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THE EDUCATIONAL LEADER

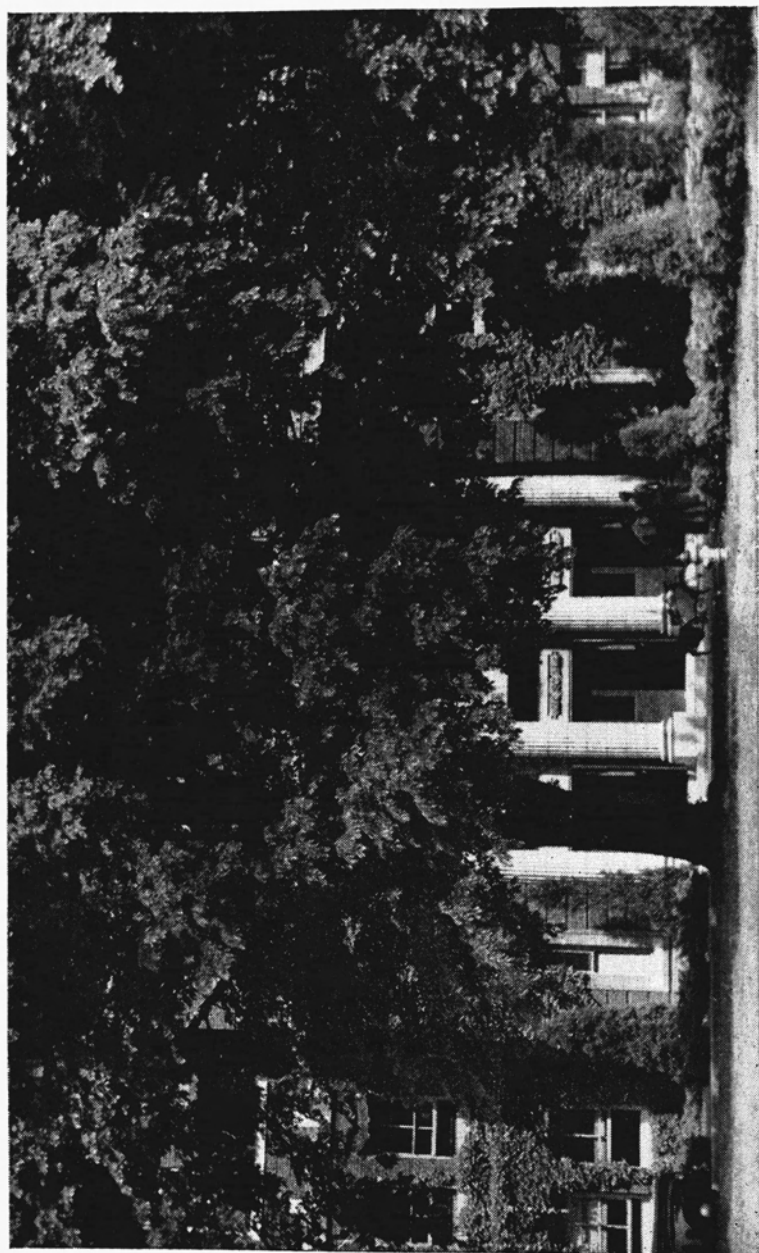
HOME ECONOMICS, PHYSICAL SCIENCE,
AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
NUMBER

Published by the Faculty of the
KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
PITTSBURG, KANSAS

Vol. 9

MARCH, 1946

No. 2



Main entrance to RUSS HALL, Administration Building, erected in 1907-'08, the oldest building on the campus

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The Educational Leader

WILLIAM T. BAWDEN, Editor

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Published twice a year, in November and March, by the Kansas State Teachers College
of Pittsburg, Kansas.

