously weak in character, unable to maintain his so-called ideals in the face of any real opposition or challenge, a man who must be constantly bolstered by someone else in order not to succumb to the fleshpots. The composite picture as described above is definitely a composite rather than an average or a stereotype appearing in all of the novels. In other words, most of the novels whose authors write of the election campaign in which the hero conducts himself on a basis of honesty and integrity do not then describe the hero's ultimate corruption; most of the novels which describe narrow escape from corruption or the actual succumbing to temptation do not describe the campaign but begin shortly after the member is elected. Nevertheless, a person who has read a number of novels about members of the House of Representatives is almost certain to acquire, whether consciously or subconsciously, something of the composite picture sketched above.

1. The Idealistic Member of the House or Candidate

Three novels which describe the campaigns of idealistic would-be Congressmen are Judith Kelly's A Diplomatic Incident (discussed more fully in the chapter on the State Department and other executive departments), Walter Gilkyson's Tomorrow Never Comes¹ and David Stern's very popular Francis Goes to Washington.² A Diplomatic Incident is by

¹Walter Gilkyson, Tomorrow Never Comes (New York, 1933).

²David Stern, Francis Goes to Washington (New York, 1948).

far the most serious of the three novels mentioned above. It describes the Congressional campaign of young Gannett Wilson, a concert pianist of great talent who is a wounded veteran of World War II. Wilson has been selected by the machine of his party to run for the House because they feel that he is unused to politics and therefore is able to be controlled; moreover, as a war veteran he has a chance of winning. Shortly after the campaign begins, however, the political bosses discover that Gannett is both stronger and more honest than they had realized. Gannett is running from an idealistic motivation -- a wish to get a mandate from the people to strengthen the United Nations and to work for the prevention of future wars. When he makes political speeches to the effect that the prevention of future wars is up to the people themselves, however, and that the people must work and sacrifice if they want peace, the political advisers whom the party has sent to Gannett warn him that the people do not wish to be told that the attainment of their wishes will be costly; they only want to be told that they will get what they desire. Gannett will not compromise with himself and the party leaders begin to regret that they ever selected him.

After Gannett has been stirred by outside events to make a particularly explosive speech, one in which he gains a number of enemies among the electorate who want palliatives instead of cathartics, the party decides to remove his name from the ballot (even though this will probably mean losing the election for the party) and to withdraw all machine sup-

port from Gannett. Although Gannett knows that he has almost no chance of winning the election under these circumstances he is by this time determined to fight for what he believes and he continues to campaign as a third-party candidate asking for a write-in ticket.

Gannett is a person who wishes to use the position as a member of the House of Representatives to work for the good of the people in a positive manner. The heroes of neither of the other two books in this category are so definite in their positions. Martin Fressmont in Tomorrow Never Comes is running for Congress on the Democratic ticket and he strongly favors repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Shortly before the campaign begins he marries Catherine Carmichael, whose stepmother has long been active in Republican politics. Mrs. Carmichael had planned to run for Congress herself but as a sacrifice for her stepdaughter she decides not to do so. Mrs. Carmichael is a singularly unappreciated woman in Tomorrow Never Comes; neither her stepdaughter, her husband, or even her creator, Walter Gilkyson, appears to feel that she is anything more than an impediment in the happiness of Catherine and Martin.

After Mrs. Carmichael has been heartily rebuffed by her stepdaughter (whom she brought up from childhood) and when the Republican candidate dies, she decides, understandably, to run for the House after all. Her relatives by marriage feel that she is doing something unforgivable. Mrs. Carmichael continually strives to do what she thinks is right.

and though she is at times mistaken, she is honestly mistaken. As the campaign advances and Mrs. Carmichael, having taken the wrong side of a law case, loses not only the sympathy of her family but that of most of her friends, she becomes desperate. Without criminal intent she is instrumental in the death of an adverse witness in the law case in which she is involved, and someone else -- also on Mrs. Carmichael's side in the case -- hits Martin on the head. Although Martin is not badly injured Catherine feels that this is the last unforgivable act on the part of her stepmother and makes a virulent speech accusing her stepmother at a political meeting. Martin wins overwhelmingly in the election and Mr. Carmichael, at last feeling some sympathy for his broken wife, comforts her.

Gilkyson is singularly unspecific about the campaign issues (other than Prohibition) which lead to the bitterness of the campaign as he describes it. The law case has little to do with the campaign, and is actually an outside issue. The author gives no real reason for his espousing the cause of Martin against Mrs. Carmichael except that she should not have entered a campaign against her own son-in-law. Since, however, Gilkyson himself says that Mrs. Carmichael has long been active in politics while this is Martin's first essay into the field, it would appear from a disinterested viewpoint that actually it was Martin who should have withdrawn in favor of his mother-in-law if anyone should have abstained from the political campaign for family reasons.

Francis Goes to Washington is pure farce. The popular stories of Francis, the talking mule, have been made into motion pictures with great success, as well as being best-sellers in book form, and have undoubtedly had a wide influence.

Peter Stirling, the son of a late Senator, is campaigning for the House of Representatives against Ed Roland. Piquancy is added to the situation by the fact that both young men love Betsy Cupper. Peter is being run by the Mayor, Parker, almost without his consent -- he is not even consulted as to whether he will run; he is simply told that he will. Francis, the talking mule whom Peter had met in the Army, comes to manage Peter's campaign and Peter is worried for fear his electorate will believe that he is crazy. Francis, who has much more intelligence than Peter, explains some of the political facts of life to Peter and enlists the support of Betsy (who accepts the fact of a talking mule with no apparent qualms). Together Betsy and Francis manage Peter's campaign.

Francis tries to get Peter to formulate in his own mind his reasons for running for Congress, the difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties, and other matters about which Peter has never thought clearly. Francis explains the obvious fact that Mayor Parker is running Peter as a candidate in order not to injure other Democrats, because the indications are that this is a Republican year and that any Democrat who runs will probably be defeated. Parker

would therefore rather have Peter, who does not matter, run and lose than he would one of the professional politicians.

Francis organizes a press, radio, pamphlet and personal appearance campaign for Peter. When Roland calls Peter crazy because Peter listens to a mule, Francis tells Peter to answer that it is true that he must be crazy because if he were not he would not be trying to serve the public. When the Mayor tries to press upon Peter as campaign manager a George Z. Smith, who turns out to be a Communist, neither Peter nor Francis will have anything to do with Smith, and the latter determines to ruin Peter's campaign.

When Peter envies the excellent speeches which he feels his opponent, Roland, to be making, Francis points out that they sound good but actually say nothing. Francis gets Peter to analyze one of the speeches:

"Well. . . . Roland praised the State Department."

"And you approve of that?" asked the mule.

"I most definitely do."

"You like the way it's run?"

"Yes."

"I see," said the mule. He looked up at the ceiling. "You're positive of that?"

"I am."

"I presume you approve of choosing ambassadors and ministers because of the size of their campaign contributions?"

"No. . . . Not that."

"Or," said the mule, "maybe you like the fact that, in procuring men our State Department is more interested in their social positions than their ability?"

"Of course I don't like that."

Francis looked down at the floor. "Could it be, Pete, that you're just fascinated by the mountains of red tape which make our State Department one of the most cumbersome administrative antiquities still operating?"

"I have heard it isn't highly efficient," I admitted.

"But on the whole," said the mule, "you agree the State Department warrants the highest praise?"

" . . . Well. . . ." I said.

"From his speech it appears your worthy opponent doesn't know any more about international affairs than you do. Left to your own devices the two of you could slug it out in one of nature's first perfect vacuums."

In direct contrast to the advice in every other novel about political campaigns, Francis has Peter attack issues squarely, oppose rent control, explain why one cannot have higher wages and at the same time lower prices, oppose the seniority system in the Army, oppose governmental lending of public water power to private corporations or individuals, and come out for a number of other controversial measures. Also in direct contrast to the public behavior described in every other political novel, the people in Stern's novel like having matters explained to them; they understand why Peter makes no rash campaign promises, and they vote him into office overwhelmingly. The Communist attack is beaten before it can even be well begun.

One novel describes an honest Congressman who has already been elected to the House of Representatives. This novel, about a beautiful girl and a Congressman, is Maude Parker's Secret Envoy.⁴ Jeremiah Cross, who had refused to be machine-dominated but has won a seat in the House anyway,

³Ibid., pp. 146-148.

⁴Maude Parker, Secret Envoy (Indianapolis, 1930).

meets Diane More at a party in Washington. Beautiful Diane has lost most of the family fortune and her brother, Felix, is in need of money for medical care. Edgar Justinian offers Diane what appears to her to be a large amount of money if she will report matters which she hears at Washington parties to him. Justinian also wishes to meet certain people whom Diane knows. Diane and Jeremiah Cross soon fall in love, but Diane begins to realize that the information which she is giving Justinian is being used by him to make financial gains by speculation. Diane does not like the situation and wishes to quit, but Justinian will not allow her. Jeremiah realizes something of Diane's true activities and avoids her. Finally she deliberately refuses to make a financial coup at a time that Jeremiah knows that she is able to do in order to prove to Jeremiah that she has been an unwilling dupe of Justinian. Jeremiah then reveals to her that he has had a secret service man guarding her to keep her out of trouble, and they marry. This foolish, sentimental novel is no credit either to the honest Congressman whom the author purports to describe nor to the destitute Diane who only has a house in Georgetown and one maid so that she is unable to care for her brother properly without taking up social blackmail.

2. The Man Saved from Corruption

At least four novels describe the saving influence of a good woman on a man who has received too much temptation to be able to resist any longer alone. These novels are Holly

Elliot Seawell's anonymously presented Despotism and Democracy,⁵ John Temple Graves, Jr.'s The Shaft in the Sky,⁶ Janet Ayer Fairbank's The Lion's Den,⁷ and Berthe K. Mellett's Wife to Caesar.⁸ Of the four novels, Despotism and Democracy is both the oldest and the most elaborate from the standpoint of an attempt to explain the member of the House of Representatives as a type. The author describes the careers in Congress of Geoffrey Thorndyke (who was born to wealth and social position) and of Julian Crane (a poor and ambitious young man who strives for the material positions which Thorndyke has). The young men are friends, but although they had both been elected as persons of honesty and integrity, it is only Thorndyke who can afford to retain his honesty in Congress. Both young men are under the dominance of political bosses but Thorndyke refuses to compromise to the extent that Crane does. Crane, whose income is \$5,000 a year, has been hoping to support his wife and three children, enter society, and save approximately one third of his salary each year. (The novel, one must remind the

⁵Anonymous, Despotism and Democracy: A Study in Washington Society and Politics (New York, 1903).

⁶John Temple Graves, Jr., The Shaft in the Sky (New York, 1923).

⁷Janet Ayer Fairbank, The Lion's Den (Indianapolis, 1930).

⁸Berthe K. Mellett, Wife to Caesar: A Novel of Washington (New York, 1932).

reader, was published in 1903.) When he realizes that this hope is an impossibility he becomes discouraged and is talked relatively easily into betraying Senator Bicknell, who has supported him and has been kind to him.

"The American Government, which you think is so impeccable, is the most niggardly on the face of the globe. With untold wealth, it pays the men who conduct its affairs a miserable pittance -- a bare living. How can a man give his whole mind to great governmental and economic problems when nine out of ten public men owe more than they can pay?"⁹

Only Annette, Crane's wife, makes him see how dastardly it would be to betray the man who has befriended him. Crane, however, is not entirely convinced that he should admit the plot to Bicknell until the latter offers Crane a means by which Crane can make a great deal of money legitimately. Bicknell's generosity, combined with Annette's pleading, is too much for Crane and he confesses the whole plot to betray Bicknell to the latter. Bicknell forgives Crane partly because he realizes the great temptation under which the latter has been and partly because he admires Crane's wife. Bicknell then helps Crane to receive the nomination for the Senate from the state legislature and Crane says that he owes his entire success to his wife.

Had the author not tried to give a happy ending and a reward for virtue to the hero, here might have been a very powerful novel in its plea to remove some of the temptation to yield to dishonest enterprises from young Congressmen by

⁹Despotism and Democracy, supra, pp. 198-109.

providing them with a sufficient amount of money to support themselves and their families. As the novel stands, however, the character of Julian Crane appears a weak one and his actions are not really justified in the light of circumstances.

The Shaft in the Sky is the story of Gilchrist Sturtevant, who is running for the House of Representatives. He loves Alice Deering, who is an inveterate flirt; when he reprimands her once too often for flirting she angrily sends him away. Sturtevant goes on with his campaign but his heart is no longer in it. He makes good speeches, neither very conservative nor very radical in nature, and he also makes an extensive personal appearance tour. He loses the election by the radical vote and his losing the election in addition to his losing Alice is almost too much for him.

His friend, Hugh, tells Alice that Sturtevant is losing his ideals and letting others run him. Sturtevant is actually tired out; he is becoming disillusioned with the League, in which he had had great faith. Alice determines to win him back to her and to his old beliefs. She succeeds, and Sturtevant becomes willing to accept a place on the Industrial Commission, in regard to which he had helped to draft the Industrial Relations Act. White, the political boss in Sturtevant's district, is revealed as having been the person who actually defeated Sturtevant because Sturtevant had helped the workers at White's mines. White is also instrumental in keeping Sturtevant's nomination to the Industrial

Commission from being confirmed by the Senate for three consecutive times, so that the president is forced to send another name in the place of Sturtevant's. Nevertheless, Sturtevant is happy; he and Alice marry and attend the presidential convention.

The Shaft in the Sky never really arrives at any conclusions. It is an indecisive book which appears to say at the same time that persons elected by the people should have ideals and that if they have ideals they will not be elected. Graves's aim never becomes clear to the reader because it was not clear to the author.

Janet Ayer Fairbank's novel, The Lion's Den, is a novel about young Don Carson, who is sent to the House from Wisconsin on the Progressive ticket. He is in love with Irma Schultz, a pretty school-teacher who shares his political views and wishes to further the Progressive cause. Don discovers soon after his election, however, that he has deceived himself into believing that he will be of real use to the farmers who have elected him.

Don has a competent and knowledgeable secretary in Ellen Garry; she becomes alarmed when Don becomes interested in a Mrs. Miller, the wife of a Senator. Mrs. Miller invites Don to the White House receptions and other social functions which begin to take a greater and ever greater portion of his time.

When Irma comes to Washington to visit Don she realizes that he cares less for her than she once thought he did.

Don refuses to buy the land of one of the political leaders in his home district for a veterans' hospital because the price asked is too high, and he begins to lose his political backing at home. When Mrs. Miller refuses to divorce the Senator and marry Don because it would jeopardize her material and social security, Don realizes that the only person who has stood loyally by him, and whom he really loves, is Irma. Just as Don is about to lose the nomination, the political leader's schemes to make a fortune on the worthless land for the hospital are exposed. Don will marry Irma and return to Congress.

The Lion's Den is fairly well written but it is more about the physical and extraneous matters concerning Don Carson than it is about his political philosophy or his actions in Congress. Although Don fights to have one Progressive bill put through, he realizes shortly thereafter that it really means nothing and it is really only a sop thrown by some of the Congressional leaders to the Progressives.

There are some clever lines such as Don's thoughts after going to an expensive tailor for the first time:

Afterward he wondered that the man was content to be a mere tailor. With such a gift for making the payment of a large sum of money seem like nothing at all, he might reasonably have applied to become a member of the Reparations Committee.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the reader feels that the book leaves too much

¹⁰Fairbank, op. cit., p. 179.

unsaid and that it is over-glib in its approach.

Barthe Mellett's wife to Caesar concerns Representative Blount Marvel, a man who is at the time that the novel opens in 1913 a poor-but-honest man from a backward Southern state. His wife, Leda, is of an interestingly varied background; she has more intelligence and such more perception than he. Although she still loves Clune, whom she had known as a girl, she is very fond of Blount; when Clune comes back into her life she is for a long time loyal to Blount. Clune is wealthy and wants to help Leda and her husband monetarily; Leda wants Blount to be the torch-bearer of the lowly and she fears for him because she knows that while he is idealistic he also wants money. Eventually the thing which Leda fears comes to pass: through Clune, Blount meets wealthy men who aid him in getting into the Senate, where Blount compromises with his beliefs on Prohibition and women's suffrage. Only after near domestic tragedy in both households does Blount, partly through Leda, return somewhat to his earlier ideals.

Blount is described as a big, generous man, fond of his wife, but without any real understanding for people or any insight into their characters. He appears to be an ordinary man in middle life who happens to be a Congressman. wife to Caesar is not a very good novel, either from the viewpoint of a story or of a fictionalized presentation of the House of Representatives.

3. The Man Corrupted

Several novels concern rather idealistic young men in the House who are corrupted either by political machines or by the social life in Washington. One of the latter type of novel is Hubble-Bubble,¹¹ by Margaret Bell. Hubble-Bubble sounds like Wife to Caesar carried farther along the lines upon which the latter already proceeds. Paul Wentworth is a young member of the House of Representatives who becomes enamored of Washington life. His wife, Sylvia, has more intelligence than he, but Paul never quite realizes that he is the more stupid. He becomes involved in a social round in Washington and thinks that he has fallen in love with Madame Caroline Mojesco -- an experience which, as he discovers later, almost every man new to Washington undergoes. Caroline, however, before he realizes what is happening, has Paul invited to socially acceptable places where he meets European royalty -- some genuine and some not. Caroline tells him that his wife does not understand him, that he should have more publicity, that he must contribute large sums of money to various charities (of which her favorite charity is one), and that he must become better known socially. Sylvia becomes heartily sick of the constant social life so that Paul is left more and more at Caroline's mercy. When Caroline's husband, Boris, catches Paul kissing Caroline, almost immediately Boris and Caroline impertune

¹¹Margaret Bell, Hubble-Bubble (New York, 1927).

Paul to finance a scheme of Boris's to take oil from the Ural Mountains, Paul realizes that he has been duped. Paul's final disillusionment about Caroline comes when Caroline's ex-secretary, a friend of Sylvia, reveals that there are no oil fields where Boris claims.

Sylvia is highly disappointed in Paul, but she stays with him. "She supposed he'd go on bungling until he was actually ousted out of politics. Perhaps it was just as well."¹² Hubble-Bubble is filled with people whom one would not like to meet. Of them all, only Sylvia emerges with any dignity or character. Paul is a weakling and a philanderer, a man who should certainly not be trusted with the responsibility of representing a Congressional district in the federal government. Margaret Bell does not so much condemn him, however, or the people who were ill-advised enough to elect him, as she blames Caroline Mojesco for being the Other Woman; the author never seems to realize that for the Paul Wentworth as she has created him there will always be a Caroline Mojesco.

Three excellent books which concern members of the House of Representatives who allow themselves to be corrupted by power or by machine politics are Samuel G. Blythe's The Price of Place, Brand Whitlock's The 13th District, and T. S. Stripling's The Sound Wagon (all three of

¹²Ibid., p. 336.

which are cited and discussed at greater length in the chapter on boss politics). These three novels, in distinct contrast to most of the other novels mentioned above, attempt to present a realistic view of the Congressman, of the temptation with which he is faced, the struggle which he must undergo to maintain his position, and the constant fear that he will not be reelected.¹³ James Marsh, of The Price of Place, is a man who has a reputation for honesty of purpose

¹³A political-science study which concerns some of the same problems is: H. E. Wilson, Congress: Corruption and Compromise (New York, 1951). Wilson discusses a number of individual Congressmen, as well as Congress as a whole, and in the discussions of many of the men he shows the way in which they have compromised their original seeming integrity or have allowed themselves to be drawn into schemes which ruined them politically whether or not there were anything intrinsically wrong in the actions of the men. An earlier work which parallels to some extent the writing in some of the other novels cited above, such as Wife to Caesar, Bubble-Bubble, and novels of the same period is: Paul De Witt Hasbrouck, Party Government in the House of Representatives (New York, 1927). Some of the points which Hasbrouck mentions are also applicable to The Price of Place, The Sound Wagon, and The 13th District in such matters as the equation of the machine with the party; Hasbrouck particularly mentions one-man control of the House through the Speakership -- a problem with which most novels about the House are not concerned. More recent are Harvey Walker's The Legislative Process: Lawmaking in the United States (New York, 1948); and Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin, A Twentieth-Century Congress (New York, 1947). These two books are concerned with the wider view of Congress and of legislation. Walker's study covers legislation in a number of aspects outside of Congress, while A Twentieth-Century Congress concerns the problems of Congress, means of improvement and other points. Roland A. Young's This is Congress (New York, 1943) is another book somewhat of the same type as that by Kefauver and Levin, while Wallace McClure's International Executive Agreements: Democratic Procedure Under the Constitution of the United States (New York, 1941) mentions the role played by Congress in carrying out executive agreements through appropriations, the regulation of commerce, and by other means.

but it is a reputation which is largely undeserved. He is elected by the machine from the beginning, and though he has ideals and at times he attempts to carry them out, he is thwarted by his own actions in pursuit of material reward. He is "my Congressman" to the political boss who decides who shall get the jobs which Marsh has at his disposal for patronage. Marsh's wife, Molly, is enamored of social life in Washington and she struggles with the other wives of members of the House to see who shall receive with the Senators' wives, or who shall return the call of the Cabinet wife who has left a card at the joint party held by the wives of the Representatives. Marsh soon discovers that he is on insignificant committees and he allows himself to become involved in financial dealings of doubtful character. Molly discovers the stringent economy practiced in every-day life on the part of people in both the executive and legislative branches of government in Washington in order that they may give elaborate and expensive parties.

Eventually Marsh defies his boss, but it is only to come under the domination of another boss, and Marsh knows that he is caught for life when there is a threat to expose his financial dealings if he attempts to defy the machine.

The 13th District, by Brand Whitlock, is an almost equally good novel about a man somewhat of the same type as Marsh, although Garwood of Whitlock's novel is more knowing than Marsh and has more realization of what he is doing. Garwood has not Marsh's excuses, either, for he has

himself alone to blame for his actions. His wife is an idealistic girl who does not believe the stories about his political trickery until he himself admits to her that they are true. Garwood is elected to Congress with the help of the machine, and once in the House, he becomes -- as he had already started to be -- the complete politician. He is determined never to return home except for reelection.

Consequently he betrays the boss who had helped him first to be elected when he feels it is expedient for him to do so; as a result he is eventually exposed and completely defeated. His wife stays by him but she knows that he is a different man from the one she thought she had married.

The Sound Wagon concerns Henry Caridius, who is elected to the House on a reform ticket, but before he is even in office his campaign has been taken over by the machine, whose boss realizes that Caridius is going to win and consequently wants to back Caridius in order to be on the winning side. Caridius's election is the end of his reform. In Congress he does little to carry out the reform ticket, except to call attention to the fact that American military secrets are being sold abroad. This one action is his salvation, because during his next campaign it wins him the election and keeps him from prison after some of the machine underlings have kidnaped and killed a girl in order to raise money for Caridius's campaign. Caridius has nothing to do with the kidnaping, and is in fact horrified when he does learn of it partly because the girl is his mistress; but the

fact that he has become involved with criminal elements in the machine makes him liable to the kind of attack which he receives.

Frances Parkinson Keyes's novel, Also the Hills (discussed in the chapter on the federal employee) concerns in a minor role a Congressman, Horace Vaughan. Vaughan is never made a clear character in Mrs. Keyes's novel, but it is evident that she considers him completely evil. Vaughan is an isolationist member of the House, and he uses his franking privileges to send out isolationist and pro-German propaganda in the early days of World War II. However, Vaughan is not technically guilty of sending out the propaganda because he has his secretary, Jenness Farnham, do the actual work of mailing the propaganda for him. Jenness has been seduced by Vaughan and loves him; she believes him when he tells her that she has nothing about which to worry and that he will protect her. When the scheme is exposed, however, Vaughan leaves Jenness to take the blame and she knows that he has always been merely using her. Vaughan is the kind of person who would be evil in no matter what capacity he operated, and it is only the happenstance of Mrs. Keyes's having made him a Congressman which makes him leave a not-so-good impression of the House of Representatives.

4. The House of Representatives as a Business-like Enterprise

Emilie Loring's sentimental and romantic novel, Love Came Laughing By,¹⁴ concerns a young man, Vance Tyler, who

¹⁴ Emilie Loring, Love Came Laughing By (Boston, 1949).

happens to be a member of the House of Representatives. Wendy meets Vance as she is coming home from South America and gives him a mysterious paper which she is supposed to deliver to the State Department. Vance, who has been in Congress for some time, is not sure where the State Department is (from the evidence, although not the statement, of the novel) but he undertakes to deliver the paper for Wendy even though he is caught in what he considers a compromising situation with her by his political enemy, Russ. Congress as such is never mentioned except in so far as Vance attempts to keep his political skirts clean in order to be reelected. After various misunderstandings between the lovers and the revelation that Russ is more a villain than a mere political enemy of Vance, the lovers are to marry. Love Came Laughing By is a standard Emilie Loring romance in which one of the characters happens to be in Congress. For the impression upon the reader which Emilie Loring's Congressman makes, it is devoutly to be hoped that for her future heroes she will choose bootleggers, Communists, or other groups who are better able to stand the treatment that she gives them than is a Congressman who should, after all, be allowed to retain some shred of dignity.

Ben Ames Williams's The Great Accident¹⁵ concerns a member of the House of Representatives only incidentally. Congressman Ames Carrell from Hardiston supports certain

¹⁵ Ben Ames Williams, The Great Accident (New York, 1920).

political candidates in order to maintain control of the local political situation. In order to prevent Winthrop Chase from winning the election from Caretall's man as mayor, Caretall -- partly as a joke and partly because he feels that responsibility may sober Winthrop Chase's son -- passes the word among the machine to have young Chase elected mayor. Young Chase wins. At first he is resentful, but Amos helps him in the job and young Chase becomes a good mayor. Caretall is pictured as being a man of homespun type who is genuinely interested in the welfare of the people as a whole, popular with those people, and kindly disposed, despite his being a genuine professional politician. Caretall becomes a true friend to young Chase and allows him to clean up the town when he wishes to do so. Williams terms Caretall "heroic and splendid"¹⁶ but the novel is actually about the regeneration of young Chase from a drunkard and ne'er-do-well to a person of character through his being the responsibility of the mayership.

Pick Your Victim,¹⁷ by Pat McGerr, is a good mystery story which deals with the efforts of a group of lobbyists, the Society to Uplift Domestic Service (SUDS), to put a bill through the House of Representatives for appropriating one hundred million dollars to build and maintain a United States Domestic Academy. SUDS lines up twelve Congressmen

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 403.

¹⁷ Pat McGerr, Pick Your Victim (New York, 1947).

to speak for five to ten minutes each for the bill (with the SUDS staff writing the speeches).

"You expect it to go through?"

"Don't you?" I parried.

"Hell no," he answered. "I may have made some uncomplimentary remarks about congressmen but I don't think they're crazy."

"It sounds like a screwy idea to me too," I admitted, "but after it went through the committee with all that fanfare, I decided that I must be the one out of step."

"Sure the bill went through the committee," said Biggers. "No reason why it shouldn't. Hal's got some good friends up on the Hill, and they're glad to do him a favor so long as it costs them nothing and the tax payers very little. They don't mind going on record in favor of better wives and mothers. That's a popular vote-getting sentiment. The academy is fine to talk about and write about, but when it comes to building it, that's a different story."¹⁸

As Biggers predicts, the bill loses, 290-44, in the House. Pick Your Victim throws an interesting sidelight on the politics of lobbying and the use which Congress may sometimes make of lobbyists as revealed in the quotation above. Congress is not flattered by Pat McGerr, but, on the other hand, she gives Congress as a body credit for a good deal of native intelligence and shrewdness. The politician may be paramount in Miss McGerr's Congressmen, but the good common sense and the readiness to seize upon an opportunity when it presents itself is there too.

On the whole, the House of Representatives fares better

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 104-105.

than many other branches of the government in novels. Most of the novels which reveal a crusading spirit in dealing with the House exhibit that spirit of crusade and reform not so much toward the Congressman as a type but toward abuses of which he is the victim. The Congressmen who are corrupted by dishonest financial dealings or dazzled by Washington society are victims rather than victors. They do not seize the fleshpots but they are denied the pleasures they see persons all around them enjoying. If members of the House are paid too little in salaries, these authors seem to say, they will succumb to temptation. In order to have better men willing to run for the House, or in order to maintain the integrity of those men elected, it is necessary to aid them to resist temptation by providing a sufficient monetary reward in order that it will not be necessary for Congressmen to seek outside remuneration. As for the idealistic, would-be members of the House of Representatives who are not elected, it is the fault of the electorate, not of the men, that they are not allowed to sit in Congress. When people are not willing to hear and accept the truth, when they would rather believe campaign promises which have no hope of fulfillment than to be told that there is work which must be performed and sacrifices which must be made, it is the people who suffer for their own actions. They have only themselves to blame when they elect the glib politician and receive excuses instead of performance on his part.

It is interesting to note, however, that although the

Congressman is treated with relative kindness by authors of novels, no one has written of the body of the House of Representatives, the genuine legislative functions or -- beyond some mentions of legislative committees -- of the structure of the House in the carrying out of its business. As is true in the novels about most branches of the government, authors have selected the phase of the House in which there is the most human interest -- the men themselves.

It is this kind of omission which compels the disinterested observer to wonder whether American political scientists have done their professional job adequately. The performance of the House of Representatives is complex, professional, traditional, and intricate. In the non-fiction side, many first-class American minds have explored the operation of our legislative processes. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in as dramatic and important a medium of communication as the novel, both popular and serious, not one of the American novelists examined in the present study has taken up the drama of the operation of the House. Surely a part of the blame for this situation must rest with the textbooks on American government which these writers studied in high school and college, and with the teachers who taught them. In the course of time political scientists may realize that their profession can serve the public best by reaching the American people through all media of communication. Only in this way can the political scientists be assured that the optimum has been performed in telling Americans about

their own government, thus increasing the general level of the comprehension of government by adult citizens and assuring their loyalty to our national institutions in difficult decades.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS BRANCHES AND ORGANS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the fictional world of the federal government as drawn by the novelists mentioned in this study, some of the major branches, organs and functions of the government are almost entirely overlooked. The Cabinet, for example, is mentioned in only two novels other than those which deal chiefly with some other branch of government, and even when it is mentioned that reference is brief. The system of the judiciary is also alluded to only in passing, and the federal aspects of the armed services are glossed over. Only one novel concerns the governmental functions of civil defense. The reason for such summary treatment of some major aspects of the federal government is not far to seek: there is little glamor, little human interest in most of the organs of the federal government which are not treated at length in the novels.

A few novels which are chiefly about newspaperman or correspondents in Washington and therefore have attached to them some of the traditional glamor of the newspaperman's life mention casually other aspects of the federal government; most of these novels about correspondents, however, attempt to add a double interest by having their newspapermen (or women) covering the Senate floor or the White House.