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Power From the Atom

ELMER W. JONES

Are we entering the age of atomic power? As this is written current literature and the radio are brimming with accounts of atom splitting. Some of these accounts are fantastic, some are authoritative and reliable; all hail it as one of the most epochal scientific, military, and perhaps industrial achievements of all time. We should rely chiefly for information on this important subject on the "Smyth Report,"¹ recently released by the War Department, and the writings of the well informed and conservative authorities who interpret that report or who have made first-hand, scientific observations.

The discovery of spontaneous fission of the uranium atom under controlled and accelerated conditions heralds a revolution in war greater than that ushered in by gunpowder. It may also initiate a new industrial revolution equalling or exceeding the one introduced by the steam engine about a century ago and advanced rapidly in our own time by use of electricity. How this may be done has not been fully revealed, and few people understand or realize the implications. How-

ever, there is some promise of ultimate success.

Our chief supply of industrial power under past and present practice is obtained chemically, as in the burning of fuels, by tearing molecules apart and recombining their atoms into different molecules through minor rearrangement of outer electronic structure. At the expense of this recombination, which is self-propagating, some energy is released in the form of heat which then is converted into mechanical work, following well known physical laws, by means of such familiar devices as steam turbines, internal combustion engines, and the newer rockets, jets, and gas turbines. The chemical reactions involved in the burning of fuel affect the physical and chemical composition considerably. A slight loss in the total mass or weight is also believed probable, but is not detectable by any known method of measurement. However, the atoms belonging to these molecules are unaltered. There are the same numbers and same kinds as before

¹Henry D. Smyth: *Atomic Energy for Military Purposes*, Princeton University Press, 1945.

combustion takes place, since only the electrons of the atom take part in chemical reactions. The nucleus or center is not affected.

The atom splitting process, announcement of which burst upon us a few months ago almost like the bomb itself, requires internal atomic changes such as the breaking of the nucleus into fragments or its loss or gain of electrons, protons, or neutrons. Thus the tightly packed, energy-containing core of the atom may be split into two or more lighter atoms or otherwise fundamentally changed. This releases a portion of the enormous energy that ties the nuclear parts together. Again heat energy is liberated, often in great quantity, in addition to certain forms of very dangerous radiations. Some mass is lost, since matter is here being converted into energy, a process believed impossible before the discovery of radioactivity about 50 years ago. How energy is released by splitting the uranium atom will be briefly recounted from various sources, chiefly from the Smyth Report and from *The Atom, New Source of Energy*.² General familiarity with the atomic nature of matter is assumed.

Each of the 92 natural elements that make up the known universe has its own kind of atom, yet all atoms are made from the same three fundamental particles of electricity, protons, electrons, and neutrons. These particles have the following properties: Proton, weight 1, electric charge positive 1; neutron, weight 1, charge zero; electron,

weight negligible, charge negative 1. Other particles, such as the deuteron, positron, and alpha particle also have important roles in certain processes of nuclear disintegration but do not seem to be essential in the structure of all atoms.

Every atom is a tiny "solar system." Its central "sun," or nucleus, contains one or more protons, and generally a lesser number of neutrons, all closely packed into a space so small its approximate diameter is given as five-hundredths of a million-millionths of an inch. This size varies somewhat with the kind of atom. The revolving "planets" in this solar system are electrons, one for each proton in the nucleus, so that positive and negative charges balance in a normal atom. The neutrons, which all cluster with the protons in the nucleus, are uncharged. The opposite charges of electrons and protons attract each other with enormous forces, but high speeds keep the electrons out in their circular orbits due to equally great centrifugal forces. The space occupied by a complete atom is some ten thousand times the diameter of the nucleus and is largely empty. We are told that if an atom could be expanded until its outer orbit encircled 100 acres the nucleus would be no larger than a baseball.