1. The Vice President and the Cabinet

Sinclair Lewis's novel, Gideon Planish,¹ and Franklin Coen's Vinegar Hill² contain brief references to the Cabinet. Gideon Planish, who is a college professor and has been offered the college presidency beginning in the next academic year, at a dinner meets the Chancellor General of Education of the United States and Secretary of Education and the Arts. Gideon, who wants to go back to college teaching, knows that his wife, Peony, will never allow him to do as he wishes; she is enamored of a life in which she can meet Cabinet members. Peony's view of the Cabinet is expressed as follows:

"Think, prob'ly just this morning the Chancellor was at a cabinet meeting, talking to the President and getting the lowdown on Russia and the second front and the Solomon Islands and everything -- just like in history! And me sitting here right next to him, with ten trillion women looking up and envying me! And you expect me to go back and give teas for all the old maids on the college faculty!"³

Franklin Coen's heroine has day-dreams about her father's being a member of the Cabinet; no details are given, but it is evident that her day-dreams are very romantic and that she feels that the life of a Cabinet member is full of exciting events.

¹Sinclair Lewis, Gideon Planish: A Novel (New York, 1943).

²Franklin Coen, Vinegar Hill (New York, 1950).

³Gideon Planish, supra, p. 437.

Lawrence Stallings's novel, Flumes (cited in the chapter on the federal employee) is much less complimentary to the Cabinet. The hero refers to the possibility of there being some day a Secretary of Education and concludes that such a secretaryship would be impossible because the Secretary of Education would not fit with the other stupid and uneducated men in the Cabinet.

John Francis Goldsmith, in President Randolph as I Knew Him (discussed in the chapter on political optimism in novels of the future) refers to the fact that President Randolph is able to appoint men of unusual ability to the Cabinet because he owes no political debts. The Cabinet in Gabriel Over the White House (discussed in the same chapter) mentions President Hammond's requesting the resignations of all of his Cabinet members after he has had an automobile accident which changes his personality from one of easy-going geniality to one of stern fanaticism. The president also creates a Department of Education. The Cabinet which is in effect dismissed had believed that the president's brain injury maddened him, and they had wished for him to be declared insane and for the vice president to assume office. The second Cabinet which Hammond appoints is composed of able men but men who are willing to follow Hammond's leadership in unorthodox governmental measures.

The Cabinet in Samuel Jesse Warshawsky's The Woman of Destiny (also discussed in the chapter on political optimism in novels of the future) is a Cabinet like the original

Cabinet in Gabriel Over the White House. When a woman vice president becomes president through the death of the male president, the Cabinet wishes to prevent her from functioning as president and to have the Secretary of State declared president. The Cabinet is outwitted by the woman's friends, however, who have her sworn in as president without the Cabinet's being aware of that fact.

Samuel Blythe's A Western Strick (cited in the chapter on boss politics) mentions the disillusionment with which the president is faced when he is not allowed to choose the men of ability whom he had wished for his Cabinet, but is forced by the political boss to put in mediocre men who will follow the boss, and who represent areas rather than achievements. Later, the Attorney General is forced to resign as a scapegoat for the party, but his resignation does not save the machine from defeat in the next election. Samuel Hopkins Adams's Revelry (discussed in the chapter on the president in the contemporary scene) also contains a situation in which there is an undistinguished and even corrupt Cabinet.

The vice president is mentioned as taking over the presidency in Revelry and in The Woman of Destiny (above). In Gore Vidal's The Season of Comfort (cited in the chapter on the State Department and other executive departments) there is one character who is a former vice president. He is, however, never discussed in his role as vice president, and the only reference made to his personal activities in the vice presidency is the fact that he disliked Coolidge.

2. The Federal Judiciary

It seems somewhat odd that with the relatively large number of popular pseudo-political-science studies as well as actual political-science reports⁴ which have appeared concerning the Supreme Court that no major novel has dealt with the Supreme Court as a central theme. President Randolph As I Knew Him has President Randolph appointing two relatively unknown men to the Supreme Court because he likes

⁴Several popular and prejudiced studies of the Supreme Court appeared during the period when there was such discussion of President Roosevelt's court-packing plan, and when some groups felt that the Supreme Court was obstructing the will of the people as expressed in the person of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. One of the studies of this latter character is a book which was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union. It is by Louis P. Goldberg and Eleanor Levenson and called The Lawless Judges (New York, 1935). Goldberg and Levenson said in effect that the ability of the court to declare laws unconstitutional must be eliminated. A more moderate study is Dean Alfange's The Supreme Court and the National Will (Garden City, 1937), which was written, as the author explains in a note, after the Supreme Court began to oppose Roosevelt's policies but before the proposal of the court-packing scheme. Alfange's conclusion is that the Supreme Court generally does not allow the federal government to act where there is no specific constitutional authority for the federal government's so acting, or where the states are able to act. Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen's The Nine Old Men (Garden City, 1937) concludes that the Constitution is what the judges say that it is. David Lawrence (editor of United States News & World Report), in an early work, The Other Side of Government (Washington, 1929) praises the lack of partisanship in the Supreme Court and mentions a number of instances in which members of the Supreme Court who were in different political parties voted together on specific issues. In his book, Nine Honest Men (New York, 1936), Lawrence defends the Supreme Court even more strongly and takes the opposite side of the argument from Goldberg and Levenson. In Nine Honest Men Lawrence contends that politicians are trying to make the opinions of the Court into political footballs and the objects of partisan politics and class conflicts.

their short and simple, well-reasoned verdicts. Frederick Palmer, in So a Leader Came (discussed in the chapter on political optimism in novels of the future) describes the hero as dismissing the members of the Supreme Court (who disagree with his making himself the effectual dictator of the United States) except for one Justice who agrees with the hero's methods. According to Palmer, the Justice who agrees with the hero's reforms has long been disliked and envied by his colleagues because of his clear reasoning, his admixture of humanity with justice, and his philosophy which have made him world-renowned.

A Chief Justice is mentioned as attending a dinner with Chuck Crawford, the presidential candidate in John Des Passes's novel, Hushier One (discussed in the chapter on the presidency as an office). The character of the Justice and the functions of the Supreme Court, however, are not discussed.

A character in Robert Herrick's Sometime (discussed in the chapter on political optimism in novels of the future) mentions the Supreme Court with some disgust and says that the Supreme Court interpreted the Constitution out of all recognition. Huey Long, in his book, My First Days in the White House (discussed in the same chapter as Sometime) mentions the approval with which the Supreme Court regards his Share the wealth scheme when it is brought before the Court in a test case. In Philip Dru (also discussed in the same chapter) the author has the hero completely reform the

Judicial system, incorporating the entire municipal, federal and state systems into one judiciary in which the total number of judges is reduced because the functions are also reduced. Philip Dru does not allow his judges to pass on the constitutionality of laws in his new Constitution.

Leslie Ford's The Sound of Footsteps⁵ concerns Justices in the federal District of Columbia Court, one of whom murders another because the second judge has discovered that the other is involved in breaking the Prohibition law by aiding bootleggers. Justice Frazier, who is murdered, is depicted as a fine old man who wishes to clean up Washington and can not quite believe that his old friend and colleague is guilty of defying the Volstead Act even when he has the evidence. Justice Radstock had been almost equally reluctant to murder his friend, but had felt it necessary.

Altogether the judiciary system does not appear to have been highly thought of by the novelists since most of those authors who have written of the Supreme Court or other branches of the judiciary in fiction have been interested in reforming the system. Even in the novels long before the time of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his Supreme Court controversy a number of the novelists have favored removing explicitly from the judiciary the power to declare legislation unconstitutional and have advocated the limiting of judicial power to one of declaring the rights as between two litigants.

⁵Leslie Ford, The Sound of Footsteps (Garden City, 1931).

3. The Armed Services and Civil Defense

George Putnam's novel, Duration,⁶ has as its central character a Pentagon army officer working in Washington during World War II. The novel is chiefly concerned with the officer's love life and the fact that he is worried about his missing son, however; there is practically nothing about Army administration. Richard Powell's All Over But the Shooting (discussed in the chapter on federal detection and espionage facilities) describes some Army officers as working in the Pentagon, including the hero, Andy Blake, except for a mention of the necessity for more secretaries, however, there is almost nothing about the administration of armed services affairs on the federal level in the novel.

Walter Karig's novel, Zetz! (cited in the chapter on the New Deal and war agencies) and Pat Frank's Mr. Adam (cited in the same chapter) concern in part the confusion and red tape which the authors allege to abound in the federal administration of the armed services. In both novels a vital problem faces the country, but the various offices are so busy vying with one another to keep anyone from getting ahead of them that they miss the real point of the effort involved. In one novel the war is over before anyone utilizes the hero's lethal force; in the other the one fertile man left in the world becomes sterilized before the Army, or other agencies concerned, use him either for refertilization or for experimentation to find the cause of the sterilization of the other men of the world.

⁶George Palmer Putnam, Duration (Garden City, 1943).

The Murder of the U.S.A., by Will Jenkins (discussed in the chapter on political pessimism in novels of the future) has a somewhat more sanguine outlook than do most of the novels about the armed services. In Jenkins's novel the various military units are each made independently responsible in the disaster situation of an undeclared war on the United States. The burrows (as the independent units are called) cooperate in defending the United States and in determining who is the enemy that has launched the unprovoked attack; the burrows then proceed to win the war without real central direction and without there being any actual federal government, in the present sense of the word, extant.

Judith Merrill's somewhat tendentious, left-wing novel, Shadow on the Hearth,⁷ concerns Civil Defense in its federal application. The novel is supposed to take place after an atomic war begins in which a number of bombs fall on the United States. The unsympathetic attitudes on the part of the persons who are supposed to be in charge of civil defense, their callousness in not providing proper care for persons who have been exposed to radiation, and their pretense that all is well — a pretense which leads to danger for persons who have been exposed — are described with some skill. The novel is a "woman's story" which portrays sanguine, stupidity and evil intent on the part of the persons who are supposed to be contributing to the safety of the United States

⁷Judith Merrill, Shadow on the Hearth (Garden City, 1950).

by carrying out civil defense.

4. Newspapermen and Correspondents

Richard Starnes's Another Mug for the Bier and Leonard Ross's Adventure in Washington (both discussed in the chapter on the Senate) concerns correspondents who cover the Senate. In Adventure in Washington Jeffry helps out a Senator friend by sending in false stories to his newspaper, while in Another Mug for the Bier the correspondent helps to solve a murder which involves the bribery of one of a Senator's secretaries.

Sanna Bugbee's novel, Peggy Covers Washington,⁸ and William E. Wilson's Crescent City⁹ are both about correspondents who cover the White House. Peggy Covers Washington would be interesting reading for a twelve-year-old girl, but this is the extent of its literary merit. The novel is principally about the career of Peggy as a newspaperwoman, her going to the White House receptions and teas, the conferences with the First Lady and similar assignments. Crescent City is a novel, rather in the Thomas Wolfe tradition, about the memories of a White House correspondent who is on the train going home for his father's funeral. Some few of Stephen's reminiscences touch upon the operation of the federal government but his memories are chiefly about his

⁸Sanna Bugbee, Peggy Covers Washington (New York, 1937).

⁹William E. Wilson, Crescent City (New York, 1947).

youth in Crescent City.

As a whole, neither the judiciary, the Cabinet, nor the armed services have been well covered in novels about the federal government. Most of the novels which mention the Cabinet describe it as being innocuous or as containing men of second-rate caliber; in some of the novels the Cabinet attempts to interfere with the policies of the president. The judiciary is mentioned chiefly as obstructing the will of the people by declaring legislation as unconstitutional; in novels of reform this prerogative is usually taken away from the judiciary. The armed services are generally described as confused and without system; in novels in which the armed services are not described as being inefficient, the administration of the armed services is usually ignored and the novel concentrates upon the personal life of some individual in a service. The partial coverage and the lack of any clear description of either of the three organs or branches mentioned is perhaps caused by the fact that there are no novels which deal specifically with these subjects; the information in this study is gleaned almost entirely from novels which concern other phases of the federal government and which pay only a modicum of attention to the branches described in this chapter.

CHAPTER XII

BOSS POLITICS IN STATE AND NATION

It is one of the traditions of American political life that politics is essentially manipulated by bosses. Non-fictional writers on practical politics, such as, for example, Frank Kent¹ in his Political Behavior and The Great Game of Politics, have helped to forward the idea of the importance of the political boss and the political machine. Although in the actual structure of the federal government there is no place for the boss or the machine, most political writers who present more than the purely theoretical side of politics do attribute to the machine and the boss some degree of importance. Not all writers, however, agree with Kent in placing such a relative degree of importance on these extra-legal institutions.²

¹Frank R. Kent: Political Behavior: The Heretofore Unwritten Laws, Customs and Principles of Politics as Practiced in the United States (New York, 1926); and The Great Game of Politics: An Effort to Present the Elementary Human Facts About Politics, Politicians, and Political Machines, Candidates and Their Ways, for the Benefit of the Average Citizen (Garden City, 1933).

²One of the earlier political studies which discusses bosses and machine politics as being prevalent in the United States is M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Frederick Clarke, trans. (New York, 1902), 2 vols. In his second volume Ostrogorski discusses the evils of the convention system, the Tweed Ring and Tammany Hall, and the means by which they control the conventions because of insufficient representation. Ostrogorski also discusses

Most writers of the American novel dealing with boss politics and the machines appear to agree with Kent in attributing a large degree of power to the boss. In most novels the

the use of propaganda and bribery on the part of the machines. Another of the earlier works which devotes extensive discussion to bosses and machines is James Bryce, The American Commonwealth; Vol. II: The Party System -- Public Opinion -- Illustrations and Reflections -- Social Institutions (new ed., New York, 1920); originally published in 1893), 2 vols. Particularly discussing bosses and machines are Bryce's chap. lx, "The Machine," chap. lxi, "What the Machine Has to Do," chap. lxii, "How the Machine Works," chap. lxiii, "Kings and Bosses," chap. lxiv, "Local Extension of Kings and Bosses," chap. lxv, "Spoils," chap. lxvi, "Elections and their Machinery," chap. lxvii, "Corruption," and chap. lxviii, "The War Against Bossdom," pp. 82-175. For more personal viewpoints on bosses, by two writers who encountered machines, see Robert M. La Follette, La Follette's Autobiography, cited in the chapter, "The Federal Government in the Historical Novel," of this study, especially pp. 176-224, and The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1931), complete in one volume. Steffens's early muckraking stories were part of the original means of calling the attention of the public to the bosses and the machines. Other political-science works which discuss bosses, most of which discussions agree in general tenor both with each other and with the novels on the subject are: Hugh A. Bone, American Politics and the Party System (1st ed., New York, 1940), especially pp. 444-472; Marshall Edward Dimock and Gladyl Ogden Dimock, American Government in Action (New York, 1946), especially pp. 222-263, chiefly on party structure, propaganda, human nature, and other aspects of the party necessary to machine rule; Harold P. Gosnell, Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States (Washington, 1942), which approaches the boss question indirectly; Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, The American Party System: An Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States (3d ed., New York, 1940), especially pp. 170-184; Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics (New York, 1938), especially pp. 414-485; and the standard textbook by Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Introduction to American Government (New York, 1951), which has no actual section on bosses but discusses public opinion and pressure groups as well as party organization and finance, topics which in turn bear upon the functioning of machine politics, although, on p. 196, the authors are careful to distinguish party machinery from political machines.

boss and the machine are villains; in some, while the boss is the villain, he is also the chief character; in others the hero is fighting the machine; in some cases the hero attempts to use the machine or to allow it to exist, and is corrupted by it. In a few cases the boss is the political personage who runs for office himself, although in most cases the boss is shown to operate behind the scenes, being content to hold the power while letting the glory go to those whom he controls.

Most of the novelists appear to feel that the machine is a bad thing, and that bosses are by their nature corrupt; a few novelists modify this picture and show the boss as no worse than any other man. In these latter novels, the machine is usually pictured simply as a business, run in much the same manner as any other business, and on much the same terms.

1. The Boss and the Machine as a Whole

Several novels treat of the boss and his machine more or less independently of any political personage or event around which the story might evolve. One of the earliest of these novels -- which generally are concerned with the federal government only laterally in that all politics in some sense affects the federal government -- is Alfred Henry Lewis's The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York.³ Lewis is an excellent

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Alfred Henry Lewis, The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York (New York, 1903).

writer and the book is extremely well done. Chiefly the story is that of the narrator, an ex-chief of Tammany Hall, the place which was once almost the epitome of corruption in machine politics. The narrator had been a very poor immigrant boy who was forced into politics by the ward heelers at a very youthful age. Through intrigue he rises and attempts to take over the labor movement. His downfall comes through the fact that his daughter, Blossom, whom he had attempted to shield from knowledge of his activities, comes upon ugly cartoons of her father as a political boss with the captions: ". . . the Boss of Tammany, in the day of the machine, is the whole government and the source of it. . ."⁴ Blossom's delicate nature is shocked by the fact that her father is hated, and she gradually goes into a decline and dies. When Blossom dies the Boss is broken and his power finally fades out, partly through the efforts of other men who take over, and partly through his own lassitude. The picture of the boss, as it is built up in The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York is that of a very human person who has a normal desire to rise in the world, but who has not the normal advantages in so doing, and therefore makes use of those which are at hand. In a sense Lewis's is a terrifying picture because it implies that the boss and the machine are always present and it is only a question of who will control them. The man who manages to hold others under him is the

⁴Ibid., p. 383.

boss until, as in some groups of animals, a stronger man shall depose him.

Another fairly early novel of the machine, but one in which there is even less which is applicable to the federal government than in The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York, is Rebellion,⁵ by Joseph Patterson. The villain of Rebellion is Jim Conner, a petty ward heeler who handles some money in the wards at primaries and elections. His duties appear to consist chiefly of attending picnics, funerals, and bowling matches or other similar social events at which a political representative is necessary or politic. Some mention is made of Lincoln Steffens's bringing these evil conditions to light in his muckraking articles. Conner, however, is a villain not so much because of his political activities, in this novel, but because he is a drunkard who will not give his wife a divorce. The novel is so much concerned with proving the thesis that some divorces are justifiable that it fails generally both as a novel and as a purveyor of a political picture

Arthur Train's Tassels on Her Boots⁶ concerns Tammany and Boss Tweed, perhaps the most famous boss of Tammany, in that Kathleen O'Carroll is being forced by one of Tweed's men to marry him in order to save her stepfather from political disgrace and financial ruin. Barrington Carter, who has been ruined financially by Tweed and who loves Kathleen, takes a

⁵Joseph Medill Patterson, Rebellion (Chicago, 1911).

⁶Arthur Train, Tassels on Her Boots (Cleveland, 1944).

job in a law firm where he manages to get evidence against Tweed which can ruin him. Tweed is interested in preventing Grant's reelection as President, and Barry is determined not to give up the papers in order to save the United States from the corruption of Tweed's influence. After many vicissitudes Kathleen and Barry are free to marry and the United States is saved. Train's is a highly romanticized novel in which the boss, Tweed, and his men appear to be more interested in ruining men within their organization, such as Kathleen's stepfather, or using politics to force a marriage, or in financial coups, than they are in political control. The true boss, in real life, seems to be most interested in the sheer power of political control, with the other issues being secondary. One cannot feel, therefore, that Tassels on Her Boots presents a very accurate picture of either the Tweed Ring or of boss control in general.

M. R. Werner's Tammany Hall⁷ discusses several of the bosses of Tammany at some length, including Tweed, of whom Werner presents a much more business-like view.

Winston Churchill's Coniston⁸ is somewhat in the tradition of Lewis's The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York, in that the boss of Coniston, Jethro Bass, is presented as a human being who is part of a system which may be bad although he is certainly not wholly bad himself. A quotation from

⁷M. R. Werner, Tammany Hall (Garden City, 1926). For the section on Tweed, see pp. 104-275.

⁸Winston Churchill, Coniston (London, 1912).

James Russell Lowell at the beginning of the novel sets its theme.

"We have been compelled to see what was weak in democracy as well as what was strong. We have been obscurely to recognize that things do not go of themselves, and that popular government is not in itself a panacea, is no better than any other form except as the virtue and wisdom of the people make it so, and that when men undertake to do their own kingship, they enter upon the dangers and responsibilities as well as the privileges of the function. Above all it looks as if we were on the way to be persuaded that no government can be carried on by declamation."⁹

Jethro, who feels somewhat as if he is filling a vacuum in politics, has been early disappointed in love by Cynthia, who had believed not in the boss system of politics but in good government and who, therefore, would not marry him. Her daughter, Cynthia, is orphaned and Jethro rears her. Senators, Congressmen and other presumable representatives of the people's will, come to Jethro to get their real orders. As young Cynthia grows up she idealizes Jethro and believes that he sends people to political office because he is the instrument chosen to do so by the people, chosen for his greatness, wisdom, and goodness.

Sutton, whom Jethro had put in Congress, refuses to oblige Jethro on the matter of a postmastership for an old soldier who deserves it, and Jethro through a ruse and the use of Cynthia's charm gets the postmastership for the old man directly through President Grant.

After Cynthia falls in love with Bob Worthington, whose

⁹Ibid., n.p.

father is a political enemy of Jethro's, although he does not wish to reform but merely to take over the leadership of the machine) and goes away to be educated, she begins to acquire some sophistication and is horrified to see what her beloved "Uncle" Jethro really is. When Jethro honestly confesses to her, however, she realizes that she still loves him but she cannot allow him to support her any longer. Worthington, who is opposed to the match between Cynthia and Bob, tries to get Cynthia fired from her job of school-teaching, but Jethro forces Worthington to agree to the marriage before he will consent to the passage of a bill allowing Worthington control of state power.

Coniston tries to show the boss honestly, not as an ogre but as a human being in a bad system -- a human being who sometimes does evil himself, who condones corruption, and who manipulates politics in order to have power, but a human being nonetheless. The Boss Tweed of Train's Tassels on Her Boots, by contrast, is pictured as being so evil that he loses the attributes of humanity and becomes merely an unbelievable painted devil. His actions are not predictable, based on self-advancement alone, but are capricious because they are dictated by evil and the desire to hurt.

James L. Ford's Hot Corn Ike¹⁰ is another novel about the boss which attempts objectively to present facts. It shows neither the horror of the boss that Train does, nor is it

¹⁰James L. Ford, Hot Corn Ike (New York, 1923).

quite so sympathetic to the boss as is Coniston, which latter novel, if anything, makes the boss a little too individual and not enough of a type. Hot Corn Ike reads almost like an unslanted newspaper recitation of the facts without adornment.

Ford's novel takes place chiefly on lower New York's East Side during a hotly contested presidential campaign. Hot Corn Ike is a vendor of ears of hot corn on the streets of New York where he has, while selling his corn, been a valuable political propagandist as well. Suddenly, he is told that he must move off the streets, and angrily he requests Senator Grogan to "fix" the order. One of the secrets of the Senator's success has been Hot Corn Ike, and another, the fact that he is able to get a great many labor tickets entitling the holders to jobs. Grogan and others have not yet been clear in their own minds whether they were to support the governor of the state (who has bolted his own party over a disagreement about the party nominee and platform at the convention) or the convention nominee who is running for reelection. Previous to this time the governor has been boss in the state. Grogan is attempting to get a reapportionment of votes which would affect the election. A representative of the president goes to Grogan's bar in New York to see him and attempt to persuade him to back the president. Grogan, however, is angry because he has been unable to get presidential help in holding the party during the fall previous. The Senator is powerful enough to swing the votes in his pivotal district if he can restore Hot Corn Ike to the streets, but the

ordinance against Ike as a vendor is still in effect.

At this point, the president himself comes to see Grogan, and Grogan says he will support the president if he can give some jobs to good men. The president promises him patronage and tells him that it is to both their interests to get rid of the proposed reforms of the governor which are not popular on the East Side. The president says that, in any case, reform is just graft in another form, and that if the reform goes through, the Senator will be on the outside of the graft instead of on the inside as previously. The Senator says that he must have Ike back in order to win, and the president promises to restore Ike to his familiar haunts.

Grogan follows the strategy of giving little money away early in the campaign, and of holding most of it until the end, when it is most effective. With Ike's help Grogan swings the pivotal district in favor of the president, and this victory is one of the deciding factors in the election.

Ford's evident purpose is to demonstrate how important the minor persons in a political machine can be, and by what small means an election may be won or lost. Unfortunately, although Hot Corn Ike attempts to present the facts coldly and without any editorial bias, the book is so poorly written and so difficult to read that it is doubtful if it has had as widespread a reading as it would otherwise warrant. The portrayal presented is one to chill the blood, and all the more so because the author is not obviously espousing reform or undertaking a crusade of any kind. "This," he seems to

say, "is the way things are. I am not commenting; I am simply showing them to you."

Frederick Hazlitt Brennan in God Got One Vote¹¹ tells the story of Patrick Van Hoos, who enters politics in the 1896 election, working hard for Bryan. Next, he favors reform under Theodore Roosevelt. Eventually he becomes a city boss, and controls the Senator. The Senator is forced into a filibuster by a Ku Klux Klan meeting, and the Klan situation becomes serious with mob violence arising and the Klan attempting to control the state. Pat actually opposes the Klan and its tactics of so-called "reform," but most citizens believe that his opposition is not genuine but merely a phase of his boss strategy. Under its own terrorism, however, the Klan collapses and Pat emerges once more as undisputed boss.

When the issue of repeal of prohibition arises, Pat is against repeal but his Senator accepts a "loan" from the opposition and comes out in favor of repeal. Says Pat, after blaming himself for trying to "make a Senator out of a skunk":

" . . . you're a United States Senator. Think of that. Just think of it. A United States Senator. What the hell you been doing in Washington these five years? Drawin' your pay and runnin' in debt lickin' the tails of them foreign pot-en-tates, ain't you? Easin' your buttocks on them soft leather chairs in the Senate. You -- you --"¹²

The scandals within the Democratic Party tear Pat's machine

¹¹ Frederick Hazlitt Brennan, God Got One Vote (New York, 1927).

¹² Ibid., pp. 375-376.

apart but he is relatively happy because he sees that the people are awake enough to vote the Senator, Allen, out of office after the revelations of his dishonesty. At the end of the novel, Pat is at least partly reformed, and he is shown never to have been really evil but only somewhat misled.

God Got One Vote is fairly good as a revelation of the mechanics of the machine operations, but its presentation of the boss is somewhat over-sentimentalized. Brennan is evidently trying to follow the example of Churchill and Lewis in showing the boss as being a person not entirely evil. Like the bosses of Coniston and The Boss and How He Came to Rule New York, Pat Van Hoos has a beautiful young daughter (the daughter in Coniston being Bass's foster-daughter Cynthia) who helps lead him at least partly to the point where the loss of his leadership of the machine is of less importance than the daughter's happiness. In Lewis's book this knowledge comes too late to save the daughter, she having already died of a broken heart, but it comes nonetheless.

Josiah Madden, the political boss in Elizabeth Kaup's novel, Seed of the Puritan,¹³ is the result of another attempt to present the boss impartially. Seed of the Puritan succeeds better than most of the novels of this type, though it never arrives at any definite conclusions. The career of Madden as a local boss somewhat parallels that of Franklin D.

¹³ Elizabeth Dewing Kaup, Seed of the Puritan (New York, 1944).

Roosevelt, in the novel. Madden does a great deal of speculation and thinking about the role of Roosevelt both in regard to the nation and in regard to the Democratic Party. Says the author, in voicing Madden's thoughts: "The President was allegedly a Democrat and as near to being a national boss as anyone could come. Josiah was loyal to the boss."¹⁴ Elizabeth Kaup and her fictional creation, Josiah Madden, both appear to admire Roosevelt greatly, but hardly for the conventional reasons; they admire Roosevelt because he was an efficient political boss. There is an excellent, though all too brief, description of the 1940 third-term presidential convention at Chicago in which Madden ruminates that Roosevelt has done much for the Party, and has gained the support of the local bosses for a third, and possibly a fourth, term.

Josiah is used to being treated with respect by Congressmen, particularly Democratic Congressmen since he wields much power over them. He does not mind allowing a few young radicals to go to the national Congress, but he refuses to allow them to be elected to the state capital, and over a young rising politician Josiah and his organization come to disagreement. The organization, also, believes that Josiah should become governor, and this Josiah has no intention of becoming because he feels that he can be more useful to the president as a political boss.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 300.

Josiah's revelation that he is not all-powerful comes when he realizes that although he has believed himself to be moulding public opinion during all the years that he has been a boss, sheer events in history are stronger in directing opinion than is any one man. When the husband of a woman Josiah had loved becomes mayor by defeating Josiah's candidate, Josiah knows that he is through, that the organization no longer wants him, and he voluntarily leaves his position as political boss.

Caesar Stagg,¹⁵ by George Cronyn, is the one really convincing picture of the machine boss as an almost entirely evil force. J(ulius) Caesar Stagg is the wealthy and powerful political boss who has, himself, run for political office at last and has defeated the incumbent, Senator Hiram Gooch, in the primaries. Stagg is now virtually Senator-elect. He is originally a poor and uncultured person who has become wealthy and has married Adelaide, of a socially prominent family. By making Adelaide's father mayor, Stagg has further assured his social position. Phoebe Flint, Stagg's secretary and mistress, is completely devoted to him, and Stagg, at fifty-five, greatly enjoys humbling those persons who had snubbed him earlier in life.

Boss Stagg comes to grief at last through his thoroughly disgusting personal life. He is singularly unknown personally among his constituents so that he feels able to go to

¹⁵George Cronyn, Caesar Stagg (New York, 1941).

the burlesque one night without fear of recognition and censure. At a party afterward with some of the burlesque girls, a young nineteen-year-old poet, Weston Detterling, becomes rather fond of a girl named Bernice. Stagg keeps Bernice after the others have left. When he tries to rape her she attempts to escape him, falls down an elevator shaft and is killed. Stagg, horrified and sobered somewhat, arranges with his chauffeur, Butch, to make the death appear as an automobile accident. Butch begins to demand more and more money.

Stagg hires Ada Mae Flammer as an assistant to Phoebe, but Stagg is soon so much intrigued by Ada that Phoebe becomes little more than a receptionist. Stagg plans how he can get rid of Phoebe comfortably. Ada, however, is not interested in Stagg, and feels sorry for Phoebe. She does not like the methods of the boss either in politics or in love, and, unknown to Phoebe, she plans to resign. Detterling comes upon some clues which make him connect Bernice's death with Stagg. Detterling becomes acquainted with Phoebe and they grow honestly to like each other.