Nearly all the weight of an atom is in the closely packed nucleus, so we add the number of protons and neutrons to get the atomic weight. The atomic number equals the

²*The Atom, New Source of Energy*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1945.

number of protons only, which is also equal to the number of widely spaced revolving electrons. The elements are known by their atomic numbers. Thus hydrogen has one proton and is element 1, while uranium, nature's heaviest atom, with 92 protons (and 92 electrons) is element 92. Full identification of an atom, however, includes its atomic weight or mass number, which, with few exceptions, is at least twice as great as the atomic number. Thus the three isotopes (species) of uranium all have the same atomic number 92 but vary in the number of neutrons, U-234 having 142 neutrons, U-235, 143 neutrons and U-238, 146 neutrons. These three isotopes are chemically identical, inasmuch as each possesses 92 electrons and since all the energy of chemical reactions is supplied by the revolving electrons. The immensely greater energy bound up in the core of an atom cannot be released by chemical processes, but only by a direct hit on the nucleus, which is difficult, because nuclei are very tiny targets. A neutron "bullet" fired at a mass of atoms may pass through millions of them without striking one.

Uranium 235 is the isotope used at present for direct atomic energy release. One way it may be split is described as follows: When the nucleus of a U-235 atom is hit by a neutron bullet it explodes, discharging two lighter atoms (barium and krypton), a number of additional, high-speed neutrons, and much energy. The combined mass of the neutrons and the new atoms

is less than the mass of the original U-235 atom, the lost mass having been transformed into energy. One or more of the neutrons shot off during the explosion may strike and split other U-235 atoms, which in turn will explode and discharge more neutrons to split still more atoms. Thus a "chain reaction," or series of self-propagating atomic explosions, may sweep through the whole mass of U-235 similar to the manner in which a fire, once started, produces by chain reaction sufficient heat to maintain the combustion process until all the fuel is consumed.

According to Einstein's law, one pound of matter, any substance, if it could be completely converted into energy, would equal 11,400,000,000 kilowatt hours. But only one-tenth of one per cent of U-235 can be transformed into energy by present processes, so that one pound of this rare substance will produce 11,400,000 kilowatt hours. This is very great, of course, when compared with the 8.5 kilowatt hours of heat energy obtained by burning a pound of coal. It equals all the energy generated by the whole electric power industry of the United States running for approximately two months.

Natural uranium contains 99.3 per cent of the isotope 238, 0.7 per cent of U-235, and merely a trace of U-234. Thus one pound of the useful U-235 comes mixed with 140 pounds of U-238, which cannot be used directly, and they are very difficult to separate. In the recent development of atomic energy the

separation and purification of U-235 was one of the costliest and most difficult processes to confront the scientists and engineers. So they developed a method for producing a substitute, a new man-made element No. 94, called plutonium, using U-238 as the raw material and U-235 as the energy source, intimately mixed in the same proportions as in natural uranium metal.

To form this new element, which would have seemed impossible a few years ago, so rapid has been progress in nuclear physics, a neutron bullet from U-235 is caused to join a U-238 nucleus to make an atom of Neptunium, U-239, having 93 protons and 146 neutrons at its center. This atom is very unstable and quickly loses two nuclear electrons, which converts two neutrons into protons forming Plutonium-239 with 94 protons and 145 neutrons. This new process, using normal uranium, which is more plentiful and easier to handle than U-235, seems now to be the principal means by which atomic energy will serve as a commercial source of heat and power. Even it has several disadvantages.

One disadvantage is the high cost of construction of a nuclear power plant, estimated at two and one-half times that of a coal-burning plant of equal capacity. Another is that operating costs with uranium as a fuel would be considerably higher, reaching equality if coal cost about \$10 per ton. These economic factors, which would make our electric bills somewhat greater than at present, may be reduced materially

when design, construction, and operation have been standardized. A third difficulty, however, inherent in nuclear fission, may always remain. It is the extreme danger to life and limb in the lethal radioactive by-products, and the weight and cost of shielding against these radiations. This obstacle alone, unless overcome by methods now unknown, may always prevent the use of atomic power in small units for such purposes as the operation of automobiles and airplanes. On the other hand, abundant radioactive products should prove highly beneficial in medical and industrial applications.