Stagg determines to dismiss as director of the museum Anton Charbonier, the one real intellectual of the town, because he does not understand Charbonier's ideas of art and concludes that Charbonier is therefore a "Red." Adelaide, who has liked Anton platonically for years, is angry, and protests. When Stagg has her dog poisoned she realizes that she hates Stagg and really loves Anton.

At a rally Detterling is beaten up when he speaks out

against Stagg. Phoebe, who has been fired by Stagg, nurses him and together she and Detterling plot against Stagg. At a football game Detterling shoots Stagg and kills him, then commits suicide. Phoebe, who lives on and takes another job, daily passes Stagg's statue and spits upon it.

Caesar Stagg is a well-written novel about a man with a Caesar complex who tries to control everyone with whom he comes in contact. However, the author has not made some of his characters clear; they are not well enough delineated or motivated to have some of their actions become understandable in the light of the information which Cronyn has given. Stagg's reason for turning against Phoebe, for example, is not really explained, nor, in the light of Phoebe's former abject and absolute devotion to Stagg, is her turning against him. Detterling's character as revealed in the novel up to the time of the assassination does not appear to be of the type that would shoot Stagg; Phoebe as a stronger character and better planner would appear to be a much more probable person to commit the murder if she were once really disillusioned with Stagg. Moreover, Ada, who had seemed to be rather coldly admiring of Stagg, and not really deceived as to his true nature, is not depicted well enough to make her motives in leaving Stagg's employ because of his firing of Phoebe appear reasonable.

Nevertheless, from the political-science viewpoint, the novel is instructive in its portrayal of the type of man who becomes political boss, and it forms an interesting contrast

to the novels which show the boss as a man who is, perhaps, more the victim of his fate than the controller of it.

2. Political Candidates and the Machine

A novel which is outside the time span of this paper but which is nevertheless worth mentioning because it attempts to show a practical idealist in politics is The Honorable Peter Stirling, by Paul Leicester Ford.¹⁶ This novel has been popular over a great many years and has undoubtedly had a wide influence on popular thinking about machine politics and the reasons for such politics. Stirling, who is supposed, in the minds of some critics at least, to represent Grover Cleveland, is an honest and straightforward man in New York politics. He sacrifices his own desires for a quiet life in order to gain power because he believes that power is necessary in order to do good to the greatest number of people. Eventually, after many difficulties and after being falsely accused of the paternity of a young man, Stirling wins both political power and personal happiness. The book is well written and is important to anyone who attempts to study the history of the influence of the novel on the thinking of the American people.

Louis Zara's excellent novel, Some for the Glory,¹⁷ is

¹⁶ Paul Leicester Ford, The Honorable Peter Stirling and What People Thought of Him (New York, 1894).

¹⁷ Louis Zara, Some for the Glory (Indianapolis, 1937)

the story of the rise of the orphan boy, Michael Hawks, from apprentice tinsmith to nominee for president of the United States. In this respect it is a sort of case-book traversing both local and national politics, since the transit of the hero runs upward through municipal, state and national affairs. Zora writes like a man who has been exposed to the intellectual Left without being converted to the dogma of Communist interpretations; he has a clinical interest in the political process itself. As a very young man the hero, Michael, meets the political boss of the neighborhood, Big John Stacy, who takes an interest in Michael. Michael's first job with the machine is in passing the word as to how citizens shall vote on the election of an alderman in the precinct in which he works. In his early years Michael has a blind admiration for Stacy and follows him in whatever Stacy suggests. Michael falls in love with Elizabeth, a seamstress, and wishes to marry her. In the meantime, a precinct captain, Planck, has wanted Michael to marry his own daughter, and when Elizabeth and Michael marry Planck becomes Michael's enemy. Planck is to run for alderman and Michael, being a good machine politician, waits until Stacy gives the word before he decides whether to support Planck.

Here is John Stacy, he thought, known familiarly as Big John, boss and a boss of bosses. He is big with power and big with flesh. When he walks the floor trembles beneath him. Big John Stacy of the Fourth and the Fifth and the Eighth.¹⁸

¹⁸Ibid., p. 43.

Stacy decides to put Michael in Planck's place. He encourages Michael to stay away from wild, drinking parties, in order to keep a clean reputation. He helps Michael learn to speak well. When some evil slurs are cast about Planck and his daughter, however, Michael does not like this method of conducting a political campaign and, after winning the election, he gives a political plan of the orphanage superintendency to Planck. When Michael runs for alderman and loses the election, Stacy says that he is glad that Michael has learned, on a minor election, what defeat is like.

Zara discusses the election practices of voting the names of dead persons, since a person legally retained the right to vote until his name was removed from the poll books, and Zara gives credence to this practice. When Michael wins his next campaign and is elected alderman, Stacy is proud of him. Michael is almost too active as an alderman, however. He canvasses the neighborhood winning votes; but although he is persuaded not to close a bawdy house on the grounds that it is not politic and will lose him votes, as soon as he has won the election Michael does close the house. This action makes him a number of enemies, and even places Stacy temporarily against him.

Through a business dealing of some of his friends, in which he is not actually involved, Michael inadvertently makes some money. He refuses to take it personally but asks his friends to keep it and invest it for him in the next campaign. Stacy, who is still a little angry at Michael, by

a trick manages to get eleven precinct committeemen elected at a time that Michael had wanted eleven others. Michael and Stacy, however, remain on fairly affable terms. When Michael wants to run for the state senate Stacy backs him and Michael wins.

Zara emphasizes the fact that Michael never relaxes his political efforts even during the time that a political campaign is not actually in the offing. When Michael wishes to run for mayor he waits to see a misstep which the mayor incumbent may make in order that he may use it in his next campaign, and when the mayor raises the street-car fare one cent Michael has his campaign issue. Michael realizes the difficulties of a campaign with the mayor, Schermerhorn, however:

Michael nodded. "I am. The mayor's had a cloak of respectability," he said bitterly, "for twenty years. Everyone looks at his white hair and says 'Doesn't he look honest!' As for me, I'm one of Stacy's men; and to the old billygoats who support Schermerhorn that means I'm a pickpocket."

"Can't we fit you a cloak of that same respectability?" Jacob asked quietly.

Stevens shrugged, "It takes years to make a name like that."¹⁹

According to Zara the funds in any political campaign come from three groups: the candidates, job-holders, and friends of the party. Each candidate contributes at least ten per cent of his salary for one year in the office for which he is running. Job-holders contribute different percentages,

¹⁹Ibid., p. 327.

but none less than three per cent. There is also an assessment of clubs and organizations.

The United States Senator supports Schermerhorn because the latter has also been supporting him, but Michael at a speech rally tricks the Senator into such a position that he is forced to support Michael or repudiate the party, and Michael wins the mayorship. With Stacy's help Michael wins a second term also, but he is forced to give the post of deputy health commissioner to a butcher of a doctor.

Michael has a genuine pride in the city and tries to plan yearly outings for orphans, starts a campaign for public safety to collect license and inspection fees of elevators, boilers, and other instruments involving the public safety.

When the city treasurer is found to be short \$30,000, Michael demands that he repay it within five days or go before a grand jury. He repays it through political assessments, but becomes an enemy of Michael. When Michael wants to get rid of him he is persuaded against his better judgment to keep the man who is soon short once more in his books, this time for a much greater amount. The graft by the treasurer is one of the factors in Michael's losing the next election for mayor. Eventually he is delegate to a national convention where, after making a good speech, he gets several complimentary votes for the vice presidency. When he is offered the ministership to a Central American country he refuses it, but he still retains much patronage even though he is out of office. When Michael wishes the governorship Stacy gives the

information to the papers that he and Michael have broken, with the intention of getting votes for Michael from the anti-machine forces. Michael wins as governor and backs a second-termer for president in order that the way will be clear in four years for another candidate -- namely, himself.

However, when a Senator is killed from Michael's state and he wonders whom to appoint to fill out the term, Stacy asks for the office himself, and, although Michael knows that the appointment will draw criticism, he feels obliged to appoint Stacy. Michael begins to run into political opposition within his own party and among his former friends, but he is nevertheless determined to run for president. His supporters at the national convention chant:

"He's a businessman, but he's also a friend of labor. He's safe. He's sound. He's a liberal. But he's cautious. He's not a spoilsman. But he's practical. Win with Hawks!"²⁰

Until the ninth ballot, Hawks is in the running, but at that time his opponent pulls so far ahead that he knows it is hopeless and accepts the nomination for vice president. Despite vigorous campaigning Michael's party loses. At the next convention, however, Michael wins the nomination for president on the third ballot. He makes a speech of acceptance:

In his turn Michael Hawks was deeply moved by the honor that had been conferred upon him. To be summoned from his retirement in this fashion was somewhat of a

²⁰Ibid., p. 531.

surprise, but he stood ready to enter the lists for his party, his people and his country.²¹

Once more, however, Michael is destined for defeat. He loses the election, 255 to 276 electoral votes, although he has succeeded in getting eighteen million popular votes -- a very close popular margin. This latter fact encourages Michael to hope to run once more and to be elected: "The voice of the people, Elizabeth, the voice of the people -- It will be heard --"²²

Zara's descriptions of the national conventions are excellent, as is his demonstration of the mechanics of the workings of the machine. The necessity for the boss and the candidate constantly to be on the alert, never to relax into the comfortable security of having won a victory, is well shown. Zara makes it clear that the winning of each political election is merely the winning of a skirmish in the great war which goes on constantly -- the war to maintain control and to manipulate that power to the advantage of the boss and his candidates.

Brand Whitlock's The 13th District²³ is an earlier novel.

²¹Ibid., p. 538.

²²Ibid., p. 538.

²³Brand Whitlock, The 13th District: A Story of a Candidate (Indianapolis, 1902). Another early work which emphasizes the importance of the boss is a series of short stories by Booth Tarkington, originally published in 1901. This book is: Booth Tarkington, In the Arena: Stories of Political Life (New York, 1925).

which has an unusual and interesting change of pace from most of the novels about machine politics. In The 13th District Jerry Garwood is nominated for Congress as a machine candidate and, more particularly, the candidate of the boss, Jim Rankin. Rankin is a minor personage, but quite an influential one in the 13th District. Whitlock tells the story of Jerry's campaign, his speeches from trains, the generally sensible advice he gets from Rankin, and the machinations of Jerry's political enemy, Pusey. The latter runs a scandalous story against Jerry in the newspapers exposing some of his dishonest practices. Jerry's fiancée, Emily, does not believe the story and is reassured by Jerry's statement that it is a lie.

Rankin uses as a club to make the reluctant persons in the machine back Jerry the threat that if they do not back him their own candidates will also lose. Jerry mortgages his mother's home in order to have enough money for the campaign, and he does win the election.

During his first term, however, Rankin loses control of the local organization, and Jerry, who has now become a professional politician, does not want to return home. He is determined, therefore, to win, but he has many more odds against him now than he did in the first campaign. Besides the fact that Rankin has lost control, there is the fact that many people were angry about Jerry's winning the first time and are determined that it will not happen again; also, Pusey is stronger than ever; Jerry has not succeeded in paying off

the debts of his last campaign; and he has not answered the letters of his constituents nor voted as they wished him to do in Congress. At the convention to nominate the Congressional candidate Rankin is still working for Jerry, but the latter undervalues him now. Jerry wishes to woo Pusey, and finally does so by promising to Pusey the postmastership which he had previously promised to Rankin. Rankin senses that he has been betrayed, but he continues to work for Jerry. Jerry does win, though by a smaller margin than he had won the first election, and he appoints Pusey to the postmastership. Rankin is determined to have revenge, and in the next election Jerry is unable to hold the convention even locally to himself. Jerry uses Emily's money to buy votes (they having in the meantime married) and admits to her that the original story about his corruption was true. Even Rankin feels sorry for Jerry for his utter defeat, but is unable to do anything for him.

A novel in which the erstwhile boss is made to appear virtuous by contrast with the candidate who had started out to be the Great Commoner is quite unusual in plot. Rankin, the boss in Whitlock's novel, is a simple, relatively good man, whose politics are merely his business. Jerry, on the other hand, who hopes to be great, becomes so enamoured of politics that he would have become a demagogue had he been intelligent enough, or politic enough, to remain in office. The general picture in the American novel is that of the boss betraying the candidate whenever it is to his advantage; here

the reverse is true.

T. S. Stribling's The Sound Wagon²⁴ bears some superficial resemblances to The 13th District, particularly in the fact that the candidate for Congress appears to have become corrupted after having been elected to Congress; though in the case of Stribling's character, Henry Caridius, he is at least partly corrupted by the machine.

Caridius has run for Congress as an independent who is against graft, but the bosses begin to back him, partly because he is winning and they wish to be in on the winning side. After Caridius wins he is unable to go on with a ease which had been part of the reason for the campaign:

"Why isn't it proper for Mr. Caridius to press the prosecution?" she demanded.

"Because he has been elected to Congress," re-explained Meyerberg with a faint smile. "It isn't considered the thing for a Congressman to --"

"But he was elected on a reform ticket!"

"Well, that's another point," said Meyerberg. "When a reform movement elects one of its members to office, that ends it, there is nothing more for it to do . . . the reform has won."²⁵

Caridius, who had wanted to have as his secretary one of the young women who had helped him in the campaign, is told that he should pick a Miss Littenham, whose father, although he had opposed Caridius, is one of the backers of the bosses.

²⁴T. S. Stribling, The Sound Wagon (Garden City, 1935).

²⁵Ibid., p. 90.

Caridius explains the situation to Sol Meyerberg, his political helper, and asks his help.

"Of course, I could just go ahead and engage the person I wanted and owed a debt to, but you know I can't conscientiously impair my future as a representative of the people, free from machine control, merely to appoint some particular woman as my private secretary."

"Sure, I think you are right," encouraged the lawyer. "The fight was to seat a free congressman, not a free private secretary to a congressman."

"Listen, Sol," begged Caridius, "could you tell Connie for me"²⁶

The sacrifice of Connie is only the first of many of Caridius's compromises. He feels that his backers do not understand him. "They would not be able to see that all successful politics were concessions of minor ends for major ones."²⁷

Other politicians tell Caridius that it takes several terms in Congress properly to educate a Congressman, and that, as the process is expensive, the Congressman who lets himself be defeated is cheating the public. Therefore, Caridius is told, he must always keep reelection in mind. By such specious reasoning Caridius is led to the point that his reform is over before it starts and he is interested chiefly in retaining his position. Stribling seems to agree with Robert Michels's Iron Law of Oligarchy in that Michels states that the person who gains power is changed in character by

²⁶ Ibid., p. 144

²⁷ Ibid., p. 146.

the acquisition of that power. Before gaining position man has nothing to lose by being radical and by standing up for that in which he believes; but once he has gained place he must become cautious, for he stands in danger of losing that place.

Caridius goes through his term in office with the reform which he had espoused well buried. Miss Littenham proves an asset in his office and soon becomes his mistress. He is determined to divorce his wife and marry her after he wins the race for Senator (at which post he now aims). The men who conduct his campaign, however, do not realize his relations with Miss Littenham and kidnap her in order to get money for the election. Caridius is furious when he hears about the kidnaping and orders her immediate return, but it is too late; she has already been killed. The men who have been running Caridius's election are outright gangsters. Caridius wins the election but it is turned to ashes because of the death of Mary Littenham. Soon he too is implicated in Mary's death as an accessory. Meyerberg tries to use states' rights and the return of more power to the states as a weapon to save Caridius by arguing that the federal government should not take over kidnaping cases. Miss Littenham's father files charges against Caridius, not of kidnaping his daughter, but of using illegally large sums of money to influence the election and of intimidating the voters. As a result there is to be an investigation of Caridius before he is allowed to take his seat in the Senate. A friend of Caridius in the

House shows him a large number of identical letters and telegrams urging the Congressman to use his influence to oust Caridius.

"Senator Caridius, it is never the politician himself who commits an offense like this. It is his supporters who do it behind his back unbeknownst to their candidate. Now for instance the boodle they are going to accuse you of using in your election . . . you didn't use that boodle. You didn't have a thing in the world to do with it. Your henchmen, enthusiastic but misguided, may have spent something on your election, but you . . . no . . . not a cent. Now it is the same way with Loree and these telegrams. Senator Loree is an innocent man."²⁸

In the investigating committee it develops that Caridius was elected entirely by unpaid votes of people who were concerned with an issue he had made about the turning over to foreign governments of American military secrets. The committee refuses to consider the fact that Caridius was honestly elected, however, and says that the issue is only whether or not Caridius turned in the account of his expenses in the election. Although Caridius protests, and others confirm his protestations, that every Senator and Congressman elected is guilty of the same offense, the committee coldly refuses to consider Caridius's arguments, and he is expelled from the Senate. He is then brought before a federal court, ostensibly on charges of fraud in the election, but actually for complicity in Mary Littenham's death. After Meyerberg's compelling plea for him, Caridius is three times found innocent by the foreman of the jury — a finding which the judge

²⁸ Ibid., p. 374.

rejects each time. Finally the jury finds him guilty as charged and recommends a minimum sentence of one year and one day, which sentence is imposed. Caridius's wife then runs for Senator and is elected by an unprecedented majority -- an indication that the people of the state, at any rate, believe Caridius innocent. "Caridius knew that the only grip any man could have on the voters of America was a sentimental grip."²⁹

In political-science terms, Stribling presents a valuable instance of excessive interpretation. The short-range trends of the 1930's are extended into the future and the polarization of power between bankers at one extreme of respectability and gangsters at the other is assumed without the author's taking serious account of the sociological factor of political regrouping of power which might arise -- and did arise -- as the result of a major war.

The kind of cleverness which T. S. Stribling applies to each particular situation is well above the average of the American novelists presented in this study, but the composite effect is still distorted. One could almost draw the conclusion that to write good politics in a novel it is necessary not only to know politics, but history as well.

Without historical depth and perspective, the shrewd insights of The Sound Wagon have become dated even within the span of the author's lifetime. It must be supposed that if

²⁹Ibid., p. 402.

the novelist had paid as much attention to political scientists as to the picturesque details of current political news, he might have guarded himself against the error of excessive inference.

Henry Hart's novel, The Great One,³⁰ is the story of Bayard Stuart, who has been disappointed in love and who tries to make up for his disappointment by a success in politics. When he runs for mayor of Philadelphia, however, trouble arises over the fact that one man had offered the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee \$150,000 to be made Senator, and the Committee had turned him down because they suspected a trick. Though Stuart loses the election as mayor he is later elected to the Senate, but he feels that he really died at the time that he discovered that he could not, as he had believed, rise by himself but needed the help of the machine. He has been betrayed out of the election he might have won and he realizes that he cannot rise alone. Much later, as an old man, he thinks:

And when they betrayed me, defeated me, I was forced to realize there was something more powerful than myself, I determined to play the game as these others did, not as I thought it should be played but as it was played. Nobody will ever defeat me again, I said, and I believed it.³¹

Stuart becomes the spokesman for big business:

³⁰Henry Hart, The Great One: A Novel of American Life (New York, 1934).

³¹Ibid., p. 292.

Senator Stuart is reelected, the boss of the Republican Party, the last of the old guard, the tool of the interests. Senator Stuart says the new tariff will be higher, Senator Stuart, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the chairman of the National Committee, the man who isn't buried. Americanism will be the issue, says Senator Stuart, the stalwart Republican, the tool of the interests, the last of the old guard, Cynthia Belfield's young idealist.³²

As he has been betrayed, so Stuart betrays and swears the men who had hurt him. Henry Hart has, under other names, an excellent brief description of the rise of Philip Hanover (McKinley) through the force of Ogilvie Erpast (Mark Hanna); the attempt to shunt the reformer, Ethelburt Buzby (Theodore Roosevelt) aside by making him vice president, and the efforts of the machine to make Buzby believe that there was a genuine popular demand for him as vice president, so that he would accept the nomination.

As an interesting sidelight it is worth noticing that the man who was once known, as much as any one man has been, as the boss of the United States, Marcus (Mark) Alonzo Hanna, is mentioned only briefly in The Great One and, except for the parallels which are obvious between Hanna and McKinley on the one hand and Paxton and Rogers on the other, in Samuel Blythe's A Western Warwick (below), Hanna is not discussed at length in any other novels. A Western Warwick, as becomes evident in the description below, is not a fictionalized account of Hanna's support of McKinley, but Blythe does have his boss, Paxton, make use of some of the same devices as did

³²Ibid., p. 283.

Hanna, such as the conducting of the pre-convention campaign to get the nomination for president for his candidate, the assessments of banks and business corporations to gain campaign funds, and the enlistment of the support of the trusts and big business to gain the presidency for the candidate.

Stuart for a time helps control the state by getting his man secured the governorship (an innocent man whom Stuart can control) and by putting in as Senator an honest man, the attorney general, whom they wish to get rid of. The description of the way in which the Senate seat is auctioned off for \$200,000 to railroad interests is very revealing. Two purposes are accomplished: money is raised for the machine, and an annoyance is removed in the person of the former attorney general.

When Arkroyd (William Howard Taft) is opposed by Buzby, Stuart stands behind Arkroyd, "for it is better to lose an election than to lose control of the party".³³

Stuart is completely disillusioned as to his ideals of democratic government when, after the law is changed so that United States Senators are elected by the people rather than by the legislatures, although his past record is known, the people reelect Stuart to the Senate. Stuart never is able to attain greater heights, however, because when he finally dominates the Republican Party as he wishes, the Democrats

³³Ibid., p. 317.

are in national power. As an old man he helps to elect an "amiable poker player"³⁴ (Harding) to the presidency, and dies feeling that the whole performance has been most unsatisfactory.

Samuel G. Blythe wrote two excellent books which touch upon the power of the boss over the candidate, and the influence of the machine on the candidate. They are The Price of Place³⁵ and A Western Warwick,³⁶ and they are also discussed in this paper in the chapters on the House and the presidency. The Price of Place concerns the way in which the Republican political boss of Greenfield County in the State of Washington runs James Marsh for Congress. Marsh is somewhat resentful of being made to appear openly as the machine candidate, but McManus warns him that if Marsh does not cooperate he will be defeated; if he does cooperate he will be made Senator. Says McManus:

"A reformer is nothing but a man who can't get what he wants regularly and tries to get it irregularly, or in a new way. A reformer is a man who has a grievance and wants to plaster everybody else with that grievance."³⁷

McManus keeps reiterating that Marsh must "play the game"

³⁴Ibid., p. 320.

³⁵Samuel G. Blythe, The Price of Place (New York, 1913).

³⁶Samuel G. Blythe, A Western Warwick (New York, 1916).

³⁷The Price of Place, supra, p. 14.

and Marsh is not quite sure that he knows what the game is. Paxton, the senior Senator from Washington, who is a machine man too, also tells Marsh to "play the game," but he elucidates as McManus has not. Paxton says that playing the game consists of being with the organization on issues in which it is interested, and in voting with one's own majority or minority (depending on whether one's party is in a majority or minority on an issue). McManus sends men to fill the patronage positions of which Marsh is assigned control, another circumstance which Marsh somewhat resents. Later, after Marsh has been in office for some time, Paxton advises Marsh to break with McManus, the latter having outlived his usefulness, and to form a political alliance with him, Paxton. Over the minor issue of the election of district attorney, Marsh does break, and manages to keep from being ruined by McManus only by the accidental lack of foresight on the part of one of McManus's men who had not destroyed the ballots as he should have after filling in the tally sheets. Marsh is able to prove by the original ballots that McManus's man for district attorney was dishonestly elected.

Marsh, however, has merely changed bosses. Now it is Paxton under whose influence he is. It is Paxton who buys Marsh's way into the Senate, although Marsh tries not to see what is going on, and his one true friend in the Senate, Byron, tries to influence him to cut loose from Paxton before it is too late:

"I don't mean, Marsh, that most of the men in Congress are not honest, for they are. It has come to be

the fashion to laugh at Congress, to scoff at it, to jeer at it; but you know and I know, from our service here, that the aggregate wisdom of these men is great and that their real motives are patriotic. They are swept along by the cry of loyalty to party, and they have allowed a gang of men to control an organization that has been falsely held up to be the party itself instead of the creature of the party. They have been fed with the idea that the highest attribute of a legislator, under our party system of government, is to be regular, and instead of being voters they are voted."³⁸

Byron's is one of the best expositions in the novels of government on the position of the machine and the use that the machine makes of the candidates which it controls. Harold Gosnell in his book, Boss Platt and His New York Machine,³⁹ tends to bear out, in a political-science study, this theory of the machine's control of and manipulation of the party to the effect that the organization appears actually to be the party.

When Marsh does finally plan to be independent on a particular issue -- the House bill on corporation tax -- Paxton and his henchmen shackle Marsh by threatening to expose all of the dishonest financial dealings into which they have led Marsh, and their own use of funds to get Marsh into the Senate.

"It is quite true," he [Marsh] cried. "I am not a free man, not a real man. I am merely the tool of you and your associates, a violator of my oath of office, an ingrate to the people who have honoured me."⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 315.

³⁹Harold F. Gosnell, Boss Platt and His New York Machine; A Study of the Political Leadership of Thomas C. Platt, Theodore Roosevelt, and Others (Chicago, 1924).

⁴⁰The Price of Place, supra, p. 358.

The Price of Place is an interesting and well-written novel which exposes evil practices but does not moralize. Marsh is not a bad man, but a captured one. The description of the disintegration of his character under the influence of the machine and the bosses is particularly well done.

A Western Warwick is an equally good book. Paxton is himself the narrator of A Western Warwick and he calls himself "president maker -- the Man Behind the Chair -- Warwick -- Boss --".⁴¹ A Western Warwick is the story of how Paxton makes a United States president of one James Jason Rogers. Blythe describes the way in which Pliny, an organization member, suggests that Paxton take Rogers and develop him as a presidential candidate:

"He's the man. Right geographically. Old Soldier -- comrag [sic] -- comrag [sic] -- Ever since we was boys -- in all the secret orders -- never in a scandal -- plum steady as a party man -- good speaker -- not too old -- not too young -- just right -- in public life -- always for the old flag -- broad enough to get the Catholics -- narrow enough to hold the Protestants -- strong⁴² with union labor -- friend of the nigger -- Jim Rogers."

says Paxton in commenting on Pliny's choice: "there was nothing spectacular about him to detract from his availability in the eyes of the dull and dreary populace who must elect him."⁴³

⁴¹ A Western Warwick, supra, p.15.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁴³ Loc. cit.

Paxton is still not quite sure, however, and asks Pliny:

" . . . will Jim Rogers obey orders?"

"Obey orders?" and Pliny came as near to shouting as I ever heard him in all the years we were associated. "Why, Senator, he'll anticipate them."⁴⁴

Paxton interviews Rogers and finds that he is not essentially a dishonest man, but that he is a realist, and though he does not like the game of politics as it is played, will play it in order to win. Paxton raises money for the campaign from the people who wish to continue high tariffs and big trusts -- men who know that if a presidential candidate who opposes tariffs and trusts is elected they will stand to lose substantially more than the amount of their contributions.⁴⁵

Paxton begins the campaign for the presidency four years before he intends Rogers to run, and gets votes pledged by the offer of positions, the trading of votes, and other similar means. The struggle for supremacy in Rogers's party is not between Rogers and Paxton or between Rogers and big busi-

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

⁴⁵ For an interesting discussion of various means of raising money by the boss, see Austin F. Macdonald, American City Government and Administration, Fifth Edition (New York, 1951). Among the sources of revenue for the boss which Macdonald mentions are: the underworld, special privileges in public utilities, blackmail, the strict enforcement of petty laws; the letting of city contracts; assessment of real estate or the threat of increased assessment; tribute from office holders; and the purchase of land for resale to the city. This discussion is on pp. 334-337 of Macdonald's book. Blythe, Hart, Zera and Stribling, among the novelists, appear more or less to agree as to the methods of raising money used by bosses, and to agree with Macdonald in essence.

ness, but between big business and Paxton. Business believes that everything can be combined into one huge trust if Rogers is elected, but Paxton is determined to be the arbiter of the policy to be pursued by the administration, and will personally name the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General.

After Rogers is elected he is appalled to see that almost everyone who voted for him -- or so it seems to him -- wants a reward of some kind. He is not allowed to pick the persons he wants for office; Paxton dictates them to him. Rogers is increasingly disillusioned, particularly when he discovers that he is not considered as an individual but as a means to a political end.

When a scandal arises, Paxton sacrifices the Attorney General who is made to resign as a scapegoat for the good of the party. The Attorney General does not like to resign, but recognizes that he must as a political necessity.

At the next presidential election, the Democrats go against tradition, and select as the opposition to Rogers their strongest candidate, an unbossed man. Says Paxton in reminiscing:

If money could have elected Rogers, Rogers would have been put back unanimously. I discovered, too late, that money would not elect him.

Who was it -- Burke? -- who said you cannot indict a whole people. Well, it is William Henry Paxton who says you cannot buy a whole people. There is nothing academic about that statement. I know, because I tried.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ A Western Warwick, supra, p. 329.

As some of the above quotations indicate, A Western Warwick is written with understanding and humor; moreover, it is excellent from the political-science viewpoint because it contains more about the working-level mechanics of boss politics than almost any other novel except for Blythe's own other novel, The Price of Place.

3. The Demagogue as Boss

At least three quite good novels have been written about the Huey Long machine in Louisiana, under various fictional guises. Besides the novels there is also an amazing book by Huey Long himself, My First Days in the White House,⁴⁷ published posthumously, in which Long ignores the question of his machine and discusses the men whom he would appoint to the Cabinet and to other positions purely on the grounds of merit. Long's book is discussed more fully in this study in the chapter, "Political Optimism in Novels of the Future."

One of the novels which discusses the Long machine is Hamilton Basso's Sun in Capricorn,⁴⁸ a novel of Gilgo Glade, who is from the backwoods of a Southern state and who rises to political power at least partly by the magic of his personality. Many of his more simple followers believe that he

⁴⁷Huey Pierce Long, My First Days in the White House, (Harrisburg, 1935).

⁴⁸Hamilton Basso, Sun in Capricorn (New York, 1942).

is a second Savior.⁴⁹

Hazzard, a lawyer, is defiant of Slade but is nevertheless fascinated by him. He hears Gilgo on the radio:

"This is Gilgo Slade, good people of the radio audience -- this is the man you're going to send to the U.S. Senate. -- The name is Gilgo, folks, Gilgo Slade. Learn spell it for you. G I L G O --"⁵⁰

Gilgo almost has hypnotized the state, but eventually he is shot just before Hazzard himself plans to shoot Gilgo for trying to ruin Hazzard and Erin, the girl he loves, by exposing their illicit relationship.

Sun in Capricorn is better as a novel than it is as a revelation of the Long machine. Some of its best materials, from the political-science viewpoint, are the descriptions of

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the role of personality in leadership in politics see: J. P. Salter, The Pattern of Politics: The Folkways of a Democratic People (New York, 1940), chap. V, "Leadership," pp. 184-240. Salter examines the political personality of some of the political leaders such as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell L. Willkie. Salter discusses such matters as Roosevelt's smile and its influence on voters, the voices of political candidates, the use of immediate promises to bring votes, and other similar attributes of personality and leadership. Says Salter: "Roosevelt illustrates another characteristic often found in a leader. He usually says the things that are immediately pleasing and acceptable to the people. . . . A democratic leader cannot go too fast for the mass -- he must have fifty-one percent traveling along with him, or he will be turned out of power." (p. 202.) Some understanding and appreciation of these intangible factors of magnetism and personality is necessary in order to understand the rise of such men as Huey Long and Adolf Hitler. For a good political-science discussion of Huey Long, for contrast with the novels here, see V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, 1950), chap. 8, "Louisiana: The Seamy Side of Democracy," sec. I, "Why a Huey Long?", especially p. 157, et seq.

⁵⁰ Basso, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

the uses which Gilgo makes of mass hypnosis, such as having the Young Democrats sing

"Hail to thee, our
Leader, Slade
Hail to thee---ee"⁵¹

Gilgo also makes much use of slogans which are easy to repeat, and he uses the device of making his ideas appear familiar to the people by translating them into a medium which appears to be familiar, such as a quasi-religious mass meeting. As a demonstration of the use of personality in politics Sun in Capricorn is quite good, but except in its own special application to the demagogue it is not translatable in political-science terms.

A Lion is in the Streets,⁵² by Adria Locke Langley, and All the King's Men,⁵³ by Robert Penn Warren, are also novels of the Huey Long regime, and each confirms each other as well as Sun in Capricorn in the picture of Long's rise from the backwoods Southern boy to the demagogue who sees no limits in himself, and whose rise to power is stopped only by a bullet.

Of the three, Adria Locke Langley's novel is the best description of the character of Long -- Hank Martin -- from a

⁵¹Ibid., p. 230.

⁵²Adria Locke Langley, A Lion is in the Streets (New York, 1945).

⁵³Robert Penn Warren, All the King's Men (Bantam Books ed.,; New York, 1951; originally published in 1946).

rather sympathetic viewpoint. A Lion is in the Streets never condones Martin or his political methods, but it attempts to explain some of the actions on a basis of more than mere lust for power or perversity of character. Robert Penn Warren's novel is more in the same train of narration as Hamilton Basso's. Willie Stark, Warren's Long, is a demagogue who is almost always the politician, while the narrator is a newspaperman who admires Stark and wishes to ruin the man who got Stark killed. The narrator actively dislikes many of the things which Stark does, but cannot help nevertheless admiring him as a great man.

On the whole, novels about bosses and machine politics agree more closely with the political-science literature on the same subjects than do novels on almost any other phase of the federal government. As Austin F. Macdonald points out,⁵⁴ there is no typical boss, and perhaps the diversity of type is one of the reasons for the agreement, since almost anything which the novelist writes about the boss may be true of some particular boss. Perhaps, on the other hand, since the boss is more likely to be a local than a national phenomenon, it is easier for novelists to study the bosses and the manner in which the machines operate than to study carefully the more national phases of government. Or, as still a third explanation, most novels about the federal government appear to be novels of protest or exposure, per-

⁵⁴Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 330-332.

haps because evil practices are more exciting and more interesting to write about than are good works; since the boss is almost universally presented in political-science literature as an institution to be condemned, or at the best a kind of necessary evil, there is an accidental agreement between the novelist and the political scientist since the political scientist deploras the boss and the machine, and the novelist is determined to write a revelation of evils. For whatever reason, novels about the bosses may be read with profit by the political scientist to a much greater degree than can most other political novels.

Novels of the future, often the genre of "science fiction," are frequent occurrences in American literature. As is true of historical novels which touch upon the federal government, the number of the novels of the future is so large as to make it impossible to cover them all in a study which attempts to cover the broader picture of the federal government in the American novel. Most of the novels of the future which deal with the federal government in any really specific way are included here, as well as a fair sample of those novels only approaching the problem of the government by indirection, but no attempt has been made to include all such novels. The books which are covered here, however, may be taken as a general indication of the type of writing which is done about the future federal governments.¹

¹For an excellent bibliography of novels of the future, see: Everett F. Bleiler, ed., The Checklist of Fantastic Literature: A Bibliography of Fantasy, Weird, and Science Fiction Books Published in the English Language (Chicago, 1948). The Checklist lists books by author and title, and also includes a list of critical and historical reference works on science fiction novels. Two histories of science fiction and utopian literature which include a number of works about future governments, indexed, are: J. O. Bailey, Pilgrims Through Space and Time: Trends and Patterns in Scientific and Utopian Fiction (New York, 1947); and, Marjorie Hope Nicholson, Voyages to the Moon (New York, 1948).

If one takes the over-all picture of the future as presented in novels a fairly definite pattern does emerge: in none of these books is the federal government of the United States represented as remaining in its present form. In six of the novels here covered, the government is represented as being extensively reformed, in four cases by the granting of much greater power to the executive branch, in one by a very naive "woman's approach," and in one -- the only abortive attempt described -- by the setting up of an army of peace. Two novels show the United States as part of a world government. By far the greater number of novels, however, are much more pessimistic: In six novels the United States is involved in revolutions or in wars in which it is conquered (although the United States usually emerges victorious in the end after much bloodshed). In three novels outside forces help to destroy not only the government but civilization. In six novels the United States is pictured as being under a ruthless dictatorship from which the novel shows no immediate hope of escape. It is therefore evident that, either for the reason that disaster is more dramatic than is hope or peace, or for the reason that novelists in general genuinely believe that the federal government of the United States cannot survive as a democratic republic, the future as painted by these novelists is not a hopeful one.²

²A number of British books have also dealt with the future of the government of the United States, usually as part of a study of the future of the world. Three of these British

1. Wars in Which the United States is Conquered

Marion White's If We Should Fail³ is less a novel than a series of short stories each of which describes an incident of murder, atrocity or horror which, in actual fact, took place in some city of Europe, but which the author describes as having taken place in the United States after the Nazis have conquered the country. The story is one of chaos and destruction in which the federal government has simply disintegrated.

The Murder of the U.S.A.,⁴ Solution t-25,⁵ and General Manpower⁶ describe the conquering of the United States or portions of it by outside groups. The Murder of the U.S.A. describes an attack on the United States by some outside power -- no one knows whom. A number of important cities are blown up and in each burrow (underground unit) at the

books which make an interesting comparison to American books in the same field are: George Orwell, Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel (New York, 1949); Olaf Stapledon, Last and First Men: A Story of the Near and Far Future (London, 1930); and H. G. Wells, The Shape of Things to Come (New York, 1936). These books had American editions, and therefore probably exerted as great an influence on the thinking of the American readers as any of the American novels on the same subjects here discussed.

³Marion White, If We Should Fail (New York, 1942).

⁴Will F. Jenkins, The Murder of the U.S.A. (New York 1946).

⁵Theodore DuBois, Solution t-25 (New York, 1951).

⁶John S. Martin, General Manpower (New York, 1938).

time of attack the commander of it has full authority until the enemy shall have been repulsed. The story is one of a dispersed semi-military government which is to function in time of emergency

General Manpower is the story of an army for peace which goes amiss. Grestes Jones discovers a way in which to build supermen out of ordinary men, and he gradually forms a mercenary army which he attempts to use for peace. A portion of the army, however, under one of the leaders goes wild and tries to take over the United States. Most of California is captured from the base of the State of Man (in Lower California) before Henry Cabot Lodge (at that time in his second term as President of the United States) allows Jones to use his remaining part of the army to quell the invaders. Except for the fact that Lodge is described as having gradually rebuilt the economy of the United States by restoring faith in business, and as having carefully educated the unions to think of themselves as respectable American institutions and then as having them chartered by the federal government, very little is said about the actual federal government during the period of the State of Man and the manufacturing of supermen by General Manpower.

Solution t-25 is outside the time span of this paper but it indicates that the trend is in the same direction of having the United States conquered (this time by Russia) but successful in the end (this time through the mysterious solution t-25 which makes happy anyone to whom it is administered).

Again the government of the United States is portrayed, as in The Murder of the U.S.A. simply as having gone to pieces with the victory of the enemy, but with isolated groups who resist or pretend to collaborate until the United States is once more free.

The United States Under a Native Totalitarian Dictatorship

Six of the novels here considered describe the United States under a dictatorship which has arisen from within the United States, and one novel, The President Vanishes,⁷ shows the United States on the edge of being taken over by such a dictatorship, but narrowly averting it. The President Vanishes is a very odd and interesting pseudo documentary story, illustrated with photographs, of the vanishing of a president of the United States, on the brink of the United States' being involved in a revolutionary war in protest against a war with Japan. The influence of the 1932 Bonus March, the Ku Klux Klan, the Depression and meaninglessly wandering groups of people, as well as echoes of the Bolshevik revolution have all obviously had their effects on the anonymous author of The President Vanishes. Chick Moffat, formerly of Special Duty in the State Department and now on the White House Squad, is the hero of the novel. The country is on the edge of inner violence; Senators are meeting to decide the pros and cons of war; Communist soap-box orators protest that the government will force war on an unwilling populace; the

⁷Anonymous, The President Vanishes (New York, 1934)

mysterious "Grey Shirt Gang" whose cry is "Union" attack almost everyone. The publishers of the United States are the persons fostering war sentiment. The President, Stanley, cannot decide what should be done. The publishers have already persuaded the House to vote for war five to one; but, while only nine men control the Senate, the publishers have encountered more difficulty, in persuading them. Of the nine controlling Senators, three cannot be touched, one (Tilman) is considered sentimental and dangerous, and five are committed. Senator Allen, under the influence of the publishers, is attempting to line up the other Senators in favor of war.

Each of the warmongering groups of publishers and Senators thinks that the other is backing Lincoln Lee, the leader of the Grey Shirts, and each group is working at undermining the popularity which President Stanley had possessed on entering office. Lincoln Lee calls the president a weakling, and maintains that the United States should be governed only by "Americans." Lee is anti-Japanese, anti-British, anti-French, anti-Jewish, anti-Russian and anti-Catholic. At a tense moment the president is to make an important speech announcing his views on war, but he does not arrive. After everyone is thoroughly annoyed, believing this delay to be a cheap political trick, Mrs. Stanley announces that the president has been kidnaped. She had not resorted the kidnaping earlier to the Chief of the Secret Service, Vice President Holleson, or the Cabinet, because she did not know whom she could trust since the Cabinet had previously informed Stanley that he would be impeached if he did not come out in favor of war.

The Cabinet decides on a temporary distribution of duties, since Vice President Molleson refuses to take over as president, saying that there is no Constitutional absence of the president. The president's personal secretary, Brownell, is to handle routine executive matters and is to refer urgent matters to the Cabinet. Wardell, the Secretary of the Interior, is to be in charge of the search for the president, and from this job he can be removed only by a majority vote of the Cabinet. The Cabinet, not including Wardell, but including Mrs. Stanley and Brownell, is to meet daily during the emergency. The absence of the president is not to be considered a vacancy under the Constitution unless the Cabinet so votes. Conclusions at the Cabinet meetings are to be secret. The country is placed under martial law.

Vrooman, one of the warmongering publishers, attempts to induce Vice President Molleson to take over under the Constitutional phrase "inability to discharge" and each person, pacifist or warlike, suspects everyone else of the kidnaping for some end of his own. When the Vice President does attempt to take over, the Cabinet refuses to allow him to do so, and says that he is near treason in so suggesting. He is placed under arrest by the Secretary of War.

Eventually it develops that the president had vanished voluntarily, making it appear that he was kidnaped, in order to be free to think out his own plan, and to appeal to the people directly by radio. This latter he does, telling the people that he does not wish to protect special interests,

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loans or investments at the expense of the American people as a whole. He blames the Americans who have been injured by the Japanese for being in places in which they could get hurt, and says that they cannot expect the government of the United States to rescue them. He says that the question of the defense of the United States has not arisen, and he is therefore against war since he believes that the morality of it, under the circumstances, is questionable.

The President Vanishes is interesting for two reasons: the reflected light which it sheds upon the effect of the fears and events of the Depression on the federal government; and, the highly revolutionary method by which the government of the United States is taken over by the Cabinet in the time of the fictional emergency.

Thomas Hoyne's Intrigue on the Upper Level³ takes place at a much later date in the future. The world is divided into a quite confusing and never very clear Upper and Lower Level, between which there is little intercourse. George Ransler of the Upper Level has been dictator for twenty-three years, and the invisible government consists of the Intelligence Service. In the Lower Level, children are brought up from infancy in municipal institutions where all records of their parentage are obliterated, and the children are shifted frequently from one place to another so that there can be no

³ Thomas Temple Hoyne, Intrigue on the Upper Level: A Story of Crime, Love, Adventure and Revolt in 2050 A D (Chicago, 1934).

attempt to trace them. Later they are given a name by the Bureau of Nomenclature.

Men of the Lower Level frequently are jobless, waiting in long queues or sitting hopelessly wishing for some opportunity. They are fed and cared for like animals, and often, when they are given the opportunity, they behave like animals. In this portion of Intrigue on the Upper Level as in The President Vanishes, one can sense the echo of the Depression, the masses without jobs or hope, and the tremendous influence which this impression made on the writers. As machinery takes over more and more functions in this world of the future there are more and more unemployed and the masses find it impossible to get jobs. There is a severe and rigid restriction on the people of the Lower Level as to what they may do and what they may not. As revolution broods, the Chosen Clique on the Upper Level intrigues against the Master, George Ransler. The Master, although he is the dictator and has had absolute authority, is pictured as having the interests of the people more genuinely at heart than does the Chosen Clique. Against the intrigues of the Chosen Clique the Board of Strategy of the Master is helpless, and the Master is killed. In his will, however, he leaves a gold-making machine to the people so that everyone can be rich. For a while everyone is happy until rising prices cause riots and revolution, and a doctor, friend of the hero, Jimmy Manse, throws a switch which blows up the Lower Level. Jimmy and the doctor regret that the Master's ruthless humanity and foresight have not been allowed to continue.

The story is confused, the economics is nonexistent, and the author appears never to have decided whether the Master were his hero or his villain; but the description of government in depression, and the fears of revolution by the masses, with, perhaps, a benevolent dictatorship as the best form of government, is an interesting reflection of the Depression in the United States.

Heard's Doppelgangers⁹ is an almost equally confusing story of the future under two striving dictatorships. The Central Mole controls the underground group fighting against Alpha, the Bull, who dictates to the upper world. Doppelgangers is an excellent Dali-esque picture of anxiety and horror, the unnamed hero, a member of the Mole's group, going through numerous torturing operations to change his appearance so that he resembles Alpha and can take over Alpha's place. Eventually one of the Elevates (of which group the Mole had originally been one, but had got out of hand) allows the hero to remain as Alpha II after the Mole is destroyed, and there is liberty for all the people, liberty being described as "the power not to know what will happen."¹⁰ The Revolutions which had passed were: The First Revolution -- The Religious Revolution; The Second Revolution -- The Political Revolution; The Third Revolution -- The Economic Revolution; and finally, The Fourth Revolution -- The Psy-

⁹H. P. Heard, Doppelgangers: An Episode of the Fourth, The Psychological, Revolution, 1997 (New York, 1947).

¹⁰Ibid., p. 278.

ohological Revolution.

The chief thing which Heard appears to be saying is that the forces which strive against evil are often molded by their striving into another form of the very thing which they oppose. Thus the Hole becomes simply another Alpha working from another base. About the structure of the federal government, however, except for the fact that it is a dictatorship, Heard has nothing to say.

The Iron Heel¹¹ is an often overlooked classic by Jack London concerning the period between 1912 and 1932, and describing a revolution against the Oligarchy, or the Iron Heel as Ernest Everhard calls it. The Iron Heel is a social tyranny whose existence was hardly realized until it was already too well established to be easily dislodged. The novel is supposed to be the diary of Avis Everhard during the period of the First or Peasant Revolt which her husband, Ernest, had led. According to the "footnotes" of the supposed editor of the diary, the Second Revolt which occurred after Everhard's execution in 1933 was truly international in character, and its failure left the entire world under Oligarchic rule.

As London, through the medium of Avis Everhard, describes the original rise of the Iron Heel, it began with the fact that workmen had no compensation or insurance or other form of protection for injuries and time lost from work. London says that as late as 1912 the people of the United States

¹¹ Jack London, The Iron Heel (Norwood, 1907).

thought that they ran the government by ballots, while in reality it was run by political machines which the master capitalists soon took over. Everhard is one of the persons who favors taking management away from capital and this belief makes him a member of the socialist army for revolution all over the world. London says that both Calhoun and Lincoln have warned against the growing corporations and the massing of power into a few hands.

"Tell me," Ernest said, "if this is not true. You are compelled to form a new political party because the old parties are in the hands of the trusts. The chief obstacle to your Grange propaganda is the trusts. Behind every obstacle you encounter, every blow that smites you, every defeat that you receive, is the hands of the trusts. . . ."12

Everhard explains to the capitalists that even they are at the mercy of the trusts because the courts -- the creatures of the trusts -- have so interpreted the Constitution that anyone can be put into the militia against his will. Although labor feels that the law is aimed against it, in reality the law affects all citizens of the United States

Aristocrats and capitalists organize the Black Hundreds. In 1912 Everhard runs for Congress on the Socialist Party ticket and in the same year the Oligarchy gives the death thrust to the middle class. Bishop, a friend of Everhard, tries to hide his money from the Oligarchy and use it to help the poor, but he is caught and sent to the insane asylum. In 1912 the Democratic Party collapses, and only the Republicans and Socialists are left. When the Oligarchy wants war with

¹²Ibid., pp. 134-135.

Germany. Socialists in both countries refuse to cooperate; they strike, and the war has to be called off. Then, however, the Oligarchy drives Germany off the world market. The Oligarchy unites with and subsidizes the big unions to crush labor, and the United States takes first place in the world markets. The Granges are destroyed, and fighting groups of Socialists begin the revolution. The Socialist Congressmen are captured in the House itself, tried, found guilty of sedition and anarchy, and sentenced to death or life imprisonment. Everhard eventually escapes. The rest of the novel concerns the actual revolutionary tactics, guerrilla warfare, spy system, conversion of some Oligarchs, use of mercenaries by the Iron Heel and the odd and interesting names of some of the revolutionary groups (such as Frisco Reds, Valkyries, Berserkers, Widows of War, Danites, the Bleeding Hearts, and others).

The Iron Heel is the tangible manifestation of London's belief that the oppression of the workers and lack of provision for them, which he saw and deplored, could not be peacefully remedied, but must result in more oppression and eventual revolution in order to right those wrongs. As is true in many of the other novels discussed in this chapter, the author has no real faith in the working out of the democratic processes of the Constitution, nor in the people as a whole. London would seem to agree with Thomas Hobbes that all men are at war, and constantly at war, with each other in a state of nature. Since men, in London's eyes, are at war with each other, naturally London sees them as incapable of cooperating

with each other, and thus for any benefit they gain, any advance, they must pay the price of war.

Francis Stevens's The Heads of Cerberus¹³ is another pessimistic novel of the future of the United States. By the means of the strange dust of Cerberus four persons are transported to the year 2118 in Philadelphia. They find a city in which no one has names, only numbers, and everyone must wear identification discs. Penn has been made the god of the city. Policemen are called "Penn Service," and the City Hall has been made into a huge temple to Penn. The visitors through time are taken to the Court of Common Pleas, where they are given the merest mockery of a trial and are condemned to death -- to be thrown into the Pit of the Past at the bottom of which is the God of War (consisting of razors and knives which cut the victim to pieces as he falls) -- for "Breaking the Peace of Penn."

A contest is held in Philadelphia each four years by which every person in the city is entitled to compete for a title: Mr. Mercy, Mr. Virtue, Cleverest, Loveliest, and other titles. Persons earning such a title as "Mr. Mercy" are Servants, while those earning superlative titles are Superlatives, and each group has privileges. While the contests are supposedly open to all, however, the decision as to who shall have the title is already decided before the contest, usually by a blood relationship or political in-

¹³Francis Stevens, The Heads of Cerberus (Reading, 1952; originally published in 1919).

fluence on the part of the contestants. The contests are supposed to be Civil Service examinations, and the persons winning the titles are to perform certain duties. For example, the Loveliest is to rule all other Superlatives with a consort whom she may pick from between the Strongest or Cleverest; the Swiftest is supposed to be in charge of the City Messenger Service; the Superlatively Domestic is to be Superintendent of Scrubwomen and City Scavengers. Defeated contestants are sentenced to the Pit. His Supremacy is the head of the government.

Families of Superlatives and Servants wear identifying badges which protect them from Penn Service for anything except at the command of a Servant. The common people, or Numbers, are actually the slaves of the Servants and Superlatives, and the Numbers are given slips of paper with the number of hours credit marked with which they are allowed to make their purchases. Neither the employee nor the employer has anything to say about the number of hours credit allowed.

Around His Supremacy there is an Inner Order which carries out the actual government. No one is allowed to enter or leave Philadelphia, to know about other places or other time periods. All trade is carried out by Penn Service, and Penn Service is sacred from criticism. Only the Servants and their families may read the newspaper -- the Penn Bulletin -- and only the Temple Servants can read the books and manuscripts of the past. Even they, however, are not allowed to read some material which only the Supreme Servant may read. Everything is standardized, nothing may progress or retro-

gress, because, according to Penn Service, Penn brought everything to perfection and nothing can therefore be changed. The Twelve Great Servants of Penn are the Masters of the City, and the Lesser Servants are Mercy, Virtue, Courage, Kindness, Power, Purity, Pity, Contentment, Love, and thirty others. Although the Servants are higher in rank than the Superlatives, the position of Justice Supreme, or His Supremacy, by law cannot go to any of the serving Servants; therefore, Cleverest, though he was a Servant by birth, had taken the job of a Superlative that he might become Justice Supreme on the death of his uncle, the present Justice Supreme.

One of the visitors through time comes upon one of the forbidden books which tells how after the World Wars there were Communism and Class Wars which made the United States very pacifistic. The president of the United States under the influence of Andrew Bower severed relations with Europe and set up small isolationist republics of cities throughout the United States, of which Philadelphia was one. Limited exchange of goods was allowed, but all exchange of ideas was cut off. The title of Superlatives and Servants arose from the titles of high honor given such persons as grafters in the old days.

Through striking a bell whose reverberations disintegrate matter, the four visitors return to their own time and Philadelphia is destroyed. The Heads of Cerberus is a fascinating book which has an Alice in Wonderland quality to it both in style and in subject matter. Its gently derisive comments on government, exaggerations in the future which are supposed to

have their foundations in the present, are quite worth reading by the political scientist.

Caesar's Column¹⁴ is still another such overlooked classic, somewhat reminiscent of The Iron Keel. The novel pictures a United States under a harsh oligarchy of aristocrats (who have accepted European titles) and the Wool Ring (which binds and hinders United States manufacturers). Prince Cabano, the villain, entices or buys young girls for his harem, and Gabriel Weltstein, who has come from South Africa to try to sell wool, earns Cabano's displeasure first by saving a seeming old man from being run over by one of the Prince's carriages, and second by rescuing an innocent girl who has been sold to Cabano without her knowledge. The apparent beggar is actually Max, one of the leaders of the "Brotherhood of Destruction" which opposes Cabano and the oligarchy. Max hides Gabriel from Cabano's men after the latter saves him, and says, "An ordinary citizen has no more prospect of fair treatment in our courts, contending with a millionaire, than a new born infant would have in the den of a wolf."¹⁵

Max also explains that the newspapers have become merely the mouthpieces of those in power, and print only what the aristocrats tell them. The aristocracy is almost entirely Jewish in the United States, by a process of survival of the fittest, and the Jews now persecute the Christians as merci-

¹⁴ Edmund Boisgilbert, M.D. [Ignatius Donnelly], Caesar's Column: A Story of the Twentieth Century (Chicago, n.d.).

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

lessly as the latter once persecuted the Jews.

Although the Prince has his agents everywhere, and all workers in the factories are downtrodden and almost slaves, Max says that the Brotherhood has almost one hundred million members all over the world, who await only the chance to strike. There are three leaders -- the Executive Committee -- of the Brotherhood of Destruction. The commander in chief is Caesar Rosellini, the second is a crippled Russian Jew, and the third was Max's father, who has since been captured by Cabano.

Gabriel argues with Max that the Brotherhood should be one of justice, but Max says it is too late for anything except Destruction:

"There was a golden age once in America -- an age of liberty; of comparatively equal distribution of wealth; of democratic institutions. Now we have but the shell and semblance of all that."¹⁶

When Gabriel and Max discuss an ideal government of the United States they say that they would like a government in which interest on money is abolished; laws giving one man an advantage over another are abolished; the rich set up benevolent enterprises with all money which they acquire over a specified amount; paper money is legal tender; gold and silver are prohibited; the amount of land which a person can own is fixed; and intellect, not cunning, rules the world. The theories which Donnelly voices through Max and Gabriel are obvious echoes of the economists of the late nineteenth and early

¹⁶Ibid., p. 51.

twentieth centuries such as Walter Weyl, and Henry George and the Greenbackers. The argument for the limitation on the amount of land which a man might own is a reflection of George's theory of rents, while the belief that the rich should set up benevolent enterprises with surplus capital is a voicing of Weyl's theory that there is progress through prosperity by means of the accumulation of social surplus which gradually raises the level of the communal wealth.¹⁷

The revolution under the Brotherhood takes place and succeeds, with Cabano having another man kill him so that he can escape the mob. Caesar has a column of triumph set up in commemoration of the destruction of society. Max and Gabriel counsel moderation, but, as was true in the French Revolution, no one will listen and the revolution gets completely out of hand with Caesar himself being murdered and his own head being set upon the top of the column. The only thing left for those still sane enough to do so is to escape, and Max, Gabriel, and their families do escape to set up a little island of civilization in South Africa.

As was true of Jack London in The Iron Heel, Donnelly could see no escape from the evils which he observed, except revolution, and his is a warning that if those evils were not corrected, revolution and the end of civilization might be the result. In this sense both Caesar's Column and The Iron Heel are reflections of governmental conditions which existed at

¹⁷ See Henry George's Progress and Poverty, and Walter Weyl's The New Democracy, in particular.

the time of their writing, and, in that same sense, they are therefore fairly accurate reflections of the federal government and their time.

Sinclair Lewis's It Can't Happen Here¹⁸ is a better-known novel and probably one of greater influence than either Cassara's Column or The Iron Heel, but it too is a novel of the coming of a dictatorship to the United States. In It Can't Happen Here, "Buzz" Windrip (whose demagoguery is somewhat reminiscent of that of Huey Long), who has been a political boss of his state, and later Senator, is elected president of the United States on a program of redistribution of the wealth:

He preached the comforting gospel of so redistributing wealth that every person in the country would have several thousand dollars a year (monthly Buzz changed his prediction as to how many thousand), while all the rich men were nevertheless to be allowed enough to get along, on a maximum of \$500,000 a year. So everybody was happy in the prospect of Windrip's becoming President.¹⁹

Lee Sarason, Windrip's secretary, who helps to guide him in his political career, is a firm believer in government by a small oligarchy. Windrip's "Mein Kampf" is called Zero Hour--Over the Top, and was ghosted by Sarason. Zero Hour Windrip sets forth his biography and his economic and political theories, and he says that the Constitution must be so changed that the executive has more power "to have a freer

¹⁸Sinclair Lewis, It Can't Happen Here: a Novel (Garden City, 1935).

¹⁹Ibid., . 35.

hand and be able to move quick in an emergency, and not be tied down by a lot of dumb shyster-lawyer congressmen taking months to shoot off their mouths in debates."²⁰ Nevertheless, Windrip maintains that the end of his proposed changes is to maintain the qualities of liberty, equality and justice a la 1776.

Backed by the League of Forgotten Men, Windrip wins the presidency. His program includes fifteen points of which some are: all finance in the United States is to be under the absolute control of a Federal Central Bank owned by the government; the president is to appoint a board which will determine which labor unions may represent the workers, and recognized unions are to become government bureaus; private initiative and the right to private property are guaranteed; religious freedom is guaranteed except that no atheists, agnostics, Jews, or persons who refuse to take the pledge to the flag may hold public office, or practice as teacher, lawyer, professor, judge, or physician (except in obstetrics); annual net income of all persons is restricted to \$500,000, personal fortunes to \$3,000,000, and inheritances to \$2,000,000, with the federal government seizing all amounts over that; no war profits over six per cent shall be allowed; armaments and armies are to be enlarged to equal the size of that of any other country of the world; only Congress may issue money, and it will immediately double the amount already issued; all Negroes (any person having as much as one-sixteenth colored blood) are prohibited

²⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

from voting, holding public office, practicing law, medicine, or teaching in any class above grammar school, and shall be taxed one hundred per cent of any amount which they earn in year above \$10,000 for a family; a commission is to study and combine all the best features of the share-the-wealth plans; women can be employed only as nurses and in beauty parlors; all bonuses to soldiers in any war shall be paid immediately; and a number of other similar points.

Windrip also has in his platform the provision that Congress immediately on his election shall initiate amendments to the Constitution giving the president authority to initiate and execute all necessary measures for the conduct of the government during this emergency period; Congress shall serve only as an advisory body to the president to call his attention to necessary legislation which the president will then act upon; and the Supreme Court shall be stripped of its power to negate legislation by having the authority to declare laws unconstitutional taken from it.

Windrip is the first president inaugurated on January 20 instead of March 4, under the Twentieth Amendment, and he almost immediately proclaims a state of martial law. The Secretary of State can only be Buzz's yes-man; recalcitrant Congressmen are jailed, and Windrip's own private army, the Minute Men (M's), enforce his edicts. Windrip then sets up a dictatorship with concentration camps and terror for which Lewis's model was obviously Nazi Germany. Under the direction of the Secretary of Culture whole groups of Negroes are wiped out. Inflation sets in; the Jews are reduced to poverty; no

one is allowed to leave the country; no one may say anything against Windrip. Doremus Jessup, the hero of the novel, is put into a concentration camp, but is eventually rescued by the New Underground and is taken to Canada, from which place he sets out to work once more for the Underground under the direction of Walt Frowbridge, the honest Republican candidate for president who had lost the election to Windrip. At the end of the novel there is a faint hope:

So Doremus rode out, saluted the meadow larks, and onward all day, to a hidden cabin in the Northern Woods where quiet men waited news of freedom.