Other disadvantages in atomic power at the present time would be the scarcity of uranium, the large size of nuclear power plants required for economy and safety, and possible restrictions of materials, plants, and operations for reasons of national security. All these problems appear difficult but not insurmountable. An extensive research and development program will be required to solve them.

At present, the most practical method of using atomic energy appears to be the utilization of heat from exploding atoms, absorbing the heat in water, air, or some special heat-carrying fluid, converting it into electricity by means of steam or gas turbines, then transmitting it in the usual way into our homes, factories, and commercial establishments. This will be harnessing the old world of electronics to the new world of nuclearonics, applying the new and

untried to the old and familiar, but it would be a step forward on the road of progress.

Another possibility, due to the electrical nature of atom structure, is some means of producing electricity directly from atomic energy. This might eliminate the inefficiencies of the power plant and transmission system and be applicable to individual needs if division into small portable units is made feasible. All this awaits future development. It is not at all unlikely that when the workings of atomic energy are better understood the power output from atom splitting may be stepped up by discovery of different and improved methods. If, in addition, schemes may be devised for utilizing some common material, instead of scarce uranium, the possibilities of atomic power will be unlimited.

Scientists have discovered no way to do this at present, since the atoms of such elements are very stable and release of nuclear energy from them by chain reaction has not been accomplished yet on earth. There are theoretical reasons for believing it may ultimately be done, and it is conceivable as a long-range development. The history of other great discoveries, such as the use of steam and electricity, records very crude beginnings followed in time by vast improvements and broad applications. Estimates on the time required for even a start on atom power place it at ten to 15 years in the future. Delay may be much longer if restrictions by national or world governments are imposed. May we hope that the nations of the world will make this great gift of Nature work for the good of mankind and not for its destruction.

Mental Hygiene Problems of Youth and What Some Communities Are Doing

CECELIA RUTH EARTHART

This paper surveys briefly some of the areas and strategic problems that cause mental conflicts and concerns of youth. Current literature has not been studied exhaustively, but typical cities and towns have been cited to show that adults are concerned about the problems of youth and that attempts are being made to provide compensations and adjustments. It seems evident that more can be accomplished through education and evolution of the younger generation than through revolution or reconstruction of the older generation.
—Editor.

Young people want to be popular.—They do want to have attention. Gladys Huntington Bevans in her article, "Is It Important to be Popular?," says, "To be popular, to be liked by everybody, and to be in demand is too often regarded as the be-all and end-all of youth. And there are even some mothers who are as avid for their children's popularity as the children themselves, or more so."¹ Bevans hoped that boys and girls, who thought that to be unusual they had to be popular, and parents, who thought their children had to be in constant demand if they were socially adjusted, would read her article. She wants young people to know that popularity isn't all there is to living; that many a young pretty girl who 'wows them all' isn't particularly happy; and that, "It isn't such a dire fate if one is never popular. Popularity isn't the measure of a person. Neither can it

measure one's fun or enjoyment, personality or character. Many popular young people don't marry at all or don't marry happily. Others frequently shine in a social way."²

All is part of the process of growing up.—One cannot jump from being a boy or girl to being a man or a woman. One must learn to face himself and to accept himself, to be emotionally adjusted. However, youth should be encouraged if he develops special abilities. Every effort should be made to encourage him to stay in school. If one is sure that a youth is mechanically inclined and interested in working with his hands, he should not be deprived of opportunities to develop his skill or discover his interests, abilities, and needs for physical and emotional outlets.

Many parents try to have children do the things that they have always wanted to do—things that the parents have missed somewhere

¹Gladys Huntington Bevans, "Is It Important to be Popular," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., Inc., (July, 1943), p. 28.

²*Ibid*, p. 56

in their period of growing-up. Most youth have minds of their own; they do want to be individuals; they do want recognition. They are restless. They desire to be grown up, to be doing, and to be a part of things. This is not a new problem. All youth go through these periods of restlessness. It does not have to be a period of storm and stress. Youth can calmly cross these bridges under correct guidance, but our teen-age boys and girls do not want to remain dependent long after they are physically mature. They want to establish themselves as adults in the eyes of adults. They want to gain their economic independence. They want to be independent of the family pocketbook. They want to feel wanted and needed.