And still Doremus goes on in the red sunrise, for a Doremus Jessup can never die.²¹

Just as The Iron Heel, Caesar's Column, The President Vanishes, and other novels of the future reflect the difficulties of the time in which they were written, so does It Can't Happen Here. Lewis has made use of the demagogues such as Bilbo and Long; the discontent of the former soldiers as evinced in the Bonus March; the desire of the people as a whole for more money and more security as was shown during the Depression years with discussion of such ideas as the Townsend Plan and the actually accepted Social Security; and, finally, the fear that in the United States the desire for security and the wish to believe in a Utopia might induce the people to accept the kind of fascist dictatorship based upon race prejudice which had already been set up in Germany and Italy.

²¹Ibid., p. 458.

Outside Forces Which Destroy Civilization or the Government

Three of the novels which show the United States either being destroyed or on the verge of destruction because of forces not inherent in the people or the government are Ward Moore's Greener Than You Think,²² Philip Wylie's The Disappearance,²³ and Vincent McHugh's I Am Thinking of My Darling.²⁴ Of the three, The Disappearance, which is slightly outside the time span of this study, has most about governmental machinery. Greener Than You Think is the story of the disintegration of civilization which occurs when a "devil grass" is vitalized by a new chemical fertilizer to such an extent that it grows furiously everywhere. At first, under the aegis, experiments are made to control the grass, and a genuine war is waged against it. The Committee to Investigate Dangerous Vegetation investigates the grass but can arrive at no conclusion. At last the grass covers the world, even sinking the ship on which the few survivors were trying to escape.

McHugh's novel concerns a mysterious fever which makes all persons whom it attacks feel happy, relaxed, unworried, and almost completely uninhibited. Congressional committees investigate the fever, and the committees do not trust the doctors who are experimenting to find a cure for the disease

²²Ward Moore, Greener Than You Think (New York, 1947).

²³Philip Wylie, The Disappearance (New York, 1951).

²⁴Vincent McHugh, I Am Thinking of My Darling: An Adventure Story (New York, 1943).

any more than the doctors trust the committeemen. Eventually a vaccine is discovered, but almost everyone who has experienced the fever is sorry to return to his or her normal self. The emphasis on Congressional committees is the most interesting governmental aspect of these books.

The Disappearance is a somewhat more complicated story. It concerns a situation in which all of the men and all of the women find themselves in worlds in which the other sex does not exist. The world is exactly the same as before the Disappearance except for the fact that only one sex inhabits it. In this situation each sex experiences different problems -- the men domestic, the women mechanical -- and neither is much better than the other at solving these problems. In the men's world, the president calls a conference of the leading citizens in order to determine how best to get the women back. The conference is divided into groups each of which attempts to formulate theories as to the reason for the Disappearance, and a method of returning the women, but mere speculation is the result of the discussions. Many persons feel that the Disappearance is a result of the United States' having refused to give atomic secrets openly to the Soviet Union.

In the women's world, the women manage to organize a kind of central government. A portion of this government is the Congress of Wives (COWS), composed of the wives of the men Congressmen. Wylie says that the former Congress had not functioned very well because it was composed of men who were more interested in representing their own sections than in

representing the country as a whole; the women were not any better, because they had been chosen by these same men. The wife of Senator, De Muss Althee, is elected president orator, but the Cabinet which she chooses has to be entirely changed except for one member in order to get the approval of Congress. The Secretary of State in the women's government proposes that the first item on the agenda is the designing of a suitable uniform for Congress, and this motion passes four to one. After couturieres are invited and mannequins parade, there is a filibuster for dressier costumes. Some of the women are entirely disgusted that in a time of stress the Congress can think of nothing more vital than clothes.

When the Russian women send an Army of Liberation the women of the United States realize that they have appointed no Secretary of Defense, and that they know nothing about warfare, while the Russian women are quite skilled at warfare. When one of the women of the United States, Kula, the heroine of the book, says that she is able to speak Russian, the other American women are somewhat suspicious of her, but the war is averted by the genuine friendliness and good will of women on both the Russian and American sides.

In the meantime, the men's world, the NTS Board -- National Technical Survey Board -- is continuing to study the problem of returning the women, but the secrecy surrounding all projects steadily increases. In the women's world a State Liaison Board coordinates the states with federal orders. Gradually, however, in both worlds natural disasters cause a disintegration of civilization and a necessity for martial law which is

obviated only by the sudden integration once more of both worlds, each group somewhat more wise than it had been at the time of the separation. Man must have more understanding, Wylie tries to say, or disaster will overtake him.

As a whole, the novels which deal pessimistically with the future of the United States, as indicated in the individual discussions, have some basis in the actual novels in which the United States is conquered from outside have all been written in times during which the United States has been threatened either explicitly or implicitly by another power. The novels of dictatorship have equally understandable backgrounds: two were written in the early years of the twentieth century when the revelations of the suckrakers aroused such concern to alleviate the appalling conditions under which the workers labored. One novel of dictatorship was written just after World War I, during a period of disillusionment and isolationism; three were written in the thirties in the wake of the Depression; and one was published shortly following World War II in another valley of the inevitable disillusionment which follows a war.

It therefore becomes evident that the pessimistic novels of the future, perhaps even more than the optimistic or reformalistic ones, are reflections of the effect of the federal government during the time period in which they were written, and are therefore important parts of the literature which it is necessary for the political scientist to study in order to understand the government in its proper perspective.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL OPTIMISM IN NOVELS OF THE FUTURE

A number of the writers of novels of the future have expressed a certain ostensible optimism in regard to the federal government of the United States. Upon closer inspection of this optimism, however, it becomes evident that hopefulness is rarely based upon the belief that the present federal structure will be maintained. In a number of the relatively optimistic novels the reforms described are predicated upon bloody revolutions or the overthrowing of oppressive dictatorships which the novelists describe as having been previously established in the United States; many of the so-called reforms in the novels would hardly be considered as improvements of the federal government by many readers, since the novels describe the establishment of benevolent dictatorships.

Just as in the pessimistic novels of the future, however, can trace a reflection of the pattern of the times in which the authors write, in the same way one can see in the optimistic novels of the future for which reforms there was most demand at the time that the novels were written. In an early novel of the twentieth century, for example, a reformer introduces an income-tax law and women's suffrage. At several periods during which there has been a feeling that the government of the United States was not responsive enough to the will of the people reform novels have appeared in which the

British system calling for a vote of confidence on the part of the people is advocated. During the Depression years of the nineteen thirties novelists advocated increasing the power of the president. In general, the novels of the future appear to have been not so much a means of influencing the people but a vehicle for revealing the wishes of those people.

Characteristic of both optimists and pessimists is a sustained overconfidence in the machinery of government and the powers of government as the final determinatives in the overall nature of American civilization. It is typical of such novelists that while their interest in government is keen, their critical faculties are often weak in the political field. They either hope for government (or, alternatively, dread from it) consequences more drastic than most experienced administrators or politicians would expect, even in times of crisis. Hence both sets of novels share the basic feature of the exaggeration of the role of government.

The novels of political optimism in the future divide themselves into those in which a benevolent dictatorship is extant at the time that the novel opens; novels about successful revolutions against corruption or dictatorship; women's governments (somewhat arbitrarily included in this chapter because the majority are optimistic although one of the novels on a women's government happens to be pessimistic and therefore by right belongs in the chapter on political pessimism in novels of the future); reforms in the federal government, excluding world government; and hypothetical international organization.

1. The More-or-Less Benevolent Dictatorship

Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward¹ although before the time span of this study is nevertheless so much of a classic in the field that it must be included. Looking Backward is the story of the future as seen by Julian West who awakes after a hypnotic sleep of one hundred and thirteen years and finds a United States in which the economic situation of the people as a whole is greatly improved. Dr. Leete awakens Julian and explains the new government of the Great Trust to him. According to Dr. Leete, the Great Trust represents the interests of all the people and was formed by the natural process of more and more combination of all business into trusts. Thus the Great Trust was peacefully formed.

Finally I said, "The idea of such an extension of the functions of government is, to say the least, rather overwhelming."

"Extension!" he repeated, "where is the extension?"

"In my day," I replied, "it was considered that the proper functions of government, strictly speaking, were limited to keeping the peace and defending the people against the public enemy, that is, to the military and police powers."

"And, in heaven's name, who are the public enemies?" exclaimed Dr. Leete. "Are they France, England, Germany, or hunger, cold, and nakedness? In your day governments were accustomed, on the slightest international misunderstanding, to seize upon the bodies of citizens and deliver them over by hundreds of thousands to death and mutilation, wasting their treasures the while like water; and all this oftenest for no imaginable profit to their victims. We have no wars now, and our governments no war powers, but in order to protect every citizen against

¹Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward: 2000-1887 (New York, 1927; originally published in 1887).

hunger, cold, and nakedness, and provide for all his physical and mental needs, the function is assumed of directing his industry for a term of years. No, Mr. West, I am sure on reflection you will perceive that it was in your age, not in ours, that the extension of the function of governments was extraordinary. Not even for the best ends would men now allow their governments such powers as were then used for the most maleficent."²

In the new world to which Julian has awakened there are no politicians, no political parties, no corruption, no graft, no demagogues. According to Dr. Leete, governmental affairs in the year 2000 are so arranged that no matter how ill disposed an official might be there is no possible way for him to profit anyone by the misuse of his power. There is an industrial army of men from the ages of twenty-one to forty-five years in which each does that for which he has the greatest natural aptitude, and it is the duty of the industry to make all trades equally attractive so that all will induce a sufficient number to perform them. The first three years of all labor is common labor so that there is a constant supply of common labor as well as skilled. There are no strikes, no money, and no trade, because each person is given a credit in goods amounting to his contribution to the national product. A man's rank is determined by the value of his services to society, so that each strives to do his best. Invalids, the insane, the old and the crippled all get the same incomes as anyone else. There is an international guarantee of value of each product. The actuarial foundations of this pleasant

²Ibid., pp. 59-60.

but improbable system are nowhere explained.

The government consists of ten departments for industrial production as a whole, each representing a group of allied industries, with each specific industry being represented by a subordinate bureau which has all records of the plant in its keeping. After the Administration has adopted estimates, the estimates are sent as mandates to the ten departments by the Distributive Department, and the ten departments allot them to the subordinate bureaus. After the necessities are created, the left-overs are used to create fixed capital. The president of the United States is the general of the industrial army, and, in order to attain rank in the industrial army one must have advanced through the grades. The president must have passed through all the grades, but one is only eligible to become president after having retired, and only those persons not connected with the industrial army can vote for the president. The term of a president is five years, at the end of which time a national Congress receives the president's report, and, if it approves the report, elects him to represent the United States for five more years in the international council.

There are no state governments, no legislation, and there is a much simplified judicial system in the new government. It is possible to have fewer laws because there is no private property.

The government of Looking Backwards is a kind of ideal combination of Socialism and Communism, in which each is given

to according to his need, but each earns rank according to his contribution. It is less a corporate state with the representation of various industries in government than it is an outright industrial state. Bellamy seems to be of the opinion that all of the world's troubles stem from economic causes, and that once the economic problems are solved, there will be no more difficulties.

Robert Herrick's Sometime³ is less idealistic in nature. In Sometime, which takes place far in the future, Europe and North America have long been buried under an ice cap, and the government of the new world has its capital in Africa. In the New Khartoum want and famine have been abolished and disease controlled, but there is no individual liberty and population is very strictly limited. The people of the new world are conditioned by propaganda to endure a subtle tyranny. Only a few women are permitted to have children, the others being sterilized, and many of the women resent this fact even though they are ostensibly conditioned to accept it. Eventually an expedition goes to explore what was formerly the United States. The men discuss the government of which they find evidences:

" . . . so-called representatives of the people, were merely agents of the powerful owners of property, a special class of imbeciles that the ruling class maintained to perform the rival tasks of government for them. They were traders in privileges, bartering laws for money or political prestige or saving face. . . ."⁴

³Robert Herrick, Sometime (New York, 1933).

⁴Ibid., p. 279.

According to the philosophers of the New Khartoum, the United States failed because it tried to deal with the rights of individuals not with their minds as does the government of the new world. Sometime is rather reminiscent of a less bitter Brave New World, by Aldous Huxley. Sometime is well written and makes interesting reading, but it never becomes very clear about either the mechanism or the function of the new government. Herrick seems to have been unable to make up his mind as to which side he is on; his characters, in the end, rather unhappily resign themselves to the government under which they live, but not without some regretful glances back to the past despite the evils under which that old world labored.

2. Successful Revolutions Against Totalitarianism

Two novels which portray the successful revolution for the good in the United States are Samuel Hopkins Adams's The World Goes Smash⁵ and Colonel Edward M. House's anonymously presented Philip Dru: Administrator.⁶ The World Goes Smash is the story of an uprising led by a lawyer, Hugh Farragut, and his friends against "Z," who is the focus of political

⁵Samuel Hopkins Adams, The World Goes Smash (Boston, 1938).

⁶Anonymous, Philip Dru: Administrator: A Story of Tomorrow 1920-1935 (New York, 1912). Perhaps Van Tassel Sutherland's The Doomsman (New York, 1906) should also be included as a revolution against a dictator in a world which, by 2015, has retrogressed to a kind of feudalism, but The Doomsman has almost nothing about the actual government or governmental machinery.

and criminal corruption in the world. Hugh loves Dorrie, whose father, Happy Harold James, unknown to Hugh or Dorrie, is "Z." Dorrie does not understand her father's political activities which, in part, consist of installing as president an idealistic dreamer whom Happy and his party (the Forward Party) manage behind the scenes through the Vice President, Cale Keeler. The Forward Party has a hand-picked Congress and controls a group of labor organization men scattered over the country, each of whom is responsible to a Central Control. Happy is one of the Inner Council. Gradually Dorrie realizes that her father has a dictator complex but Happy prevents her from seeing Hugh to tell him what she has learned.

Hugh tells President-elect Winters that his party has been packed by Happy's group, and Winters, after making Hugh Attorney General, tells Hugh that if the latter can get proof of what he claims, Winters will back him in throwing out the Forward Party. Happy, who has been appointed Postmaster General, has President Winters murdered and, with Keeler and two other Cabinet members, takes over the government while Hugh and the Chief Justice broadcast to the people that the government of the United States has fallen into criminal hands. A Council of Defense consisting of the Chief Justice, the five seceding Cabinet members and a number of local agents is formed. War on the citizens is unleashed by the usurpers including the use of dreadful gases which blind and maim. One of the rebels says:

"I do not believe that this hell on earth which now encompasses us, this reek of blood and carcasses -- whether New York or Detroit; San Francisco, New Orleans, or Chicago -- I do not for an instant believe that all this is the whim of some capricious power, wreaking a casual grudge. Rather do I believe that we are reaping what we have sown, because we have forgotten God and His gentle commands. . . . This is the inevitable harvest, a harvest of annihilation. . . . To this has come the America of Washington, of Lincoln, of Wilson. We are the guilty. May God forgive us."⁷

In the end, however, the rebels do win victory, the usurpers are killed or deposed, and Hugh eventually becomes a Senator. Adams seems to be saying that it is up to the people of the United States to prevent a corrupt government from taking over; his is an attempt to restore the status quo ante but his heroes themselves violate the form of the government whose substance they are attempting to preserve. It is Hugh and his friends who use unconstitutional means, in refusing to accept the Vice President, Keeler, as president after the death of President Winters, in order to maintain the Constitution -- thereby tacitly implying that the Constitution is not, after all, capable of being maintained on the basis of precepts emanating from it.

Philip Dru, which will be discussed more at length in the section on reforms in the federal government of this chapter, also concerns a revolution against the lawful authority of the United States, led by the hero of the book, Philip Dru. In this instance the public discovers that the president is in control of an influential financial group led by Senator

⁷ Adams, op. cit., p. 260.

Selwyn, and war is imminent. Into the breach Philip Dru steps, leading the insurgents. The president, vice president and Cabinet flee the country and Dru makes himself Administrator of the Republic. Dru's object, however, is not simply to preserve the United States, as was Hugh Farragut's in The World Goes Smash, but to set up a new, better, reformed United States. Once more, thus, in a novel of the future the Constitution is deemed inadequate for its purposes.

3. Women's Governments of the United States

Besides the brief mention of a women's government in The Disappearance (discussed in the chapter on political pessimism in novels of the future) three other novels discuss the women's running the country. One, The Coming of the Amazons,⁸ by Owen McMahon Johnson, is pessimistic in nature and tells the story of John Bogardus who has been refrigerated so that his life is suspended until the year 2181. When he awakens he finds a matriarchal era which has attempted a return to the classics. By the International Control of Population Board the population of the world is maintained at 2,600,000. Loyalty in the world of the amazons is to the state, not the family, and the state is ruled by the Supreme Council. One radical group advocates giving the vote to men, but this idea is disregarded by most of the amazons. Birth control is rigid, and mothers are never allowed to see their children. Men are

⁸ Owen Johnson, The Coming of the Amazons: A Satiristic Speculation on the Scientific Future of Civilization (New York, 1931).

very effeminate and live in masculine clubs where they play games and are used merely as breeders from the ages of twenty to thirty-five, at which time they are consigned to the Frigidrome.

All property is that of the state and is only lent to the individual. Education is also a function of the state and is undertaken for different periods of time depending on the pupil's classification. For example: education for the class of domesticates is over at eight, Cerenes and Vulcates at ten, and Aesthetes at twelve. Men are not educated. Women with motherly instincts run the schools at which the children are brought up, while the actual mothers need only bear the children. Bogardus (who is actually insane and has imagined the whole amazon world) becomes so enraged at not being able to arouse men in this future world to demand votes and social equality that he freezes himself in a refrigerator at the asylum, thinking it is a Frigidrome.

The Coming of the Amazons, like The Disappearance, is more concerned with problems of sex and equalities of the sexes than it is with any real problems of the federal government. Terrania,⁹ by Columbus Bradford, on the other hand, although it too concerns women as women in government, is much more a novel of government than is either of the other two novels just named. Any Mortimer is determined to end war through the enlistment of young women in the World State of Terrania. All

⁹Columbus Bradford, A.S., Terrania or the Feminization of the World (Boston, 1930).

young women who enlist in Terrania vow not to marry until their countries become Terranian. Young men form "Mizzer" (for Misery Loves Company) Clubs which try to hurry the process of the feminization of the world so that young men and women can marry once more. Persons becoming Terranians send their pledges from their precincts to the county seat, from county seat to state capital, from state capital to national capital, and thence the certified numbers of pledges are sent to the International Capital. Terrania poses the interesting problem of whether or not a person can become a citizen of a world state, individually, without losing his national citizenship. The Terranians maintain that it is done, but no arguments are presented against this dual citizenship.

Terrania is different from all other world states which are mentioned in the novels discussed here because it is a world state which is based on the membership of individuals, not of nations. When the citizens of the United States become members of Terrania, the United States becomes known as USOMA (United States of North America) within the World State of Terrania which has the official name of the United States of Terrania. ("Usono" happens to be the artificially constructed name for the USA in Dr. Zamenhof's international language called Esperanto; this may be a borrowing on Bradford's part, or may be the result of outright coincidence.)

The Congress of the United States is feminine, as a result of Terrania. A feminine world congress frames an international constitution which is discussed below in the section

on international organization in this chapter.

Shortly after the constitution is framed, the legislatures of the states of Terrania act upon it and ratify it, automatically putting in as first president Any, who started the idea, and the self-nominated Parliament which had framed the constitution. Among other reforms the State of Terrania adopts a thirteen-month calendar. Any's fiance is made General directly under Any, and his first command from Any is that he destroy all the arms of all the armies of the world. Peace then reigns unopposed in Terrania.

Unfortunately Bradford's interesting idea is poorly written. A number of parallels may be drawn between Terrania and the League of Nations; the mere fact that Terrania was written in 1930, at a time when the League was embarking on a stony course of difficulties, is significant. Moreover, Bradford reflects the earlier idea which had often been voiced, that, when women got the vote, they would improve government. Women's merely getting the vote had not materially changed or bettered any aspect of government; therefore Bradford gave them the entire government in his novel. The disillusionment about the benefits of war which followed World War I is combined in Bradford's novel with a Wilsonian determination not to be isolationist, and for these reasons his novel is in its own way admirable, despite the fact that it makes very poor reading and is quite naive in its presentation.

Samuel Warshawsky's novel, The Woman of Destiny,¹⁰ is also

¹⁰ Samuel Jesse Warshawsky, The Woman of Destiny (New York, 1936).

concerned with a woman's determination to end war, but the woman concerned in Warshawsky's novel, Constance Shepherd, does not go to such lengths as does Any in Terrania.

After the widowed Constance's son, Gene, is shell-shocked and blinded in the First World War, Constance forms the International Anti-Military Mothers' Club of the World. A friend of Connie, Marcus Roseheim, advances her his political party circles, and eventually she campaigns for the presidency. She fails to get the nomination, but is offered the nomination for vice president after the eighty-third ballot has failed to yield a majority for any one candidate. Constance manages to keep her plank against war in the party platform even though she cannot get the nomination for president. The political boss, Harmon, who has backed Cleveland (the man who gets the nomination and is elected), is determined upon war despite the plank, but Cleveland attempts to be moderate. When the Japanese kill some Americans, however, Cleveland asks for war and Congress, over which Constance refuses to preside, votes for war with Cleveland. Almost immediately Cleveland dies of a heart attack, and Constance's friends have her sworn in as president secretly at midnight by the Chief Justice. The rest of the Cabinet had planned not to accept her as president but to make the secretary of state president (on what Constitutional grounds the author never makes clear). Constance, however, since she has already been sworn in, outmaneuvers the Cabinet, and in spite of Harmon's protestations she orders all military activity to cease. Except for two

members the Cabinet resigns, and Constance calls in the Russian and Japanese Ambassadors to persuade them that the United States wants peace. When Harmon says that he will have Constance impeached for treason she says that she will negotiate peace treaties, which she does.

Although The Woman of Destiny is apparently more logical than Terrania, it is almost equally as poorly written, and it lacks the freshness of Bradford's ideas. Constance is a "mother" in the worst sense of the word. Warshawsky, like Bradford, appears to have been dissatisfied with the progress which men had made in stopping war, felt disillusioned about the rewards of war, and hoped for better things from women if women were given broader latitude. Unfortunately he is not equipped as a novelist to expatiate upon his theories.

4. Reforms in the Federal Government, Excluding World Government

The Woman of Destiny, described above, is a novel of reform in the sense that Constance, through a somewhat extraordinary use of her powers in her position as president eliminates war -- or at least eliminates an immediate war. Other better and more explicit novels of reform of the federal government are: Frederick Palmer's So a Leader Came,¹¹ Thomas F. Tweed's anonymously presented novel, Gabriel Over the White House,¹² and, also anonymously presented, Colonel Edward Man-

¹¹Frederick Palmer, So a Leader Came (New York, 1932).

¹²Anonymous, Gabriel Over the White House: A Novel of the Presidency (New York, 1933).

dell House's Philip Dru (discussed in part above in section 2). John Francis Goldsmith's President Randolph as I Knew Him,¹³ is concerned less with reform within the government than it is with the establishment of an international government.

So a Leader Came is the story of the rise of Constant (Connie) Spenser whose parents envision his leadership before he was born. After Connie's return from World War I he refuses to join an existing political party because he feels that there is no essential difference between the two major ones. Instead, Connie writes a book called Soon or Never, which brings him fame, and he begins to organize his own political group. When he decides to back MacPherson Scholl in politics, Connie makes speeches for his candidate in which he advocates a return to following the Constitution more literally. To the objection that his candidate is too young Connie returns the argument that the founding fathers were youthful. Connie also feels that speakers in Congress should be accountable for their allegations. He feels that Congress has not performed its proper function: "King Congress has provided us with a multitude of new offices and a swarm of new officers to eat our substance."¹⁴

¹³ John Francis Goldsmith, President Randolph as I Knew Him: An account of the historic events of the 1950's and 1960's written from the personal experiences of the secretary to the President (Philadelphia, 1935).

¹⁴ Palmer, op. cit., p. 155.

Connie is also opposed to national conventions with their secret bargains, for which he says (correctly) that there is no authority in the Constitution, and he feels (rather unrealistically) that it is not right that a potential candidate for political office must first join a political party. Nevertheless he thinks that there should be a genuine responsibility on the part of the party in power. Connie's conception of the presidency is also somewhat different from the conventional one. Connie feels that the president should not be the chief executive, but a figurehead of state to call Congress into special sessions when necessary, and to summon the leaders of the opposition when the old government falls. He feels that the president should not run two terms because Washington did, and never three because Washington did not, but should continue to act so long as the people accept his leadership. Connie feels that his system would end the divided authority over foreign affairs between the Secretary of State and the legislative committees on foreign affairs. In Connie's system the leader of the party in power in Congress would be the executive head of the government, as is true in the British system of government. Each Cabinet officer would sit with Congress as a committee head. A vote of confidence, Connie feels, should be required while the subject of a bill is still fresh in the minds of the people.

Connie's enemies accuse him of Europeanizing the Constitution, but Connie forms the Minute Men of the Restoration (of the Constitution) and there is a nationwide sweep to put

the Constis (Connie's party) on the ballots. In the national election there is a relative landslide for the Constis, with Constis winning a large majority in the House and three fourths of the one third of the Senate seats vacant. There is no majority for the president and the choice goes to the House of Representatives. Although Connie is third in the electoral vote he is overwhelmingly ahead on the popular vote, and his party marches on Washington to force his acceptance. Connie makes himself dictator under the title of Premier of the Provisional Government of the United States and causes a joint session of Congress to assemble. The Supreme Court protests of Connie's methods violently, with only one of the Justices feeling that Connie is right. Connie makes him Chief Justice, and appoints a codification committee headed by Winston Churchill to reform state and national laws. A Central Bank of the United States is set up. After a Cabinet is appointed on the basis of merit, taxes are gradually reduced through the elimination of duplication of state, municipal and federal governments. A Second Constitutional Convention meets and reframes the Constitution.

Under the new Constitution the power of the Senate is limited to the veto. The Premier (the executive) is to sit in the lower house, in the British fashion. Besides the representatives to be elected as before on the basis of population, the new Constitution provides for a number of representatives to be chosen by educational, industrial, medical, engineering, and labor associations. In the committees of

Congress ability and not seniority is to determine a person's place, and the chairmanships go to persons having positions in the Cabinet.

The president is to be elected for six years and may not be reelected. Connie refuses to stay on as dictator because he fears that he will become firmly entrenched if he does so. The two new parties, the Liberals and the Progressives, take over the running of the United States, and Connie retires.

So a Leader Came is not so detailed as Philip Dru (cited earlier in this chapter) but Philip Dru was obviously its literary father. When Philip Dru, after a revolution, sets himself up as dictator under the title of Administrator of the Republic, he also begins a reform of the United States government -- a reform even more extensive than Connie's. His first acts are to make a former capitalist, Mr. Strawn (who is incidentally the father of the girl Philip loves), the Secretary of the Treasury, and to increase the Army from 500,000 to 600,000 men because of international conditions. Former Senator Selwyn, whose corrupt practices had brought about the revolution, reveals himself to Philip as not really evil but only greedy for power; once the revolution is accomplished he is eager to help Philip in doing the best for the United States.

Dru, like Connie, is determined to have more efficiency and less waste in government. He appoints a Council of Twelve, of whom six are in charge of departments, and three are to do

special work as it arises. Dru decides to have the powers of the federal and state courts defined in order to eliminate courts that are unnecessary and to remodel court procedure. Dru also wishes to have rules constructed to govern lawyers, practice before the courts, relations to the clients, and the amounts and characters of lawyers' fees.

One of Dru's reforms is to limit the court power to that of deciding what the law is as between litigants and removing explicitly the power of the courts to decide upon the constitutionality of a legislative act. Under Dru's system the judges of all courts are to be appointed for life, with compulsory retirement at age seventy, or by a two-thirds vote of the House and a majority vote of the Senate at any time. The president is to suggest federal judges' names for appointment, the governors of the states to suggest state judges' names, and all nominees must be approved by a majority of the House and two thirds of the Senate. Because of the codification of laws and reduction of powers, the total number of judges is reduced by about two thirds from the previous total, but the remaining judges (or rather the newly appointed judges) are to receive very high salaries which the government can now afford to pay because of the reduction in the total number of judges.

Lawyers are no longer to be permitted to bring any suits of doubtful character. Before any suit is brought, the lawyers, clients and witnesses must swear to the truth of their allegations in written petitions and briefs. If they are un-

able to show that the cause is just, all are liable to fine and imprisonment. On complaint of the witnesses any unfair judge may be tried for impeachment. The Board on Legal Procedure and Judiciary is to frame the rules to govern the practices of lawyers and judges as described.

In order to reform the laws as he wishes them to be, Dru appoints a board of five lawyers to reform legal procedure and to prune down state and national laws, cutting out the obsolete and rewriting those to be retained in clear, direct language. Still another board is to read, digest and criticize the work of the first-mentioned boards. The third board contains on it a lawyer from England, one from Germany, and one from France to aid in the work. (This is unwittingly reminiscent of Prince Ito's work in drafting the Japanese Constitution of 1889.)

Another reform which Dru requires concerns land titles. States are to simplify land titles to such an extent that there will be very simple transfer of title to real property, with no examination of title, no recording fee and, once property is registered in a given name, no litigation about title to such real property. Uniform divorce laws are to be established under Dru's administration. Any law affecting a state must be submitted to the board of five lawyers for approval.

Dru also appoints another board of five -- a political economist, a banker, a farmer, a manufacturer, and a Congressman who had served on the Ways and Means Committee -- to advise on tax matters. This board also has advisers from

Europe, and Dru's aim is that after the tax laws are revised only one tax will be required, with none to be solicited by municipal, county or state governments. The board divides each state into districts for tax purposes and in each district there is to be an assessment and collecting board consisting of four local men and one representative of the nation. Taxes are to be on the basis of realty: improvements of city property are to be taxed at one-fifth value; naked city or country property at two-thirds value; and improved country land is not to be taxed more than unimproved (this is also true of city land though city improvements are to be taxed at one-fifth value). The new tax system is designed to deter persons from holding unimproved land with the aim of getting an unearned increment.