Gruenberg says youth are "Seventeen and Rarin' to go."³—They want to enlist in the service, in the Army or the Navy. Many mothers want to keep these youth tied to their apron strings. It is natural for the parents to feel protective toward their children, but they cannot make their choices of a vocation. Parents must see the youth's point of view and try to work out solutions, together.

"The Federal Children's Bureau shows an estimated delinquency increment, from 1940 to 1942, of 11 percent for boys and 38 percent for girls."⁴ MacCormick states, "If we stop arguing about how much it has increased during the war period

and face what seems to be a set of simple and unescapable facts, that would help clear the ground."⁵ MacCormick also believes that dealing with delinquents and pre-delinquents is primarily a job for the local community. That work can be accomplished by ordinary precautions and home remedies, but there is a need for professional and technical services and personnel that are well trained. First the community gets the facts, then it must organize services and use its own resources. There will be no time for gaps, geographical gaps, or functional gaps.

Along with this, the law must be enforced to stamp out breeding places of delinquent behavior and drain the bad influences, as one would drain a swamp or stagnant pool. Some of these breeding places are: disorderly rooming houses, cheap dance halls, bars, and grills. In these places, new and striking remedies must soon be found, understanding and sympathetic leadership must develop through our Parent-Teacher Associations, boys and girls clubs, and community centers.

Bradley Buell says, "Broken homes may need social service; the gang or 'toughies' may need group-work service; infection and disease may need medical service. If the youth is an offender, he may need correctional training in the institution for rehabilitation."⁶

⁴Austin H. MacCormick, "The Challenge to All of Us," *Survey*, East Stroudsburg: East Stroudsburg Publishing Co., (March, 1944), p. 69.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 69

⁶Bradley Buell, "How to Begin," *Ibid*, p. 72.

³Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, "Rarin' to Go," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (November, 1943), p. 13.

Eliot Ness says we need "less of the strong arm of the law and more headwork."⁷

Kathryn Close tells us that the four adults: parent, teacher, clergyman, and group leader all "have a hand in unfolding the child's personality, but unless each handles this precious material with care, and some understanding of what the other is doing, damage may occur."⁸

Genevive Gabower visited ten war-impacted communities and found every community in great concern over the behavior of children and young people, but she also found many causative factors which led to this behavior.

Major factors of community concern.—In the ten war-impacted communities, which were visited by Gabower, she found that inadequate housing, lack of parental supervision, school shortage of space and teachers, and employment of children were the four major factors which stood out as intensifying the mental hygiene and physical problems of youth.⁹ No community that she visited had all the social services needed to help them meet the problems that they were facing or the strain and stress that they were feeling.

Major factors of youth's concern.—Youth are apt to think that many rules are unfair or slightly ridiculous. They don't want to be considered babies. They want to have

a sense of security; they want to have jobs and a sense of achievement; they want to be adults and to be recognized by society as such. Many youth work out their problems in interesting and desirable mannerisms, which help to satisfy their needs, drives, urges, or interests.

Emotional outlets of youth.—Girl scouts find that their meetings and camping trips help satisfy their needs in many respects. Some belong to the various Friendship clubs or Girls Reserve Club. Many boys belong to the Boy Scouts or the Hi Y clubs. Many organize gangs or cliques of their own because they want to belong to something; they want to be recognized by their friends, by their group, by society. With a little guidance, a little adult supervision directed in the right way, many of these youth would be saved from the strain or stress or pitfalls which they are apt to encounter in their drives or cravings for experience. Some may be directed into emotional outlets through athletics; some through music; some through art or painting or drawing; some through hobbies, collections, or reading.