A graduated income tax with no exceptions is to be instituted. The tax scheme is: one half of one per cent for incomes up to \$1,000 a year; one per cent for incomes between \$1,000 and \$2,000; two per cent for incomes between \$2,000 and \$5,000; three per cent on those between \$5,000 and \$10,000; six per cent on those between \$10,000 and \$20,000; and on incomes above \$20,000 a year the tax increases rapidly until it reaches a maximum of seventy per cent on incomes of \$10,000,000 a year or above.¹⁵

¹⁵Dru's income-tax scale contrasts markedly with the one at present in existence which taxes all income over \$600 for a single person, with certain exceptions (that is, an additional \$600 is allowed if one is married, and the same amount is allowed if one is blind or over sixty-five years of age, \$600 is allowed for each dependent of specified kinds, and

Dru's new tariff law would abolish protection, with tariff being used only to supplement revenue from other taxes. The federal government under Dru is also to take over several matters in which more than one state is interested, such as sanitation, interstate commerce, franchises, divorce and other similar matters.¹⁶ Another innovation which Dru introduces is the requirement that corporations share with the national and state governments a part of their net earnings; he requires a percentage particularly from public-service corporations. Under Dru's Franchise Law, labor is to have a representative on the board of directors of each corporation, something like the Mitbestimmungsrecht under the Bonn republic, and labor is to share a certain percentage above wages of the capital earned in the particular industry in which it is engaged. No strikes are to be allowed, but there is to be arbitration of difficulties. Wages are to be high if business is good, reduced if business is poor.

certain other deductions may be made). The present scale, however, has a low tax of twenty per cent on incomes under \$2,000 -- in contrast to Dru's one per cent -- and a maximum of eighty-seven per cent for an unmarried person, for an income considerably smaller than \$10,000,000 a year. Philip Dru was published in 1912; at that time the income-tax amendment, the Sixteenth Amendment, had already been submitted to the states by Congress, but it was not adopted until 1913.

¹⁶ Although Philip Dru was written by President Wilson's Colonel House and the novel was supposed by many people to be a model upon which Wilson patterned his administration, Wilson did almost nothing about acting out this particular phase of Dru's reforms. Although the Interstate Commerce Commission was set up in 1887, with additional acts in 1903 and 1906, the next chief act dealing with interstate commerce was not passed until 1920.

Dru is determined to eliminate double taxation on mortgaged property. Property is to be taxed on its value less the debt owed on it, and the mortgage is to be taxed separately. As for corporations, Dru says that they are to be run honestly, openly, efficiently (how, he does not specify) and no holding or franchise companies are to be allowed.

There is, moreover, to be universal suffrage, because in the twenty of the forty-eight states which have universal suffrage there are more laws on the moral and social side of life than in states not having universal suffrage before this time. Dru hopes that the franchise will give women the right to equal wages so that no longer will women be compelled to marry for support.¹⁷

Another reform which Dru institutes is to have Congress convene at a time nearer to that at which it is elected;¹⁸ another is to establish referendum, initiative and recall (adopted in actual fact by a number of states between 1900 and 1918); and still another to restrict the term of the president (accomplished by the Twenty-Second Amendment in 1951).

Dru reclaims swamp land and sells it to home-seekers at less than one fourth of what they would have to pay elsewhere (a scheme reminiscent of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's public housing projects and reclamation works). Dru demands

¹⁷Women were not granted the right to vote until 1920, with the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

¹⁸This reform took place in 1933 with the Twenty-Second Amendment.

an old-age pension law and a laborer's insurance law (much of which reform was accomplished in 1935 with the Social Security Act), and he provides for a system of cooperative marketing by small producers (another reform instituted under Roosevelt) and for cooperative loan societies.

Dru sets up a United States employment bureau for the unemployed¹⁹ and he states:

And if no work is to be had, I shall arrange that every indigent person that is honest and industrious shall be given employment by the Federal, State, County or Municipal Government as the case may be.²⁰

Dru establishes an eight-hour day and a six-day week, and says that if the employer attempts to reduce wages because of the shorter hours the employee has the right to go before a magistrate and have him set the wage, or, if there is a union, the employees may select one arbiter, the employer one, and these two arbiters may choose a third in order that the three may decide on a fair wage. This law is to apply also to women.²¹

¹⁹Wilson did set up a United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor with local offices all over the United States, under the exigencies of World War I. However, after the end of the war it was poorly supported and almost lapsed into obscurity again until it was revived in 1933 by the Wagner-Peyser Act under President Roosevelt.

²⁰Philip Dru, supra, p. 228. This phase of Dru's program was certainly carried out by President Franklin Roosevelt with his Works Progress Administration.

²¹Most of the labor legislation during Wilson's administration was more or less aberted by court interpretation. The Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 was supposed to benefit labor but had most of its benefits shorn from it by the

Dru allows pensions to soldiers on the basis of actual need, not of service. He steps still farther outside the conventional governmental limits by reforming the study and practice of medicine with the establishment of boards to eliminate spurious medical colleges and doctors and to give mental examinations to doctors. This reform, like many of the specific ones recommended by Colonel House, has in fact been attained by the increasing development and authoritativeness of private controls, such as the American College of Surgeons and the American College of Physicians, which have done more to control the standards of the medical profession than any single federal office. In all fairness to the role of government, it must, however, be pointed out that private professional institutions which have sought to upgrade the standards of training and ethical conduct in specialized fields have received -- in almost all cases -- powerful though indirect support both from the United States government and from the states.

Dru revises drastically both the federal and state constitutions (see his revised version of a federal constitution in the Appendix) and greatly enlarges the Civil Service to in-

courts. When, in 1916, Congress attempted by excluding certain articles from interstate commerce to aid women and children, the courts ruled that Congress was attempting to regulate manufacturing rather than interstate commerce; again, in 1918, when a minimum-wage law for women and children was passed in the District of Columbia, the court voided it on the grounds that it abridged women's freedom of contract as provided for by the Constitution.

clude all governmental employees, whether federal, state, county, or municipal. Dru provides that whenever an employee is dismissed the reasons for dismissal must be made public at the request of either the employee or the employer.

Another reform which Dru institutes is the introduction everywhere of a short ballot which he feels will allow the people better to know for whom they are voting. On the local level he establishes the commission form of government which he feels is more efficient and can better protect the people against the interests than can a larger group. Some of Dru's innovations regarding business are: the making of the mining of coal a corporation enterprise, and the eradication in business of pools and trusts. The existence of fixed prices is to be considered prima facie evidence of a combine.

There is almost no field which Dru does not enter with the intention of improvement: he improves the merchant marine; he reforms burial practices by demanding cremation; he uplifts women by the establishment of clubs and a kind of Hull House; he institutes education on sex hygiene.

Finally Dru establishes an International Coalition of Powers, including the United States. Dru broadens the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, however, and, when Mexico refuses to allow the United States to rearrange Mexican internal affairs, Dru sends troops who invade Mexico and succeed in amalgamating Mexico and the Central American republics into one government. At the end of the novel, when Dru has been in power for seven years and the United States dominates the

northern half of the Western Hemisphere, Dru decides that he has succeeded in his aim and that he should not remain in power or he might become too much of a dictator for the good of the country; therefore he leaves for an unknown destination, probably Russia.

Although Philip Dru contains a number of excellent points of reform, many of which have since been carried out, the spirit of Manifest Destiny is obvious in the portions in which Colonel House describes the United States' dominating her southern neighbors, rearranging their governments, sending in troops to interfere with internal affairs and "broadening" the Monroe Doctrine. Dru broadens the Doctrine to the point that not only are foreign powers excluded from the Western world but so are native governments except for the United States.

Just as Philip Dru was supposed to be a guide to the Wilson Administration, Thomas F. Tweed's anonymously published Gabriel Over the White House was often presumed to be the blueprint for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration. Tweed's novel is better-written than is House's and it has somewhat more plot; Tweed, while he greatly changes the federal government in his novel, does not alter it so radically as does House; nevertheless there are many similarities.

Gabriel Over the White House may have played a minor practical role in the politics of the United States. Appearing as a popular Hollywood motion-picture play in the early New Deal, it served (more or less unwittingly on the part of

the actors and producers) as film propaganda for the more dramatic Rooseveltian measures. The mixture of piety and homespun radicalism in the film was well calculated to reassure to motion-picture audiences of both the necessity and the desirability of the more drastic New Deal arrogations of authority. Roosevelt himself was for once exceeded as president by the awe-inspiring rendition of the president portrayed by the distinguished actor, Walter Houston.

Gabriel Over the White House concerns President Hammond, a man who has been an easy-going pleasant person without such real interest in government. Hammond has a serious automobile accident, however, and when at last he emerges from the sick-room he is an entirely altered man. Hammond, who had been elected by a new coalition party, the National Party (which was formed from the conservative and machine elements of the Democratic and Republican parties which had united because of fear of the Depression) becomes interested in reform, in the League of Nations, and in changing the structure of the government to fit the times.

The world outside the United States has been disintegrating under the pressure of the Depression, and the United States is in not much better case with more and more unemployment and the necessity for Congress to vote more and more relief. A Twenty-Third Amendment has been accepted before Hammond's administration, which would allow the president to reduce taxes in order to prevent the piling up of revenues; Hammond uses his power under the Amendment to "reduce" the taxes

on tin cans to nothing, thus effectively taking over the taxing power from Congress.

Unemployed squatters, led by Otton Kuhl, are attacked by gangsters and march to Washington. They approve of the president's taxing program and feel that only he can save the country. The president creates a Department of Education²²

²²Not until March of 1953 was education finally taken into a department, with the establishment of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This was the first creation of an entirely new department since the splitting of the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1913, as the establishment of the Department of Defense in 1949 was simply the amalgamation of the Navy, Air Force and Army establishments.

"President Eisenhower's Government reorganization plan No. 1, creating a Department of Health, Education and Welfare out of the Federal Security Administration, was approved yesterday by a one-sided 291-to-85 vote of the House.

"A resolution moving up the effective date of the reshuffling was sped to the Senate, where early approval is indicated.

"The plan elevates FSA Administrator Oveta Culp Hobby to Cabinet status, grouping under her new streamlined department the Public Health Service, Office of Education, Social Security Administration, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Food and Drug Administration.

"Similar to reorganization plans President Truman tried and failed to get through Congress in 1949 and 1950, President Eisenhower's first agency streamliner, normally would take effect 60 days from the date it was submitted (March 12).

"The resolution passed yesterday would speed up the change-over to make it effective exactly 10 days after it clears both Houses and is signed by the President.

"Democrats, who had rushed to Mr. Eisenhower's rescue to extend Presidential reorganization powers early this session, yesterday fought the speed-up and sought in vain to amend the plan.

"Led by Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.), ranking minority member of the Government Operations Committee, the Democrats particularly berated Republicans for denouncing the Truman

because he feels Hammond's Department of Education is somewhat different in purpose from that which one might attribute to it; its purpose is to "educate" the adults of the United States, or, in cruder terms, to propagandize. Hammond soon increases the Supreme Court from nine to fifteen members in order to get his measures through more easily. He requests from Congress -- and receives -- Congressional appropriations on a two-year basis rather than annually, and he also receives authority to increase appropriations up to twenty per cent in the absence of Congress when he feels it is necessary to increase them.

In his frequent heart-to-heart television talks with the public the president persuades the people that Congress is ineffective and that state legislatures have hindered recovery.

proposal three years ago.

"Said Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.): 'If the plan was a rotten egg in 1950, three more years doesn't make it any fresher.'

"Republicans in turn needed Democrats for switching their position on the plan since '50. Government Operations Chairman Clare Hoffman (Mich.) said the GOP fight on the Truman plan stemmed from fears that former FEA Administrator Oscar Ewing would use Cabinet status to promote so-called 'socialized medicine.'

"Apparently to guard against any such trend, the Eisenhower plan creates the post of 'special assistant' under the new Secretary, to be appointed by the President 'from among persons who are recognized leaders in the medical field.'

"Terming this a 'brazen attempt to buy the support' of the American Medical Association, Representative Dawson tried to strike this provision from the Reorganization plan. His amendment was shouted down." (The Washington Post, March 19, 1953, p. 1.)

He gains the confidence of the people. Hammond sends a "Minister" to each state to supervise funds; when newspapers print attacks against the president he has the Department of Education scatter pamphlets defending him to the public by means of airplanes.

Many of the president's former friends and former members of his Cabinet believe him to be mad, and feel that his brain has been affected in his automobile accident, but their attempted actions are without result. When Congress does nothing to aid the squatters, Hammond, through their leader, instructs them to shadow all Congressmen, following the Congressmen wherever they go. Soon Congress is so demoralized that Congressional business ceases. The president, when chided for his methods, says that he will maintain the Constitution in spirit but

"I refuse to permit a mere document, no matter how sacred, to bind the hands and shackle the rights of [the] people struggling mightily with grievous adversity in another age and under completely changed conditions."²³

Soon Hammond demands the resignations of his entire Cabinet appointed before his accident. He then addresses Congress, requests Congress to declare a state of national emergency and then to adjourn sine die. The president takes the United States off the gold standard and floats a five-billion-dollar internal loan to finance which the people buy Prosperity Bonds. Heavy borrowing is encouraged with no

²³ Gabriel Over the White House, supra, p. 121.

hoarding of capital being allowed and gold bonds being withdrawn. The Treasury is ordered to issue new money with no gold backing and no premium is allowed on gold-backed currency. When under his new authority Hammond appoints six new Supreme Court Justices who support him,

Critics cried that Hammond had packed the court for his own purpose, and so he had. But the fact remained that henceforth his dictatorship was not to be voided by the judiciary.²⁴

Hammond's next move is to create a National Reconstruction Corps of unemployed who are to receive Army pay and who are to work on special works of public utility promoting local relief. At first members of this NRC are required to be single but at a later date the rules are modified so that married men are also allowed to join, with an allowance being made for their families. After six months in the NRC a man is permitted to leave if he can produce evidence of having been offered a job. Hammond includes in his scheme provision for old-age pensions and sick pay.

A further extension of federal powers takes place when Hammond takes over the railroads and nationalizes them. Says the narrator:

The fundamental reason for President Hammond's ultimate success apparently lay in the fact that for more than a generation the States had been unwittingly transferring their individual rights, bit by bit, to the national government in return for special financial aids from the Treasury. The President simply was smart enough to press a tendency on to its logical conclusion.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., p. 139.

²⁵Ibid., p. 152.

Eventually each state has representatives in Washington at the Council of State with the more recalcitrant state legislatures being subdued by the power of the purse. In the Department of the Interior Hammond establishes a Bureau of City Affairs, and through the Council of State there is federal control of all liquor traffic. The federal government takes over the manufacturing, sale and importation of all liquor, and only federal licenses involving the payment of a heavy fee can permit hotels and other establishments to sell liquor. The control of liquor is placed under the Federal Liquor Commission.

In order to eliminate gangsters and racketeers and to federalize the police force, Hammond establishes a Department of Public Safety which includes a federal Mobile Police Force whose duties include searching for unsundered arms.

As a reward for civil service the President creates the Order of Honorable Service. Many more appointive than elective offices are now in existence in the federal government and a much higher type of official than formerly is willing to enter government service.

When there is threat of war and it is obvious that the League has failed, Hammond is instrumental in helping to form the World Council, the aim of which is to improve the world; and the United States joins a Pan American Customs Union which abolishes many objectionable tariffs. It is not long before two thirds of the world has joined this Union.

At the end of the Japanese war which had precipitated the

formation of the World Council, Hammond begs the Council to outlaw national armies, navies and air forces, as well as the manufacturing and storing of munitions other than those necessary for domestic police purposes. A Permanent Council is formed, which will be discussed under section 5 of this chapter, on the international organizations.

At last Hammond has sixteen amendments to the Constitution drawn up to legalize his radical reforms. Among the changes to be legalized are the following: Congress is to sit only at the call of the president; Cabinet members are to have non-voting privileges on the floor of Congress; the president is to decree national elections; the president is to be elected for six years and to be ineligible for reelection; Congress is to submit the sixteen amendments not to the state legislatures but to popular conventions to be called in each state for the purpose of considering the amendments.

Just as Hammond's program is coming to its fruition he is shot by a gangster in such a way that the bullet grazes the old injury which he received in the automobile accident and he returns to his former genial, easy-going self. He is horrified to find what he has done and feels that many of his reforms verge upon treason. Before his new -- or rather his old -- views are made public, however, he dies and many of his friends feel that it is better for him to have died than to have spoiled his own great reform program.

It is obvious that many of the actions of President Hammond in Gabriel Over the White House and those of President

Franklin D. Roosevelt in real life were parallel, but whether the actions of the latter were based upon those of the former, consciously or subconsciously, is impossible to say. Roosevelt, like Hammond, wished to re-tailor the government to fit altered conditions. Some of the innovations which Roosevelt introduced which parallel those of Hammond are the following: Hammond reduced taxes on a given item to nothing; Roosevelt could not reduce taxes, but he did raise and lower tariffs under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Hammond increased the Supreme Court from nine to fifteen Justices in order not to have his plans balked by the Court; in 1937, after Roosevelt had had some of his New Deal measures declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, he proposed increasing the number of Justices from nine to fifteen. Hammond received appropriations from Congress for a two-year period rather than a one-year period; Roosevelt received appropriations for only one year, but had a two-year appropriation tacitly voted with the approval of the budget a year ahead. Hammond had frequent heart-to-heart talks with the people by television, appealing directly to the population; Roosevelt appealed directly through his "Fireside Chats" over the radio. Hammond sent "Ministers" to each state to supervise funds; under Roosevelt federal expenditures within the state grant-in-aid programs were federally supervised as was state employment subsidized by federal money. Hammond took the United States off the gold standard, floated heavy internal loans, encouraged borrowing, discouraged hoarding, withdrew gold bonds, and gold-backed

currency; Roosevelt did all of these things. Hammond created the National Reconstruction Corps (NRC) with Army pay and conditions, to be composed of unemployed men who would perform special works of public utility in order to provide local relief; Roosevelt created the Works Progress Administration (WPA) later the Public Works Administration (PWA), both of which organizations were for the purpose of giving unemployed men work in public utilities, and he also created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), whose young men lived under army-like conditions and performed public services in conservation of public resources. Hammond provided for old-age pensions and sick pay; Roosevelt provided Social Security. Hammond helped to form the World Council to take the place of the failing League; Roosevelt was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the United Nations. Hammond set up a Pan American Customs Union; Roosevelt established the "Good Neighbor Policy" toward Latin America.

It appears, therefore, that too many parallels exist between the fictional program of President Hammond and the actual one of President Roosevelt for one entirely to ignore the possibility that the one was predicated upon the other. Since Gabriel Over the White House was published in 1933, however, it is possible that Tweed, having seen something of the way in which Roosevelt was beginning his program may have taken the measure of the man and speculated about the path that Roosevelt would then follow.

Huey P. Long's interesting book, My First Days in the

White House (cited in the chapter on "Boss Politics") describes his reformation of the federal government. Long has written the book as if it were a history of what actually happened after his election to the presidency. He describes himself as appointing the following men to the Cabinet: Secretary of State, William E. Borah; Secretary of the Treasury, James Couzens; Secretary of War, Smedley D. Butler; Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt; Secretary of the Interior, Major General Lytle Brown; Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover; Attorney General, Frank Murphy; and Secretary of Labor, Edward Keating.²⁶

To be Director of the Budget, Long describes himself as selecting Alfred E. Smith, and to be Postmaster General he selects a young man who had risen in the Post Office Department by merit, while for the Secretary of Agriculture he selects a man recommended by the farm organizations. In other words, Long is trying to say that he would select the persons of his official family on the basis of ability alone, regardless of political differences with himself.

Long's next step is to set up boards composed of governors of the states, members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, to survey and take inventory of all wealth and assets within their province in order to guarantee under the Share the Wealth Program that each family should get at least \$2,500 a year income. Through General Brown, Secretary

²⁶ Long, op. cit., p. 6.

of the Interior, Long then carries out a ten-billion-dollar engineering program to divert the Red River surplus water and send it into other Texas streams so that Texas as a whole will have more water; a number of equally grandiose schemes are set up all over the West to provide for irrigation and flood and dust control. Long says that these programs can easily be financed because the United States will soon be some fifty to one hundred billions of dollars richer than formerly through the Share the Wealth Program.

Long solves the problems of agriculture through the building up of a surplus of agricultural products whenever there is a sufficient surplus of these products. In banking, Long carries out the reforms proposed by Father Charles E. Coughlin which would give popular control of the banking system through the election of officers, with a central bank controlled by directly elected directors, one from each state. In subsidizing the railroads and taking government control of them, Long imposes rates similar to the postal schedule rate charging less for foodstuffs, as essentials, and more for other products.

By greatly increasing federal financial aid to educational facilities Long provides a college education for every boy and girl, professional training to fit the aptitudes of each person, and an increased pay scale for teachers. In order to eliminate crime, Long institutes an educational program in the schools to induce greater respect for the law, and he revises the judicial system so that a man may be sentenced

for a crime only on the recommendation of a psychiatrist and sociologist. In order to aid fire departments, money is allotted to test and invent new fire-fighting equipment. Long also aids the medical profession by allotting government money to research for finding cures and treatments for a number of diseases and for insanity.

Long writes about his Share the Wealth Program to persons such as Morgan, Mellon, Aldrich and other extremely wealthy men with the result that many of them offer to give to the United States the residue of their fortunes above five million dollars (the limit on a personal fortune imposed by Long). John D. Rockefeller, Jr., heads the program to redistribute the wealth, which program includes a taxation scheme whereby, within a few years, all personal fortunes would be reduced to approximately \$1,700,000. When the governor of one of the states challenges the legality of Congress's having passed the laws implementing the Share the Wealth Program, Long has the acts tested before the Supreme Court which declares the acts Constitutional. After the program has been in effect for some time Long takes a railroad trip:

"I'm going to find out something for myself. Are we really moving the way the people want? I will soon know."

I stepped to the rear of my train and shouted: "All right, folks, what's wrong?"

Everyone seemed to cheer at once. I shouted again:

"Tell me, what can I do for anyone? What's wrong?"

"There was more cheering until a loud voice roared:

"Nothing! We have just found out how bad we needed you for President all the time."²⁷

Long's own version of his presidency is in great contrast to the version presented in Sinclair Lewis's It Can't Happen Here (discussed in the chapter on political pessimism in novels of the future). Although Long and Lewis discuss some of the same phenomena, many of the same "reforms," and certainly the same voiced program on the part of the political leader, the interpretations and the results which Long and Lewis describe are quite divergent in character.

5. The International Organization

As mentioned above, Thomas P. Tweed in Gabriel Over the White House describes replacement organization for the League of Nations, called the Permanent World Council. The Council has its headquarters in the "International City," built on the Peninsula of Inishowen, Northern Ireland. Very little is said about the administration of the Council, or its aims, except that it is to end war by means of the Council's having the only arms and armies in the world. The United States agrees to cancel the war debt of any nation signing the protocol for disarmament. Under the Council a Central Bank is established to prevent any country's importing or exporting gold. The Central Bank controls all gold and regulates all world currencies on the basis of that gold. The other function of the Central Bank, which appears to be the chief organ

²⁷ Ibid., p. 141.

of Tweed's world organization, is to give aid to any country in the world which needs financial help.

Dorothy B. Hughes's novel, The Delicate Ape,²⁸ concerns the International Peace Conclave, an international organization devoted, as the name implies, to promoting peace in the world. Secretary Anstruther is the Secretary of Peace, the head of the Conclave. The Halls of Peace, the meeting place of the Conclave, is in New York, and the hero of the book, Piers Hunt, is the Foreign Undersecretary for Peace.

The Delicate Ape is never very clear as to story or organization; nevertheless it gives a curious impression of saying something important. Secretary Anstruther has been murdered at the time that the novel opens, but only Piers and the murderer know it as yet. Piers does not want to reveal the information until he can prevent the militarists from withdrawing Germany from the Conclave.

In South Africa a number of happenings have taken place which make it appear that the Negroes are being stirred up against the Germans and other Caucasians. The one person who knows the truth about the real state of affairs in Africa is Fabian, the Secretary of Equatorial Africa, but no one knows where to locate him. Piers suspects Brecklin, the accredited German envoy to the Peace Conference which is being held by the Conclave, of being sent to murder him, Piers, before Piers can reveal the truth about Secretary

²⁸Dorothy B. Hughes, The Delicate Ape (New York, 1944).

Anstruther. In the absence of Secretary Anstruther, Gordon, Piers's personal friend and political rival, is appointed as Secretary pro tem -- a bitter disappointment for Piers. At last Fabian and Piers meet and together expose the fact that it is Gordon who has had Anstruther killed in order to get control of the Secretary's power, and that it is Gordon who has been using the Germans to make trouble, not the Germans who have been using Gordon. As Piers is dying from an old injury he stands before the Conclave and reads his speech:

He read the final line: "Germany must continue to be protected in accordance with our agreed plan for peace."

.

The Conclave would not dare to turn against this cry of man [for peace], rising to frenzy now, to grandeur. This time he had won. But he knew the fight must be fought over and again, each year, each day, each minute. The beast would snarl anew, the delicate ape would scheme. Man must fight on until peace was as fixed on earth as the stars were fixed in the cosmos.²⁹

The real point of the novel appears to be somewhere in this closing paragraph: the mechanism of international peace is not nearly so important as are the people who administer that mechanism. Even after an aim is firmly established and a seemingly satisfactory organization set up, persons within that organization may prevent its functioning as it was designed to do.

In the Terrania of Columbus Bradford's novel of the same name (discussed above in section 3 of this chapter), the

²⁹Ibid., pp. 251-252.

women who establish Terrania adopt English as the official language. The constitution of Terrania provides for a president and three Cabinet officers: a Secretary of the Treasury, a Secretary of the Department of Iconoclastics (to destroy armaments), and a Secretary of the Department of Irenics (to iron out difficulties between individuals and groups). This latter department is a kind of international court. In other respects the governments of the states composing Terrania are not to be interfered with, except for the provision that they may not make war. The president of Terrania is to be commander in chief of all the armies and navies of all of the states composing Terrania, and the president is to have extraordinary powers to make peace and to commandeer whatever may be necessary to carry out that peace. The Congress of Terrania is to be a Parliament consisting of one house -- a Senate composed of two members from each state. The world capital is to be set up in San Salvador which becomes known as the District of Terrania.

By far the most elaborate discussion of an international organization is that in an interesting novel by John Francis Goldsmith called President Randolph as I Knew Him.³⁰ Goldsmith's is the story of a young man, Daniel Randolph, his determination to succeed in rising politically, his essential

³⁰ John Francis Goldsmith, President Randolph as I Knew Him: An account of the historic events of the 1950's and 1960's written from the personal experiences of the secretary to the President (Philadelphia, 1935).

honesty and integrity which at times he seems to have forgotten but of which he never really loses sight, and his final victory as president of the United States. Randolph's story, however, only begins with his becoming president, because his aim is to use the presidency in order to establish a United Nations. There has been a tremendous armaments race and a war shortly before his election in 1956, which facts help Randolph in getting through his plan for world organization.

At the international conference of governments after the war Randolph proposes an international government -- a United Nations of the World -- which he wishes to establish with a World Parliament, President, Supreme Court, and a constitution to keep inviolate the rights of each citizen and nation.

Within Randolph's own Cabinet arises the objection that the colonies which formed the United States had much more in common than do the nations of the world. To this argument Randolph replies that it is not his intention to amalgamate nations so that they lose identity but that all nations have civilization in common. The Secretary of War says that the plan is against the best interests of the United States because the United States is the strongest nation in the world. Randolph replies that on the contrary the plan is to the advantage of the United States, because although the United States is the strongest nation and can win in war, war leaves the United States bankrupt. In the proposed

United Nations, the individual nations are to sacrifice only the war power, and only international matters are to be vested in the United Nations. The Attorney General says that Randolph's theory of the United Nations was the original plan of the United States Constitution, but that through the interpretations of the Supreme Court the states lost power while the federal government gained power. The Attorney General fears that the same thing will happen in the United Nations. Randolph says that in the constitution of the United Nations as he proposes it there will be no foothold for interpretation to broaden the power of the United Nations at the expense of the member nations. Randolph's provision to avoid this difficulty is to have a fifty-year clause in the constitution of the United Nations under which, by following a certain procedure, if a nation does not like the way in which the constitution is being interpreted the nation may withdraw from the United Nations at any time during the initial fifty-year period.

Another argument advanced by the Cabinet against the United Nations is the objection that since the United Nations will have to settle difficulties and the United States is the greatest country of those to become members, the United States will be called upon to bear the greatest financial burden. Randolph answers that if, as he hopes, the world is well policed by the United Nations, there will be few military disagreements and therefore the expense will be small. Not all nations are to be admitted to the United Nations,

says Randolph, only the nations with civilization and enlightenment to compare with that of the United States. Courts will protect the rights of the nations and the peoples, and every nation in the United Nations will have to ratify each amendment before it becomes effective. The Attorney General says that if the United States adopts the United Nations constitution as a treaty it will be null because it will be in violation of the United States Constitution; therefore, in order to be valid, the United Nations constitution must be adopted by an amendment to the United States Constitution.³¹

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Many of the arguments advanced by President Randolph's Cabinet against the adoption of a United Nations are surprisingly similar to those advanced by some of the opponents to the adoption of a federal constitution of the United States. Some interesting studies of arguments for and against the Constitution of the United States may be found in the following works: James Butzner, ed., Constitutional Chaff -- Rejected Suggestions of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 With Explanatory Argument from the Notes of James Madison of Virginia, Major William Pierce of Georgia, Dr. James McHenry of Maryland, Rufus King of Massachusetts, and the Honorable Robert Yates of New York (New York, 1941); E. D. W. Connor, Revolutionary Leaders of North Carolina (High Point, 1916); Paul Leicester Ford, ed., Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States Published During its Discussion by the People: with notes and a bibliography (Brooklyn, 1888); Paul Leicester Ford, ed., Essays on the Constitution of the United States Published During its Discussion by the People: 1787-1788 (Brooklyn, 1892); and, Louise Irby Trenholme, The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina (New York, 1932). Arthur W. Holcombe, in his book, Our More Perfect Union: From Eighteenth-Century Principles to Twentieth-Century Practices (Cambridge, 1950) discusses the doubts about durability and unanimity of the United States Constitution as expressed by such founders of the United States as Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton, and concludes that the Constitution of the United States is only a prelude to a world constitution. On pp. 428-429 Holcombe says: "The awful spectacle of a world without a

One of the Cabinet members uses the time-honored argument of Washington's Farewell Address as an argument against the United Nations, and Randolph replies that the Address was fine when it was made but that times have changed. As the Cabinet gradually accepts the major premise of the United Nations, they bring up minor questions as to the operations of the world organization, such as the problem of diplomatic representation of countries not members of the United Nations. Randolph argues that there should be diplomatic representation between non-member states and member states through the United Nations, but not representatives of the member states in their individual capacities as formerly.

Furthermore, Randolph states that in his plan new nations will be admitted to the United Nations only on the unanimous consent of members, and the large populations of Africa and Asia are not to be represented in the world legislature for fear that they would swamp the other countries by their numbers. The only exceptions will be such units as Algeria and the Union of South Africa. If Britain insists on Indian representation there will be no United Nations. In the Senate of the United Nations, Randolph says, Great Britain will be allowed only two representatives in all, not two representatives for each dominion, any more than the United States may have two for each state. The United

world government can be ended by means of plans which moderate and conciliatory politicians are capable of making. Such plans should be based upon the principles of government which American experience has demonstrated to be sound. . . ."