Postwar problems of youth.—In many cities "Nurses' Aides Prove Their Worth."¹⁰ Wives, mothers, housewives, young girls, are all playing a big role in this postwar problem with only the satisfaction of serving as their pay. With such a desperate shortage of nurses, many

⁷Eliot Ness, "New Role of the Police," *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁸Kathryn Close, "Four Grown-ups and a Child," *Ibid.* p. 79.

⁹Genevive Gabower, "A Look at Ten Communities," *Ibid.* p. 86.

¹⁰Lois Mattox Miller, "Nurses' Aides Prove Their Worth," *Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville: Reader's Digest Association Co., (October, 1943) p. 95.

a nurse's aide is being taught how to bathe, feed, and care for different types of patients. Lois Wills, in charge of Bellevue's Volunteer groups says, "The Volunteer Nurses' Aides have brought to nursing all those qualities that Florence Nightingale envisioned for it."¹¹

However, a problem that is almost as serious is that of "Girls Without Dates."¹² Many evenings, dozens of girls inhabit the sweet shops drinking sodas or cokes (if not something stronger in some places). Free City, Minnesota, is a typical little town of this type. "Unmarried men are so scarce that almost any man can get a job these days. Also, almost any man can get a pretty girl to go out with him."¹³ More than 1800 of this town's young men are in the armed service. Many are returning. Not too seriously, one of the girls and her friends "sometimes laughed at themselves as the forgotten generation."¹⁴ There are no army camps nearby. Everyone is working to help replace the youth who are in service. So the girls solve their problems, for the present, by spending their leisure time going to the movies, buying cokes, attending parties at the YMCA and writing letters to their friends in uniform. "The war not only put courage into the young men, it has put plenty of bravery into the spirits and minds of the

girls who are at work and at home."¹⁵

Part-time jobs of youth.—The war has touched everyone and it is not easy to predict how the war will make these young people different from those growing up in time of peace. In one town in the dairy section of the country with few more than a population of 14,000, a third of the men of the country are in the service. "Older students are finding positions in the town's war industries."¹⁶ Some working in fish-line factories are making parachute cords. Some in wire screen and mosquito netting plants are making products to go to tropical battle areas. Many factories are reconverting to peace-time industries. Some older girls are looking after younger children. Some have helped in summer camps. Some have worked on the farm. While farmers prefer boys of 16 or 17, they now are using those between the ages of 13 and 15. Many girls are active in YWCA and Red Cross projects. The Boy Scouts are doing much of the collecting of salvage materials. The 4-H clubs are working in gardens, and these boys and girls are buying as well as selling war bonds and stamps. "You might say they are growing up faster because they have lived during a war. When circumstances do not force maturity upon them they reach out for it, from a subconscious feeling that it is important to their nature."¹⁷

¹¹Ibid., p. 97.

¹²Margaret Culkin Banning, "Girls Without Dates," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (February, 1944), p. 17.

¹³Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁵Margaret Culkin Banning, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁶Dan Wickenden, "How Do Our Children Take It?" *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (January, 1944), p. 18.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 49.

Some 14-year-olds have been acting as salesmen. Some have mowed lawns, repaired fences, hauled wood, cut weeds, and worked in gardens. But with all this work and these emotional outlets, it is a mistake to assume that high-school youth do not need their parents and their home. They have always needed them and they need them now more than ever. "With a social life changed, the makeup of the home different with fathers, brothers, sisters and sweethearts, the old crowd away, these adolescents need the kind of security that a real home and parents can mean to them."¹⁸ The "high school has been in the War."¹⁹ Many young people have worked, who were used to spending their evenings and summers swimming, playing tennis, dancing and having dates, have been **working on** farms, in the factories, or on many ordinary jobs after school, nights, over the week-ends, or during their vacation periods.