States is determined to keep the upper hand. In order to protect each member nation of the United Nations in its foreign trade, there will be a clause limiting taxes on exports to one per cent. Boundaries as existing are to be guaranteed, but may be adjusted with the consent of the parties concerned through an impartial commission.

Randolph says (with Goldsmith still obviously lingering in the shades of the ill-fated League of Nations) that the real work will be in getting the United Nations accepted by Congress. Randolph, however, has learned from the mistakes of President Wilson: he determines to present the idea of the United Nations strategically to Congress by giving Congress first a version of the United Nations constitution which omits all of the safeguards for the United States, and then to add the safeguards, upon which he has already decided, as a great "concession" to Congress. In this way Congress can proclaim to the people that it has saved the United States while at the same time Congress will be so busy arguing about the insertion of details that it will accept the larger idea of the United Nations almost without noticing what it is doing.

After working out his basic ideas on the United Nations Randolph calls a conference of the representatives of the great nations of the world -- Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, as well as the United States, and this conference agrees on basic points. Then Randolph calls a larger conference to meet in Washington at the Pan American

Building, at which latter conference the Big Five mentioned above are to have delegations of five each, and other nations of three each.

Again, more wise by Wilson's failure, Randolph selects his United States delegation to the conference with care. As chairman, the president and the Secretary of State of the United States alternate. Other members of the United States representation are: the Attorney General, a powerful Republican Senator, the Democratic leader of the Senate, and the majority leader of the House. Randolph's obvious strategy is to win over and commit leaders in Congress to his plan before the plan is submitted to Congress as a whole. Randolph's methods may be compared with those of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in educating the public to the acceptance of the real-life United Nations by the calling of a number of conferences and the acceptance on the part of the public and the rest of the government of one part of the United Nations after another without ever quite mentally connecting the parts, so that by the end of World War II almost all of the component ingredients of the United Nations had already been accepted and the only thing remaining to be done was to combine the parts into the whole.

The conference in Washington which frames the constitution of the fictional United Nations adopts English as the official language and has secret meetings. Complete records of the proceedings of the conference go to each country, however, but these records are to be kept secret

for a period of three years. The Prime Minister of Canada is chosen as permanent chairman. The resolution for the basic premise of a union is carried by the solid front of the Big Five (thanks to the preliminary conference) and the other nations are finally persuaded to agree. Committees are appointed to work out the details, and Randolph, Austin (of Great Britain) and Daudet (of France) are given positions on most committees as well as composing themselves a special committee on coordination of the results. There are twenty-seven nations represented at the conference.

One of the first questions to be decided is that of the manner of selecting the Parliament. The decision is that Senators are to be chosen in a manner to be provided by the law of each nation, and the Representatives are to be elected by the qualified voters of each nation. Presidential electors are to be decided upon in the same manner as the Senators. In this manner, by the method of election, the United Nations will in part be based directly on the people through their direct election of the representatives. Representatives are to hold office for two years and Senators for six, while the president is to have a term of four years. The size of the military and air forces of a country is to be limited to two tenths of one per cent of the total population of the country.

Randolph proposes that the military forces of all nations be subject to call by the United Nations, but on this point he is overridden with the majority voting that the United

Nations may use only its own military power, and no national forces may be called upon to settle disputes in other countries, since the nations feel that the use of national forces to settle disputes may engender more ill feeling than it settles. Randolph also proposes that the judiciary should be able to nullify the laws of the Parliament in order to uphold the constitution if necessary.

Although there are minor difficulties with France (Germany on the other hand cooperating very well) the real difficulty is in persuading Britain to accept the lack of Dominion representation in the Senate. Since all other countries of the world agree with the United States, and the dominions are represented in the House, however, Great Britain finally concedes the point.

As for Randolph's plan for getting Congressional approval, that succeeds admirably. The Democratic Senator manages to get adopted the safeguards for the United States which Randolph had secretly espoused, becoming in this way a hero to the people, and in addition the Senator suggests another proposal of which Randolph approves, namely, a prohibition against the draining off of the wealth of the United States in the form of taxes to the United Nations for the development of underdeveloped areas.

After Congress has debated the constitution and Randolph delivers a ratification address on it, the measure is adopted in Amendment Twenty-Four of the United States Constitution. When, before the adoption, a Senator Sheldon

proposes reservations which would mean the crippling of the United Nations (such as, for example, the provision that no United Nations troops may be allowed in United States waters or territories, the stipulation that all acts of the United Nations may be nullified by the United States Congress in so far as they apply to the United States, and the provision that the United States may at any time and without notice withdraw from the United Nations) the German military experts demonstrate to the satisfaction of everyone that no nation is safe from German chemical warfare and that the only hope for the world lies in unity.

One after another the countries of the United Nations ratify the constitution, and, once nine have ratified, the United Nations goes into operation. By 1960 all twenty-seven nations have ratified.

The World District is to be composed of the Duchy of Luxembourg and certain territory to be ceded by France, Germany and Belgium -- a total of 3,000 square miles. In addition, France and Belgium cede a corridor ten miles in width extending from Luxembourg to the Strait of Dover.

Randolph is elected first president of the United Nations, with Karl Wolff, the Chancellor of Germany, as vice president. In 1961 the first assembly of the United Nations takes place with the oath of office being administered by the president of the Cour de Cassation of Belgium. Randolph asks the United Nations Parliament for an appropriation of forty billion dollars to raise an army of five million men,

a navy three times the size of any one existing, and an air armada of one million planes. These preparations are actually aimed against the Soviets, who brew trouble. Since the United Nations is forbidden to borrow money on the credit of the constituent governments, it issues bonds and buys arms (under its Defense Act) from the national governments.

A Judiciary Act creates circuits and establishes courts of appeal. At each court of appeal there are to be five judges, of whom one is to be the chief judge. Salaries are to be fifty thousand dollars a year each.

Parliament enacts the World District Construction Act in order to build the world capital and votes the president of the United Nations an annual salary of \$250,000 besides which the United Nations is to support the cost of the Presidential Palace and buildings. By the Flag Act the United Nations selects a flag (which is something of a cross between the Union Jack, the flag of the United States, and the Confederate Stars and Bars).

Another act of the Parliament is the establishment of the Supreme Court of the United Nations. The Supreme Court is to consist of fourteen judges and is to hold yearly sessions each of which will continue until the docket is cleared. All persons who may practice before courts of appeals of the member nations of the United Nations may practice before the Supreme Court of the United Nations. The Criminal Code of the United Nations provides against offenses in international waters or in commerce, and provides for the appre-

hension of international criminals. Some crimes are punishable by death, and an International Penitentiary is established in the World District.

The Diplomacy Act enacted by the Parliament provides for an International Domestic Consular Service which is to be a branch of the Division of Internal Affairs of the Department of State. In charge is to be the Chancellor of State who is directly subordinate to the Vice Chancellor for Internal Affairs.

Author Goldsmith describes the operation of the United Nations after it is set up, in handling some diplomatic and military crises as they arise. After the United Nations has been in operation for some time some small necessary modifications are made, such as the adoption of Randolph's original proposal that national troops may be called upon in crisis in order to reduce the operating expenses of the United Nations, the internationalization of colonies, and some other minor adjustments. Altogether, however, Goldsmith and his character, President Randolph, are highly satisfied with their United Nations.

The United Nations of President Randolph as I Knew Him invites obvious comparisons with the present-day United Nations, and the very fact that Goldsmith hit upon the name used in the later actual international organization makes the reader tend to hunt for more similarities than are perhaps present. The most glaring difference between the actual and the fictional United Nations is the fact that the fictional

one is much more a genuine world government, in many senses a federation, than is the actual one. Both the fictional and the actual United Nations took a leaf from the book of critics of the League of Nations and attempted to provide for sanctions, the use of force in order to stop aggression, each eventually using an army which was composed of parts of the national armies of the countries composing the organization.

Neither of the two United Nations included all of the nations of the world, and although the standards of admittance on the surface were much the same -- a degree of "civilization" which in the actual United Nations was equated with self-government -- the countries composing the two United Nations are certainly far different. Both United Nations had a Big Five which was instrumental in the establishment of the organization, but while the Big Five of Goldsmith's United Nations consisted of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, the Big Five of real life contained the first three members of Goldsmith's quintet but substituted the Soviet Union and China (which were entirely excluded by Goldsmith from the United Nations) for Germany and Italy. In contrast to the twenty-seven original members of the fictional United Nations, there were fifty-one original members of the actual United Nations.

Instead of a Supreme Court of the United Nations, as Goldsmith had, the present United Nations has an International Court of Justice with somewhat more restricted jurisdiction

than had Goldsmith's, and certainly with less the character of a criminal court than the fictional one. While the fictional Court had fourteen judges, the actual one has fifteen. There is no provision for criminal punishment in the actual United Nations.

Instead of a parliament with a Senate and a House, the real United Nations has a Security Council composed of eleven states (of which five are permanent members) and a General Assembly in which all nations of the United Nations are represented with each having one vote. Instead of a president with four-year terms, the actual United Nations has a Secretary General whose term is unspecified. Goldsmith has colonies being internationalized under his United Nations; in the genuine United Nations a Trusteeship Council provides principles to guide member nations in governing their own colonies not placed in trusteeship and undertakes provision for other non-self-governing territories. Goldsmith's United Nations is based in part on the people; the genuine United Nations is based entirely on nations.³²

Goldsmith's United Nations, however, is interesting and important not so much for the ways in which it is like or unlike the United Nations which eventually came to be, but for the reason that Goldsmith was trying to do two things: to describe an international organization which, unlike the

³² Much of the information used in comparing the genuine and fictional United Nations comes from Clyde Eagleton's International Government (rev. ed.; New York, 1948).

League, could be made acceptable to the American people and could be made to work; and to base that international organization on the one framework which he had seen to function in a federative form -- the government of the United States. If one considers these points, Goldsmith's United Nations in its own context is understandable and logical. The United Nations which was eventually established did not go as far as did Goldsmith, but it too was based on something of the same framework -- the rejection of the parts of the League which had failed to function and the attempt to work out a democratic form of world organization. Both of the United Nations, then, were aiming at different times and under different conditions; not so much inappropriateness of ideas kept Goldsmith's United Nations from achieving reality as time itself.

Altogether the optimistic novels of the future, like the pessimistic novels, point toward what the authors seem to consider an inevitable change -- a sweeping away of the federal government as we now know it, an expansion into much more of a welfare state under a much stronger executive leadership. In this sense the novels which purportedly express political optimism in the future are as pessimistic as those novels which are obviously gloomy of outlook; almost none permits the United States to retain its present character. Perhaps in turning more toward government provisions for the welfare citizens, and in the admiration

of the benevolent dictator, the authors are influenced by the strong character of the leadership of President Franklin Roosevelt, or perhaps theirs is the reverse image of their fear of such dictators as Hitler, Stalin, or Mussolini. The Depression also left its mark upon the authors of the novels of the future as it did on other writers. Nevertheless, when one considers novels such as Philip Dru, one cannot easily say that the trend toward the welfare state and the strong executive has only become noticeable in recent years.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION: THE EMERGENCE OF PATTERN OF POLITICAL NOVELS

The novels examined do not show an upward curve on the factor of political sophistication. Between 1900 and 1950 they became, if anything, more slipshod than before. Part of this downgrading of expertness is, of course, attributable to the change in reading habits and inevitably concomitant simplifications in writing habits on the part of professional authors. Yet, with this allowed for, the political scientist must bear part of the blame on the score of a civic non-feasance of duty. What part, and how much?

The paradox remains: the greater diffusion of political science is unreflected in as important medium of communication as the novel. Initial appraisal of the situation would suggest that the fault lies neither with the political scientist as such nor with the novelist in his own right, but somewhere in the area of communication between the two unrelated skills.

Before undertaking any across-the-board conclusions, and the practical recommendations which such conclusions inevitably though implicitly engender, it is worth extracting from the study itself those conclusions which may demonstrate to the disinterested observer most specifically where the faults lie -- faults, in this case, merely signifying incorrect or slipshod political information disseminated by means of the novel.

Instead of an emerging pattern of novels in which there is an increasingly accurate presentation of political-science materials, a quite different pattern is evident in the novels of the twentieth century. In the first place, some of the best novels (from a political-science viewpoint), impartial and factually correct novels, were written in the years shortly preceding the entrance of the United States into World War I. During the same period, and a little earlier, several novels were published in which revolutions and ruthless dictatorships were predicted in the United States with the forecasts being based on the trends which the novelists thought that they observed at the time of writing. Other periods in which predictions of disaster were frequent in novels were the periods immediately following World Wars I and II and the Depression period of the nineteen thirties during which time there was not only economic distress but disillusionment with the League of Nations and fear of the rising European dictators.

None of the novels presented the political scientist as such. The failure of the profession to capture the attention of the producers of American literature can be interpreted in several ways -- none of them, pending a more exhaustive examination of the subject, conclusive. For the one part, the political scientist is lost in the broader generalization of the college professor. The literature pertaining to professors is a field in itself, not immediately germane to the present study. In the second instance, the political scientists -- though often, in real life, projected into conflict-ridden

situations -- are not as political scientists enough in the public eye to warrant their further exploitation as protagonists in the popular drama as purveyed by novels. As a third consideration, it must be confessed that the political scientist is transmuted into statesman or politician when he does come to the threshold of great popular attention; with eminence he becomes, as it were, lost to the specialists and added to the generalists.

Predictions of governmental change, often violent, usually significant, are more frequently made by journalists or litterateurs than by members of the American Political Science Association. It would be an audacious political scientist indeed who predicted, even in the most reserved and guarded terms, that which he thought would happen in contradistinction to that which he thought should happen. Political prognostication is, at its best, hazardous. Popular reference attributes to Bismarck the statement that, with the best intelligence available in the great chanceries of Europe, no one but a fool would venture to predict the play of great-power politics more than three years into the future. Yet prediction, along with a great many other intellectual and emotional processes, represents the meeting of a need in our society; if the professionals will not meet the need, laymen must perforce exploit the demand and the opportunity.

A more elaborate version of the present study might tackle this aspect of the problem by asking the question: "In a

world in which politics has become the supreme news, why have not the political scientists stood forth as news-makers par excellence?" Part of the answer, it may be surmised, lies in the teaching of the basic political-science course. This course, though many political scientists insist that political theory -- namely, the why, wherefore, and whither of the state -- is the hard core of their profession, is usually presented as a descriptive course in American political institutions. Controversy and loyalty issues aside, it is possible that many American political scientists have not felt themselves to be free to approach, through text or classroom, the very issues which most engage their enthusiasm in after-dinner conversation with educated people or shop-talk at their academic meetings; too often this kind of an approach is thought to be unprofessional.

The novels therefore mirror negative political science, the silences of the profession rather than its challenges.

The corollaries to this verge upon the disastrous.

One of the great traditions of the American past has been a strong reliance upon the future; it can be suggested that, of all major nations, America is the most future-conscious. The chapters on optimistic and pessimistic presentations of the American government in the future show that the kind of prediction which is most often made is the newspaper-level forecast. President Randolph as I Knew Him Is, by strong internal evidence, the work of an attorney. The others are the productions (at the best) of career writers and (at the

worst) of cranks with nostrums to peddle. Not one of the novels is predicated upon the slow but dramatic and thoroughly normal development of American governmental institutions.

Not one book of the hundreds unearthed by the study makes a confident prediction of a better republic or a more humane democracy by demonstrating fundamental trends toward the amelioration of American life through the emergence of better or more responsive political or governmental institutions. Of all the books surveyed, Colonel House's romance of Philip Dru comes closest to this, and yet even this book cannot seriously be presented as conveying the theme of reasonable and inevitable betterment of our political ways.

A study of literature, at its best, must deal with the general pattern of civilization, and with the dies of hope and despair, belief and cynicism, which cross America without taking on a form professionally appealing to the political scientist. The basic themes recur again and again, but the causative factors remain largely unexplored.

The conclusions of the present investigation must, therefore, be conclusions of communicability, or reasonableness, or descriptive accuracy concerning the federal government. These are valid and important intellectual criteria, but they fall far short of touching what Miguel de Unamuno calls the tragic sense of life -- the sense that man's destiny is both important and ineluctable.

Even by these limited standards of descriptiveness and

accuracy, or fairness of interpretation, there has been no marked improvement in governmental descriptive content of American novels in the last fifty years; there are grounds for arguing that there may have been a deterioration.

Yet there are more political scientists. Can it be said, cavalierly and flatly, that the political scientists have failed to communicate their special knowledge. This is undoubtedly too glib an answer. Nevertheless, it has a hard core of truth. Political scientists have usually seen in the classroom, the textbook, and (at the most) the consultative government report or the inspired political speech an adequate outlet for their own lifetimes of special study and serious reflection.

They have, it is almost certain, not heeded the vulgar but powerful entertainment media of mass communication which do so uninterrupted a job of indirect education in our society. Political scientists rarely review novels; that much, indeed, has been established by this study. Do they write the novelists directly, commending good performance and admonishing error? The negative evidence is that they do not. In other words, the political scientists have -- whether fortunately or not -- chosen a narrow, dignified, and special group of communications media for the transmission of their learning into society at large. In the cognate medium of the novel (also literary; also in book form; also issued by publishers; frequently sold in the same bookshops with polit-

ical-science studies) the influence of political scientists has been almost imperceptible.

Thus far the conclusions of this study carry the disinterested observer, even at the pain of excessive but necessary recapitulation of the contents of novels.

What of the detail?

In novels which presumably deal with history which has actually occurred, the role of the president is much over-emphasized, and the president is made to appear by far the most important person in the government. The novelists' convictions that human interest and the presentation of a strong personality is the ingredient which a reader wishes most in a novel triumphs over facts of governmental structure. This conjecture that novelists are governed more by what they think the reading public wants than by considerations of accuracy either historical or political is further confirmed by the repeated selection of obvious personalities, and by the apparent success of the shallower less-researched novels over the better and more elaborately prepared ones. There are exceptions to this, as to any rule, of course, but the tide of popularity obviously runs in the direction of telling the public what the public already thinks it knows, rather than in appealing to the less-predictable and less-dependable public appetite for persons, institutions or situations which lie well outside the first-hand or previously inculcated experience of the reader.

In the historical scene, for example, Lincoln dominates the scene before 1900, while Franklin D. Roosevelt dominates the fictional scene in terms of the court of novels portraying the period after 1900. The novels in almost every case exploit the personality of the president as a human being; no one novel stands forth for its depiction of the personality of a president in relation to his capacity to measure up to his tasks. The day-to-day exactions of the presidential office are never explored with the minute wealth of detail shown in Robert Graves's portrayal of the Roman emperors or Lion Feuchtwanger's deep and sympathetic penetration of the mind of the petty German monarch of the eighteenth century; needless to say, there is nothing even remotely comparable to the profound and almost terrifying study of the Czar Peter the Great in Dmitri Merezhkewski's immortal novel, Peter and Alexis, where the quality of the Czar and the burden of being Czarevitch are lined as ineradicable essentials of the major protagonists.

Few of the American political novels, in consequence, form a close parallel to the work of political scientists or even of historians. It is a part, perhaps, of the American literary tradition that complexity of character be reserved to the more distant abstract figures in everyday life, while a relative simplicity and unity of character is attributed to leaders.

the presidential novels, the role of the massive

Party, the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, the pitiable self-defeat of Warren G. Harding, and the immense melodrama of the New Deal provide very obvious targets. The figure of Herbert Hoover does not appear a single time as the hero of a named or thinly disguised fictional biography and Coolidge, though alluded to frequently enough as a type, has attracted virtually no fictional interest; comparably, the invented presidents are usually close parallels to real figures such as McKinley or Franklin D. Roosevelt or else they are grotesque characters of revolution or dictatorship. "The president" as a stereotype cannot seriously be said to exist in a form which any competent political scientist would recognize. Too many of the fictional presidents owe something more to Rupert of Hentzau than to the actual men who have made policy in the White House.

A pro forma respect for American institutions is shown, however, by the relatively greater seriousness and admiration accorded the portrayal of fictional presidents than is the case with American legislators. It can almost, but not quite, be said that the American novelists examined have no more real comprehension of the American legislative process (national or state) than they do of the proceedings at the court of the Aztec emperors. When American writers deal with foreign personages, they often feel required to do some research in order to forestall the captiousness of critics; in their own country, and on their own home scene, they appear ready and willing to

dispense with the substantial aids which the literature of American political science could give them. Even Frances Parkinson Keyes and other writers personally familiar with the Washington scene show little readiness to study the actual legislative methods of the American government; none of the writers relays this information to the lay public with an infectious degree of enthusiasm.

Once again the basic question -- to which no yes-or-no answer is possible -- arises: is the omission of political-science materials from the actual content of the novels a dereliction of the political scientists in not communicating their information and skills to the novel-writing professionals, or is it a dereliction on the part of American novelists that they take so much for granted as to miss an unexplored continent of drama and human conflict right within their own government?

The New Deal is a case in point. For this period, more than for any other, novelists were oftentimes functionaries of the government which they portray. The predominant tone in New Deal and war agency novels is satire, but the political orientation runs all the way from a crassly overt and sneering pro-Stalinism to Rabelaisian grotesqueries which even the real-life New Deal could not have matched. The New Deal did drag civic questions into the novel. More than ever before, despite the frequent lightness of their approach to the subject matter, novelists were compelled to ask themselves where they stood as citizens and, explicitly or indirectly, to defend

those values, Right or Left, which they found to lie at the core of their own personalities.

Some of the basic New Deal stereotypes are the following:

The administrative processes of government, though impractical (by what standard, the authors never state), are diverting or disheartening to watch -- depending on the point of view -- because they represent a new kind of know-how in the American political world.

Good will and high purpose are rarely found in the government as it has been, but these elements are frequently introduced from the outside or from above.

Persons who strive for a very literal honesty in the simplicitarian American tradition are either mocked, betrayed, and ridiculed, or they are equally drastically elevated to heights of wholly improbable acclaim and success.

Confusion in government is not all of it bad; in many cases it represents real people meeting problems new in their personal and public lives. (Unfortunately, few of the novels show a sympathetic understanding of public administration as such. For every Walter Karig or Darwin Teikhet there are a dozen Bailie Lornings or Frances Parkinson Veyeses.)

The employee is virtually non-existent; the administrator is a man whose prestige motivations far outweigh his inclination to be a good member of a team; the policy-makers are the ones who really count, and they spend most of their time acting out a miracle play of outright good-versus-bad -- the po-

larization depending on the author's selection, usually a naive one, of Right or Left as his preference.

These generalizations, though necessarily tentative, show that the New Deal forced the American novel to meet it on its own ground, and that the sustained real-life and newspaper drama of the FDR epoch forced both writers and readers to give government a kind of attention which they had not often accorded the federal government before -- a direct attention on the processes involved in government.

Moving to another category, one can summarize the conclusions concerning federal detection and espionage facilities by saying that espionage never gets the particular and rather expert attention frequently accorded police procedure in the detective story. The novelist usually concentrates his attention on a simple and tangible conflict -- often one hopelessly out-of-date so far as the twentieth century American government is concerned. In this field, and in this field only, the paucity of correct political information in the novels is matched by a corresponding paucity in the professional literature of political science.

Boss politics were for a long time a literary vogue, and (except for serious exaggerations of the role of the boss on the national scale) the novelists often made an earnest attempt to understand both the man and the system. Few novels about boss politics have appeared since 1935, except for a small group of novels which inevitably focus on the true but

almost unbelievable personality of Huey Long.

In summing up, it can be said that this source of information and misinformation concerning American government should be taken seriously into account by any political scientist who asserts that he knows what the people of America think they know about their own government. Political theory suffers most sharply in this respect, since among the novelists the most articulate theorists are the extreme Left-wingers. How would a political scientist, within the limits of his usual professional reading, discover what his own people do think of government?

Neither political scientists nor novelists have ceased their writing. "Of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh."¹ The professional associations of each group have an opportunity for genuine civic service, shoring up the workaday fundamentals of American belief or behavior, if they learn to exchange reviews and information. Harold Lasswell has not found his apostles among the novelists, nor has Upton Sinclair found his prophet among the professors of political science. Lack of inter-disciplinary discussion and review has in a very real sense created ignorance, since a false or oversimplified exposition of an institution may be the equivalent of none at all.

Finally, it must be remarked that none of the novels in our

¹ Eccles. xii:12.

time has had the political impact of an Uncle Tom's Cabin. None has exercised a decisive political influence for good or bad. The field is open. It is up to political scientists and to novelists to open up the contacts with one another, as working Americans, which could make the creative performance of each group more fruitful, more interesting and, last but never least, more seriously and deeply patriotic.

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APPENDIX 1

THE DREAM WORLD OF COLONEL HOUSE

THE NEW NATIONAL CONSTITUTION*

1

1. Every adult citizen of the United States, male or female, shall have the right to vote, and no State, county or municipality shall pass a law or laws infringing upon this right.

2. Any alien, male or female, who can read, write and speak English, and who has resided in the United States for ten years, may take out naturalization papers and become a citizen. [Before Dru's constitution, only five years' residence was required and many states did not require the understanding of English or other education.]

3. No one shall be eligible for election as Executive, President, Senator, Representative or Judge of any court under the age of twenty-five years and who is not a citizen of the United States.

4. No one shall be eligible for any other office, National or State, who is at that time, or who has been within a period of five years preceding, a member of any Senate or Court. [Dru's purpose was to make the Senate quasi-judicial

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From Edward M. House, Philip Dru: Administrator, pp. 238-243. In this Appendix, all comments within brackets are by the writer of this dissertation, digested from matter that appears in the original work.

and he did not wish to allow a member of a quasi or real judiciary to participate in a decision on which he might later base his political fortune.]

II

1. The several States shall be divided into districts of three hundred thousand inhabitants in each, and each district so divided shall have one representative; and in order to give the widest latitude as to choice, there shall be no restrictions as to residence. [Dru made this provision so that, as under the English system, if more than one good potential candidate lived in a district, all might be elected.]

2. The Members of the House of Representatives shall be elected on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, and shall serve for a term of six years, subject to a recall at the end of each two years by a signed petition embracing one-third of the electorate of the same district from which they were chosen.

3. The House shall convene on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in January and shall never have more than five hundred members. [Dru was convening the House within two months of election, not thirteen as previously; the size was to be limited to promote efficiency.]

4. The House of Representatives shall elect a Speaker whose term of office may be continuous at the pleasure of the majority. He shall preside over the House, but otherwise his functions shall be purely formal.

5. The House shall also choose an Executive, whose

duties it shall be, under the direction of the House, to administer the Government. He may or may not be at the time of his election a member of the House, but he becomes an ex-officio member by virtue thereof.

6. (a) The Executive shall have authority to select his Cabinet Officers from members of the House or elsewhere, other than from the Courts or Senate, and such Cabinet Officers, shall by reason thereof, be ex-officio members of the House.

(b) Such officials are to hold their positions at the pleasure of the Executive and the Executive is to hold his at the pleasure of the majority of the House.

(c) In an address to the House, the Executive shall, within a reasonable time after his selection, outline his policy of Government, both domestic and foreign.

(d) He and his Cabinet may frame bills covering the suggestions made in his address, or any subsequent address that he may think proper to make, and introduce and defend them in the House. Measures introduced by the Executive or members of his Cabinet are not referred to committees, but are to be considered by the House as a whole, and their consideration shall have preference over measures introduced by other members.

7. All legislation shall originate in the House.

III

1. The Senate shall consist of one member from each State, and shall be elected for life, by direct vote of the

people, and shall be subject to recall by a majority vote of the electors of his State at the end of any five year period of his term.

2. (a) Every measure passed by the House, other than those relating solely to the raising of revenue for the current needs of the Government and the expenditures thereof, shall go to the Senate for approval.

(b) The Senate may approve a measure by a majority vote and it then becomes a law, or they may make such suggestions regarding the amendment as may seem to them pertinent, and return it to the House to accept or reject as they may see fit.

(c) The Senate may reject a measure by a majority vote. If the Senate reject a measure, the House shall have the right to dissolve and go before the people for their decision.

(d) If the country approves the measure by returning a House favorable to it, then, upon its passage by the House in the same form as when rejected by the Senate, it shall become a law.

3. (a) A Senator may be impeached by a majority vote of the Supreme Court, upon an action approved by the House, and brought by the Executive or any member of his Cabinet.

(b) A Senator must retire at the age of seventy years, and he shall be suitably pensioned.

IV

1. The President shall be chosen by a majority vote of

all the electors. His term shall be for ten years and he shall be ineligible for re-election, but after retirement he shall receive a pension.

2. His duties shall be almost entirely formal and ceremonial.

3. In the event of a hiatus in Government from any source whatsoever, it shall be his duty immediately to call an election, and in the meantime to act as Executive until the regularly elected authorities can again resume charge of the Government.

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APPENDIX 2

HUEY LONG'S AMERICA

APPENDIX*

Wherein a Digest of the Share Our Wealth
Legislation is Contained.

LIMITATIONS ON FORTUNES

(Minimum and Maximum)

Redistribution of Wealth

Congress provided that as a matter of national policy necessary for the preservation of the nation and its defense against foreign foes that the United States declare it against public policy for any family to have less than the comforts of home and of life, free of debt, and equal to at least the value of one-third the average American family wealth; that in order to guarantee such comforts and necessities of life to all the people, it was necessary that some reasonable limit be placed on the wealth which one person might own; and, accordingly, Congress declared that it was against the public policy of the United States for any one person to possess wealth in excess of one hundred times the average family fortune.

To bring about the redistribution of wealth, not only to give the comforts of home to the people, but to provide some of the revenue needed for expansion and improvement in the

*From Huey Pierce Long, My First Days in The White House (Harrisburg, 1935).

United States, Congress imposed a capital levy tax to be levied every year on every fortune in the nation as follows:

(a) On all wealth owned by a person from $1\frac{1}{2}$ up to One Million Dollars, no capital tax levy, it being the policy of the law that for one to be up to a million dollars does no injury to the balance of the people having comforts of life.

(b) On all wealth which one owns above One Million Dollars and up to Two Million Dollars, a capital levy tax of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the second million only.

(c) On all wealth which one owns above Two Million Dollars and up to Three Million Dollars, a capital levy tax of 2% on the third million.

(d) On all wealth which one owns above Three Million Dollars and up to Four Million Dollars, a tax of $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the fourth million.

(e) On all wealth which one owns above Four Million Dollars and up to Five Million Dollars, a tax of 8% on the fifth million.

(f) On all wealth which one owns above Five Million Dollars and up to Six Million Dollars, a tax of 16% on the sixth million.

(g) On all wealth which one owns above Six Million Dollars and up to Seven Million Dollars, a tax of 32% on the Seventh Million.

(h) On all wealth which one owns above Seven Million Dollars and up to Eight Million Dollars, a tax of 64% on the

eighth million.

(1) On all wealth which one owns above Eight Million Dollars, a tax of 99%.

Calculated by simple arithmetic the foregoing table meant that all fortunes would generally fall to a maximum limit of around Five Million Dollars to the person the first or second year, but gradually thereafter, the capital tax, being levied year after year, would reduce the largest fortune to from one to two millions of dollars.

Inasmuch as large quantities of properties could not be converted into cash to make an immediate payment, the person taxed was permitted to turn over property or cash in payment of the tax and was also allowed to pay the tax in installments.

The money and wealth thus raised for the government, under the surveys and plans arranged, was used first to supply the comforts of home and life to the masses up to a value equal to one-third of the average family wealth. The Congress provided that, in order to make such distribution of the properties turned into the United States in payment of the capital levy tax, that the Government should have the right to sell property, to transfer and exchange it for other property, to issue currency to be retired from sale and disposition of the government's properties, along the lines as followed in the Federal Land Bank financing.

It being determined that each family should have a home and comforts for life, the acts of Congress provided that such

a home should not be sold by the owners unless the State should consent to such sale, and that the proceeds from such sale should be impounded, only to be used for the purchase of another homestead. The rules set up to protect the ownership of homes and comforts for life in several States were largely followed in preparing this legislation.

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED NATIONS OF THE WORLD*

With Principal Annotations to Date

NOTES: The following annotations to the Constitution of the United Nations have been selected by the author with the kind assistance of Sir Harry Thayer, Chancellor of Justice of the United Nations, and are believed to embrace most of the important interpretations given to the Constitution by the Courts up to the present time.

The abbreviated references are to the official law reports of the International Government, as follows: U.N., United Nations Law Reports, official reports of the United Nations Supreme Court; I.A., International Appellate Law Reports, official reports of the several Courts of Appeal of the United Nations; and I.D., International District Law Reports, official reports of the several District Courts of the United Nations.

*From John Francis Goldsmith, President Hand Loh as I Knew Him: An account of the historic events of the 1950's and 1960's written from the personal experiences of the secretary to the President (Philadelphia, 1935)

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED NATIONS OF THE WORLD

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLE of the United Nations, in order to form a Union of enlightened States, establish peace, justice, and liberty among all Mankind, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of ourselves and those who come after us, with gratitude to the Supreme Being for the blessings and opportunities of our common civilization, do ordain and establish his ~~the~~ Constitution for the United Nations of the World.

ARTICLE I

Section 1. The United Nations of the World shall be a Sovereign Government having such powers and authority as are herein granted, whether by expression or by necessary implication.

Section 2. All powers not granted to the United Nations by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the Nations and States, are reserved to the Nations, or to the States, or to the People.

Section 3. This Constitution and the laws of the United Nations which shall be made in pursuance thereof and all treaties which shall be made under the authority of the United

Nations shall be the supreme law within this Union, and the Judges of the United Nations and of every Nation and State thereof shall be bound thereby, anything in the laws of the United Nations¹ or in the Constitution or laws of any Nation or State to the contrary notwithstanding.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. No Nation or State shall engage in war, unless lawfully to resist actual invasion of the territory thereof.

Section 2. No Nation or State shall, without the consent of the Parliament, enter into any treaty, agreement, or compact with any other Nation or State; but nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit States within any Nation from entering into compacts with other States in the

~~UNITED STATES OF AMERICA~~
United Nations v. Winter, 5 U.S. 461: A Nation may require that articles, having crossed its borders in international commerce, shall be subject to regulation, supervision, and tax by its own authorities. The power of Parliament to regulate international commerce stops at the border. The broad view taken by the Courts of the United States regarding the interstate commerce powers of the Congress of that country under its Constitution can have no application under the international commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States, because of the provision in the latter instrument that "such regulation shall be confined to the actual boundaries." Therefore an Act of Parliament which provides that control over such articles shall continue with the United Nations until the articles reach the Courts of the United States and void, and it is the duty of the Courts of the United Nations so to declare. Winter failed to keep whiskey under the original seals by which it entered England, as required by the Act of the International Parliament, but instead opened the same for inspection by British authorities as required by British law. He was convicted in the District Court for the District of England, and appealed to the Supreme Court. Conviction reversed. (See 7 I.D. 410.)

same Nation.

Section 3. No Nation, including the States thereof, shall, without the consent of the Parliament, keep military, naval, and air forces, whether in active service or in reserve, nor other than reasonable equipment for the same, in excess of two-tenths of one per centum of the population thereof. The Parliament may by general laws limit or prohibit the kinds and quantities of equipment.

Section 4. The officers, agents, and servants of the United Nations shall be free to come and go in all the Nations; and no Nation or State shall restrict that freedom² but by due process of law as in the case of its own citizens; nor shall the instrumentalities or property of the United Nations be anywhere interfered with or excluded.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Parliament of the United Nations, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

²Kingdom of Italy v. Marrelli, 14 U.N. 196: The officers, agents, and servants of the United Nations are not given diplomatic immunity, but are subject to national law in the same manner as in the case of other citizens. The purpose of this provision in the Constitution is simply to prevent a Nation from interfering with the free movement of officials of the United Nations, as such, and not to shield them from punishment for crimes committed in their personal capacity. Marrelli, a United Nations Marshal, was convicted of murder by the Kingdom of Italy; he took his appeal from the Court of Cassation of Italy to the Supreme Court of the United Nations on the ground that Italy was restricting the freedom of an official of the United Nations. Conviction sustained.

Section 2. The Senate of the United Nations shall be composed of two Senators from each Nation, chosen for a term of six years in a manner prescribed by the laws of the respective Nations. Each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided by lot as equally as may be into three classes; but Senators from the same Nation shall not be in the same class. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year.

Where a vacancy occurs in the term of any Senator, the Executive Authority of that Nation for which he was chosen shall have power to fill it.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, been ten years a citizen, and when elected an inhabitant, of that Nation for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United Nations shall be President of the Senate and shall have one vote.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments of the officers of the United Nations, and when sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When

the President of the United Nations is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside, and the Vice-President shall not vote. No person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and to disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United Nations; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, information, presentment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

Section 3. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the qualified voters in each Nation. Each Representative shall have one vote.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, been ten years a citizen, and when elected an inhabitant, in that Nation in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several Nations within this Union according to population. An enumeration of the population of the several Nations shall be made every tenth year by or under the authority of the United Nations; and the Parliament shall by law apportion the Representatives among the several Nations after each enumeration. The number of Representatives shall not be greater than one thousand, nor less than one hundred; but each Nation shall have at least one Representative.

Until such enumeration and apportionment shall be made,

each Nation shall be entitled to choose Representatives in the following number: The United States of America, sixty-six; The British Commonwealth of Nations, thirty-three; France, twenty-one; Germany, thirty; Italy, eighteen; Belgium, four; The Netherlands, four; Denmark, two; Norway, one; Sweden, three; Spain, ten; Portugal, three; Czechoslovakia, six; Jugoslavia, six; Poland, fourteen; Switzerland, two; Turkey, six; Argentina, six; Brazil, nineteen; Bulgaria, three; Chile, two; Colombia, four; Cuba, two; Greece, three; Hungary, four; Roumania, eight; and Mexico, seven.

When vacancies occur in the representation of any Nation, the Executive Authority thereof shall fill such vacancy.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers and shall have the sole power of the impeachment of officers of the United Nations.

Section 4. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services to be ascertained by law and to be paid out of the Treasury of the United Nations. In all cases except treason, crimes of violence, and breach of the peace, they shall be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be liable in any other place.

No person holding any office under the United Nations, or under any Nation or State of them, or under any other Nation or State, shall be a member of either House during his

continuance in office; and, after the fifth Parliament, no Senator or Representative shall, during the term for which he was chosen, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United Nations which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time.

The time of choosing the Representatives and one-third of the number of Senators shall be the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November of every second year; and the term of the new Parliament shall begin on the first Monday of January immediately thereafter.

The qualified voters in each Nation shall choose their Representatives in a manner prescribed by the laws of that Nation; provided, however, that where the number of qualified voters in any Nation shall be less than ten per centum of the population thereof, the Parliament may by special laws provide how the Representatives of such Nation shall be chosen.

In all matters respecting the choosing of Representatives, or other officers of the United Nations, no Nation or State shall restrict freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the qualified voters or other duly constituted electors peaceably to assemble and to choose such officers according to their will; and the Parliament, wherever they deem it necessary, may by special laws provide for such freedom of choosing.

Section 5. The Parliament shall assemble at least once in every year, on the first Monday of January, at such place

as they shall by law appoint.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

A majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each House shall provide.

Each House shall determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time not to exceed six months publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy for the welfare of the United Nations. The yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered upon the journal.

Neither House shall adjourn for more than three days during the session of Parliament without the consent of the other House; nor shall either House adjourn to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall sit.

Section 6. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United Nations; if he approve, he shall sign it, and it shall become law. If he do not approve, he shall return it, stating his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated; and that House shall enter the objections at large upon their journal

and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become law. In all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall become law in like manner as if he had signed it; but if the Parliament, by their adjournment prevent its return, it shall not become law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall be necessary, except on questions of amendment to this Constitution, of a new Constitution, and of adjournment, shall be presented to the President of the United Nations; and before the same shall take effect it shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be again passed by the votes of two-thirds of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, according to the rules, limitations, and manner prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 7. The Parliament shall have power:

To provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United Nations.

To raise and support, provide and maintain armies, navies,

and all other military, naval, and air forces; but no appropriation to that use shall be for a term longer than five years.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water and in the air.

To define and punish piracies, felonies, and other crimes committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations.

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land, naval, and air forces.

To lay and collect taxes,³ duties, imposts, and excises; but all taxes, duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United Nations.

To borrow money on the credit of the United Nations, and to pay the debts thereof.

To exercise exclusive⁴ jurisdiction on the high seas.

³United Nations v. Schwartz, 2 U.S. 275: There is no authority in the Parliament to tax the salaries of officers of the several Nations and States. Citizens of the United Nations live under a dual sovereignty, that of the national and International Governments; and, in cases of federal Nations, such as the United States and Germany, under a three-fold sovereignty, the States being the third sovereign. A power of one sovereign to tax the salaries of officers of the other two classes of sovereigns is a power to impair those sovereignties, and does not exist in the United Nations. Schwartz, a Judge of the State of Austria, Germany, refused to pay a tax on his judicial salary, and appealed to the Supreme Court, citing American decisions. Judgment for the Government reversed.

⁴United Nations v. Secreto, 3 U.S. 177: The Jurisdiction

To regulate⁵ commerce among the several Nations of this Union, and with the other Nations and States; but such regulation shall be confined¹ to the actual boundaries, and to areas not within the boundaries, of the several Nations, and shall in no way restrain the several Nations and States from levying and collecting taxes and tariffs on their respective imports and exports, nor from prohibiting within their borders such persons and articles as they shall by law exclude.

To coin money⁶ according to a standard in gold, and

of the United Nations over the high seas is made exclusive as against its own Nations, but not as against nations without the Union. The rights of non-member nations remain as before the Constitution, because the United Nations never acquired sole control of the seas from them. Therefore a murder committed by a citizen of Peru, on board a vessel of Peru, a nation not in this Union, is not a proper subject for the jurisdiction *(sic)* of the United Nations. Escrota was convicted of murder in the District Court for the District of Spain, under the Maritime Sections of the Act of Parliament (Criminal Code, U.N. Stats. 911), for murder on board a vessel of Peru, and he appealed to the United Nations Supreme Court. Conviction reversed. (See 4 I.D. 140; 3 I.A. 295.)

⁵United Nations v. Stadt, 8 U.N. 310: Parliament has power, under the international-commerce clause, to make the importation of opium, where contrary to the laws of the country into which it is taken, an offense against the United Nations *(sic)*. Stadt was convicted, in the District Court for Denmark, of the illegal transportation of opium across the Danish border, and appealed. Conviction sustained.

⁶French Republic v. United Kingdom of Great Britain, 2 U.N. 312: The jurisdiction in the United Nations to coin money is permissive and not mandatory. Nor is it an exclusive power, when exercised. The currencies of the several Nations will be as lawful as before, should the United Nations create a world currency. The makers of the Constitution have merely provided for the future, when a general money system may become advisable. This was a test case, to restrain the British

regulate the value thereof.

To fix the standard in weights and measures and time.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United Nations.

To provide for and regulate the exchange of mail among the several Nations of this Union and with other Nations and States.

To promote the progress of science, invention, discovery, and the useful arts by securing for limited times to inventors, discoverers, and authors the exclusive rights to their respective works.

To maintain and govern exclusively provinces, territories, and mandates.

To govern exclusively such district as may, by cession of any Nation and acceptance by the Parliament, become the seat of the Government of the United Nations.

To exercise exclusive authority over all places ceded by or purchased from any Nation for the purpose of military, naval, and air bases, forts, depots, and reservations, and for all other purposes necessary to the conduct of the Government of the United Nations.

To make all laws⁷ which shall be necessary and proper for

Government from coining money; and the Supreme Court took original jurisdiction. Judgment for Great Britain.

⁷State of New York v. Millens [sic], Dupont, et al., trading as the International Bank, 10 U. V. 357: The United

carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United Nations, or in any department, agency, or officer thereof.

Section 8. The Parliament shall make no law prohibiting or restricting the immigration into, or emigration from, or migration within any Nation or State.

No ex post facto law shall be passed by the Parliament; nor shall the United Nations suspend the writ of habeas corpus unless in cases of war, invasion, or rebellion the public safety shall require it.

The Parliament shall not levy any tax or tariff, beyond one per centum of their value, on articles exported from any Nation or State.

No money or credit shall be drawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time not

Nations, being a sovereign Government, may create whatever instrumentalities Parliament deems proper in order to carry its powers into execution. It may create corporations, as do other governments, if it considers that its authority will be best exercised by such method. Having jurisdiction over international commerce, which includes finance, the United Nations may create an international bank. Williams, DuPont, and the other defendants, being the officers of the International Bank, a corporation chartered under the Act of Parliament, were not trading under a fictitious name, and did not come within the Fictitious Names Act of the State of New York. This was an appeal to the United Nations Supreme Court by the defendants from the highest Court of the State of New York, U.S.A. Conviction reversed.

exceeding six months.

Except for purposes specifically set forth in this Constitution, and except in cases where compensation is given for property received by the United Nations, the Parliament shall make no appropriations during any year to any Nation or the people thereof, nor for expenditure therein, which shall be in excess of the revenues received during the preceding year by the United Nations from within that Nation.

The United Nations shall grant no title of nobility; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under the United Nations shall, without the consent of the Parliament, accept any present, emolument, office, or title from any Nation, State, king, or prince without the United Nations.

Except the Union of South Africa, Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey, as now constituted in area, the populations on the Continents of Asia and Africa shall not be represented in the House of Representatives; and these countries now mentioned by name shall not, for the purposes of ratification of this Constitution, or of admission into this Union, necessarily be considered as having been named in this Constitution.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. All executive power herein granted shall be vested in the President of the United Nations of the World.

The President, together with the Vice-President, shall hold office for a term of four years beginning on the fourth

Monday of January, and shall be elected in the following manner:

Each Nation shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislative Authority thereof shall provide, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Representatives to which the Nation may be entitled in the Parliament; and any person holding an office of profit or trust under the United Nations, or under any Nation or State thereof, may be appointed an elector. The time of choosing Electors shall be the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November every fourth year.

The Electors shall meet in their respective Nations on the first Tuesday of December next following their appointment, and shall then vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, at least one of whom shall not be an inhabitant of the same Nation with themselves. The Electors shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each. They shall sign and certify these lists, and shall transmit the same, sealed, to the Government of the United Nations, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall open all the certificates from the several Nations in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the votes shall there be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, provided

such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then the House of Representatives shall choose the President immediately by ballot from among the three persons having the highest number of votes of the Electors for President, and a quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the Representatives, and a majority of those present shall be necessary to a choice. If the House of Representatives shall not choose a President before the fourth Monday of January next following the appointment of the Electors, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, then the Vice-President chosen for the same term with the President failing to be chosen shall become President; and if such Vice-President shall not be chosen by such time, then the Parliament shall sit in joint session and shall elect any duly qualified persons President and Vice-President, and a quorum for this purpose shall be a majority of the members of each House, and the persons having the greatest number of votes for President and Vice-President shall be elected. The person having the greatest number of votes for Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, provided such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then the Senate shall choose the Vice-President immediately by ballot from among the three persons having the highest votes of the Electors for Vice-President, and a quorum for this purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of those present shall be necessary to a choice.

and if the Senate shall not choose a Vice-President before the fourth Monday of January next following the appointment of the Electors, then the Parliament shall sit in joint session and shall elect any duly qualified person Vice-President, and a quorum for this purpose shall be a majority of the members of each House, and the person having the greatest number of votes for Vice-President shall be the Vice-President.

No person except a natural born citizen of the United Nations, or a natural born citizen of one of the Nations thereof, shall be eligible to the office of President or Vice-President; neither shall any person be eligible to those offices who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the Vice-President shall become President; and the Parliament may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, or of the President when the office of Vice-President is vacant, declaring what officer shall then become President.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United Nations, or any Nation or State thereof.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United Nations, and that I will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, defend, and enforce the Constitution of the United Nations."

Section 2. The President shall from time to time give to the Parliament information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

He may convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper.

He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

He shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers, and shall conduct the relations of the United Nations with foreign Nations and States.

He shall commission all the officers of the United Nations who shall be appointed under his authority.

Section 3. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United Nations, and of all the military, naval, and air forces thereof.

His Cabinet shall consist of the principal officer in each of the executive departments; and the Cabinet shall meet with and advise the President from time to time, but shall be subordinate to his command and authority.

The President shall nominate and upon confirmation by the Senate shall appoint all Judges of the United Nations, all Ambassadors, other public ministers and Consuls, and all executive officers, who shall be established by law; but the Parliament may by law provide, in the case of inferior officers and agents, that appointment be limited to persons who have given evidence of their qualification in a formal examination; and the Parliament may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers and agents as they think proper in the President alone.

The President at will may remove any executive officer of the United Nations.

He shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United Nations except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

Section 4. The President, Vice-President, all Judges, and all civil officers of the United Nations, except Senators, Representatives, and the officers and agents of either House, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misconduct.

ARTICLE V

Section 1. The judicial power of the United Nations shall be vested in one Supreme Court, in several Courts of Appeal, and in several District Courts.

Section 2. The Supreme Court shall consist of fifteen Justices learned in the law, one of whom shall be appointed Chief Justice. Each of the Justices shall have one vote, except the Chief Justice, who shall have three; and a majority of votes of the Justices sitting shall decide each judgment.

The Parliament shall divide the United Nations into such number of judicial circuits, according to area, as they deem proper; and for each circuit they shall provide one Court of Appeal. Each Court of Appeal shall consist of three or a larger uneven number of Judges learned in the law, one of whom shall be appointed Chief Judge. The Chief Judge and each of the Judges shall have one vote, and a majority of the Judges sitting shall decide each judgment.

The Parliament shall divide each judicial circuit into such number of judicial districts, according to area, as they deem proper; and for each judicial district they shall provide one District Court; but in no case shall a judicial district lie in more than one nation. Each District Court shall consist of such number of Judges as the Parliament deem respectively necessary, one of whom shall be appointed Chief Judge.

Appeal from a District Court to the proper Court of Appeal shall be a matter of right; and appeal to the Supreme

Court from a Court of Appeal, or directly from a District Court, shall be only where, in the discretion of the Supreme Court, the right and justice of the suitors or welfare of the United Nations shall require.

In all cases within the jurisdiction of the United Nations under this Constitution, the Supreme Court shall have the powers of a court of last resort, and shall have the authority to reverse, modify, or annul the judgments, orders, or decrees of any other Court of the United Nations, or of any Court of any Nation or State in this Union.

The several Courts of the United Nations shall make their own rules and appoint their own officers and agents, subject to the review of the Supreme Court; and in all matters affecting the judicial power, the Supreme Court shall have the powers of supervision and direction over the several Courts of the United Nations, and over the Judges thereof.

The Judges of the United Nations shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

The Parliament may by law create other Courts of the United Nations for special jurisdiction, or for the territories and other places governed exclusively by the United Nations; but in such cases the Courts so created shall be inferior and subordinate to the Supreme Court, and shall be subject to the same provisions of this Constitution, as in the case of the Courts of Appeal and District Courts.

Section 3. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United Nations, and treaties which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United Nations shall be a party; to controversies between two or more Nations; to controversies between a Nation or a State thereof and another Nation or a State thereof; to controversies between a Nation or a State thereof and citizens of another Nation; to controversies between a Nation or a State or citizens thereof, and Nations, States, or citizens thereof without this Union. The judicial power shall not extend to prosecutions brought by any Nation or State for violations of the laws thereof, except in cases in which the Constitution or laws or treaties of the United Nations are involved; neither shall the judicial power extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United Nations or a State thereof by citizens of another Nation, or by citizens of any Nation without this Union; nor shall the judicial power extend to any suit in law or equity between two or more States of the same Nation.

The Parliament shall make no law limiting the judicial power of the several Courts, or the nature of the controversies to be judged by them; and in all cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, and may, where they deem proper, have original jurisdiction.

In every controversy before them had, except where the United Nations or the Constitution or the laws or the treaties thereof are concerned, the Judges of the United Nations shall give their judgments according to the laws of that Nation or State under the jurisdiction of which the controversy arises, whether such laws be in the form of statutes or of decisions of the Courts or other proper authority thereof: provided, however, that the Parliament may by general laws provide, and the Courts of the United Nations may give their own decisions, for cases where there may be conflicts of laws among the several Nations and among the States of different Nations.

The trial of all crimes and offenses against the United Nations, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by a jury of twelve peers, and such trial shall be held in the Nation where the said crimes or offenses shall have been committed; but when the people of such Nation may be in a state of rebellion, so that a proper and impartial trial may not be had, or when the crime or offense shall not have been committed within any Nation, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Parliament may by law have directed, or in the absence of such direction, then at such place as the President shall appoint.

Treason against the United Nations shall consist only in levying war against them, or any of them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two

witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Parliament shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE VI

Section 1. The Parliament shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; nor shall they make any law abridging the freedom of speech, nor of the press, nor of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Section 2. The Parliament shall not violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures; and no warrants of the United Nations shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized. No soldier or sailor shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the lawful occupant, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law, or in a military emergency.

Section 3. The United Nations shall hold no person to answer for a crime unless on a lawful and proper information, presentment, or indictment, except in cases arising in the land, naval, or air forces when in actual service in time of

war or public danger. No person who has been lawfully convicted or acquitted of an offense against the United Nations shall again be tried for the same offense, provided, however, that the said conviction or acquittal may be prosecuted by the Government or by the accused to final appeal within a reasonable time. The United Nations shall deprive no person of life, limb, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor take private property for public use without just compensation.

Section 4. In all criminal prosecutions by the United Nations the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory [sic] process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. The United Nations shall not deny to any person freedom on bail pending his trial, except in cases of treason and capital cases where the proof is strong and the presumption great; nor shall they require excessive bail,⁸ nor impose excessive fines, nor inflict cruel and unusual punishments.

⁸ French Republic v. La Mont, 12 U.N. 170: The restrictions set forth in Article VI of the Constitution, including the right to bail, apply only to the Government of the United Nations, and not to the Nations or States. The Nations and States are free to regulate their own internal affairs and civil rights. La Mont was committed to prison by the French authorities in default of bail fixed at 200,000 francs, and he appealed from the Cour de Cassation of France to the Supreme Court. Appeal quashed.

ARTICLE VII

Section 1. No Nation shall withdraw from this Union; provided, however, that any Nation, for a period of fifty years immediately following the establishment of this Constitution, may withdraw in the following manner:

The Legislative Authority of such Nation shall propose the withdrawal, and shall certify and transmit notice of the proposal to the Parliament, directed to the President of the Senate. The Parliament, or if they fail to act, the President of the United Nations, shall immediately cause general notice of the proposal to be given throughout the United Nations, and particularly throughout the proposing Nation. Within not less than one year nor more than two years after the receipt by the United Nations of the notice of the proposal, the Legislative Authority of the same Nation shall again propose the withdrawal, certifying and transmitting notice thereof to the Parliament as in the first instance; and the United Nations shall again cause general notice thereof as aforesaid. Within not less than one year nor more than two years after the receipt by the United Nations of the second proposal, a general election shall be held in the Nation so proposing; and a majority of all of the qualified voters shall be necessary for ratification. Notice of the result of such election shall immediately be certified and transmitted by the Executive Authority of such Nation to the United Nations in the manner aforesaid; and the United Nations shall again cause general notice of the general vote, in the

manner before provided. Within not less than two years nor more than three years after the receipt by the United Nations of the notice of the result of the first general election, a second general election shall be held in the same Nation; and a majority of all of the qualified voters shall be necessary for ratification. If the result of each such general election has been a ratification of the proposal to withdraw from the Union, the Executive Authority of such Nation shall certify and transmit notice thereof to the President of the United Nations; and upon receipt of such notice the withdrawal shall be in effect.

Section 2. Except the Nations already named in this Constitution, no Nation shall be admitted into this Union but in the following manner:

The United Nations shall propose the admission of a new Nation as in the case of making a law; and the President shall give notice of the proposal to the Government of every Nation in the Union. If the Legislative Authority of each Nation shall ratify the proposal within five years from the time of receiving the notice, and if the Nation seeking admission ratifies the proposal in the manner required by its fundamental law, the President shall proclaim the admission to be in effect; and the same shall thereupon be in effect.

Section 3. The United Nations shall guarantee the existing boundaries and territorial integrity of every Nation in this Union, and shall protect each of them against invasion.

Each Nation, under this Constitution, shall be held to

include the States, Dominions, territories, colonies, and possessions thereof; and no Nation which has not in all respects the status of an independent Nation shall come into this Union as a separate Nation.

No new Nation shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other Nation, nor any Nation be forced by the junction of two or more Nations, or parts of Nations, without the consent of the qualified voters of the Nations concerned, as well as of the Parliament.

The Parliament shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United Nations; and nothing in this Constitution shall be construed as to prejudice any claims of the United Nations, or of any particular Nation.

Section 4. Full faith and credit shall be given by each Nation and State thereof to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other Nation or State thereof.⁹ The Parliament may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

The citizens of each Nation shall be entitled to the equal protection of the laws of the several Nations, in their persons

⁹ Hunter v. Jones, 17 U.N. 417: The "full faith and credit" clause of the International Constitution does not apply between the States of any one Nation. Hunter sued Jones in Texas, U.S.A., on a Massachusetts judgment, seeking to prove his former judgment under the Act of Parliament instead of under the appropriate Act of Congress. Judgment for the defendant affirmed.

and in their property; but no Nation shall be obliged to admit the citizens of another Nation, or their property, within its borders, or to allow them to remain¹⁰ therein, except as herein provided.

A person charged or convicted in any Nation or State with crime other than political crime, who shall flee from justice, and who shall be found in another Nation, shall, on demand of the Executive Authority of the Nation or State from whose process he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the Nation or State¹¹ having jurisdiction of the crime; and the Parlia-

¹⁰Svadja v. United States Marshal, 4 U.W. 260: The several Nations are free, under the Constitution, to admit or exclude persons not citizens thereof, as they please. There is no jurisdiction in the United Nations to alter or interfere with the immigration laws of any Nation. And the only qualification to that rule is this: the officers and agents of the World Government shall be free to come and go everywhere, regardless of national laws; otherwise the International Government could not function. But as to all other persons, the Nations may legislate or take action as they choose, provided they give equal protection to non-citizens while they suffer them to remain within their borders. This was a bill in equity brought by Svadja to restrain the United States Marshal from deporting him from the United States under the immigration statutes of that country. Judgment denying decree affirmed. (See 7 T.D. 67; 5 I.A. 331.)

¹¹Meredith v. Sheriff of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 9 U.W. 371: The section of the Constitution providing for the extradition of persons charged with crime applies only to international rendition, and not to rendition as between the states of the same Nation. Such interstate rendition is a matter left to national legislation or regulation. Meredith, charged with larceny in the State of Ohio, U.S.A., was arrested by the Sheriff of Philadelphia County, State of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and was held for the Ohio authorities. An order for his rendition into Ohio having been signed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, he brings a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that the Act of Parlia-

ment may by general laws prescribe the manner and provide for the enforcement of such rendition.

Section 5. The Senators and Representatives in the Parliament, and the members of the Legislatures of the several Nations and States, and the Judges of the United Nations and of the several Nations and States, and also all officers of the Army, Navy, and air forces, and all executive, legislative, and judicial officers, agents, employees, and servants of the United Nations and of the several Nations and States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution before they enter upon their offices. But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United Nations.

Section 6. Except in the case of choosing Representatives, whenever the consent of the qualified voters in any Nation shall be required by this Constitution for any act, and the whole number of qualified voters in that Nation shall be less than ten per centum of the population thereof, then the Parliament may qualify at least ten per centum of such population, or the Parliament may, if they deem it proper, act in the place of the qualified voters.

ARTICLE VIII

The Parliament, whenever two-thirds of all the members

ment had not been adhered to, and appeals to the Supreme Court from orders of the District Court and Court of appeals denying the writ. Orders below affirmed. (See 14 F.D. 310; 11 I.A. 160.)

of both Houses shall agree thereto, shall propose amendments of this Constitution, or a new Constitution; and the President shall immediately cause general notice of the proposal to be given throughout the United Nations. When the ratification thereof by every Nation is had, and notice of each ratification is received by the United Nations from the Executive Authority of the respective Nation, the President shall proclaim such to be the case, and the amendment, or new Constitution, shall be in effect. But no Nation shall ratify such proposal of the Parliament unless the Legislative Authority of that Nation shall agree to propose the amendment, or new Constitution, to the qualified voters thereof, and a majority of all such qualified voters shall vote to ratify the same. Nor shall any amendment, or new Constitution, which is not so ratified by all the Nations within ten years of the proposal thereof by the Parliament, become valid or in effect.

ARTICLE IX

Section 1. This Constitution shall be established among the Nations already named herein which ratify the same in the manner required by their fundamental law, provided that nine such Nations so ratify; but any such Nation failing so to ratify by the time when this Constitution shall be in effect shall not subsequently come into this Union except in the manner provided for the admission of new Nations.

Section 2. This Constitution and this Union shall be in effect on and after the fourth Monday of January of the second

year following the ratifications by nine Nations as aforesaid; and the President and Vice-President and the Parliament shall have been chosen by such time, as herein provided, and the Parliament shall have assembled on the first Monday thereof at a place and hour to be appointed by the Executive Authority of the first Nation to ratify this Constitution.

VITA

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