One chief of police pointed out that, because many older people are of such a nervous tension and the tempo of living has been speeded up, he would say, "that the average youngster of 14 today is older mentally than the 18-year-old of 20 years ago—and yet we go right on treating them the way we used to. For instance, a lot of kids of 14 are ambitious to hold down jobs, and capable of it, too—but they can't

without violating the labour laws. No wonder a lot of them are restless."²⁰

Sex and marriage problems.—Many a senior high school girl is talking of getting married. Some are already married. Then we find thousands of young people in this country are hurriedly getting married by civil ceremony. "Soldiers who were married on short furloughs, war-plant workers who had only the afternoon off for a wedding, girls traveling halfway across the country to marry soldiers in a strange city near their camps, such brides and grooms seek a civil ceremony because they believe it less costly, more easily arranged, and simplest answer to their problems."²¹

Clara Belle Thompson and Margaret Lukes Wise conducted an experiment to see if they could find out how old most of the war brides were and how hastily they were married. An advertisement was inserted in the personal column of the large evening paper in a city. It ran something like this: "War Brides: If you have recently married a soldier or are planning to do so, two writers would like to talk to you. Please phone Main 0000 any time to-morrow. This ad has been investigated."²²

These investigators found that girls called from every place of industry and every walk of life. They

¹⁸Dan Wickenden, "How Do Our Children Take It?", *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁹Gladys Huntington Bevens, "High Schools in the War," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (January, 1945), p. 32.

²⁰Dan Wickenden, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²¹Dorothy Walworth, "Just Married and How," *Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville: (October, 1942), p. 34.

²²Clara Belle Thompson and Margaret Lukes Wise, "Brides of the Regiment," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (July, 1942), p. 16.

found that "This war has no bottle-necks in weddings."²³ Many had cancelled furloughs, cancelled thousands of white veils and orange blossoms, but they had not cancelled the brides. Six of the 167 calls received from that ad said they were smitten on sight; 32 had known their soldiers less than a year; 129 were old-time friends whose acquaintance had run through several years. Most of the brides were between 18 and 25, while only two were in their early thirties.

"The war brides realized that for a time they practically lived in an Adam-less Eden. Some are typing, Some are doing volunteer defense work, some are knitting, some are sewing, but no one is sitting at home doing nothing and weeping. 'He is doing his part. I'll do mine,' is the attitude."²⁴

The USO and the YWCA have established marriage courses. Classes have been held in many camps in which both husbands and wives, engaged girls and boys are instructed in the fundamentals of making marriage last. Any young person may apply for counsel."²⁵ Time alone will tell whether these brides were hasty or wise. The girls who answered the ad thought that they had done the right thing.

Corvallis, Oregon, Junior High School has opened the first sex education course ever to be taught to ninth-grade girls. Similar courses have been taught in other schools

throughout the United States, but never to girls so young. Mrs. Esther Dyatt is the instructor, and J. F. Schenk is the school superintendent. There was no question in their minds but that such a class should be taught, but they were afraid that the parents or local churches would descend upon them before the second class convened. Educators agree that such classes should be taught; that young girls need straight scientific facts of sexual relations, and this need has become desperate and especially since the war began. "Venereal diseases for girls under 19 have gone up 15 to 25 percent and illegitimate births have skyrocketed."²⁶

Corvallis, a town of about 10,000, is typically American. It is supported by agriculture, has small business and a few mills. Everyone goes to the public schools. Everyone knows everyone else. Camp Adair is near by with 30,000 to 40,000 servicemen who were moved in overnight; they look to Corvallis for recreation, fun, and female companionship. With such a "lopsided" set-up, the problem girls were not the professional camp followers, not the older girls, but the junior high school girls.

Eventually, the police, the courts, the homes, the churches, and the schools became alarmed. The superintendent of schools decided that a ninth-grade sex hygiene course would be a "good solid ounce of prevention,"²⁷ even though it couldn't be expected to cure all ills.

²³Ibid., p. 16.

²⁴Ibid., p. 49.

²⁵Ibid., p. 49.

²⁶Paul, Charlotte, "Thirteen is Old Enough," *Coronet*, (March, 1944), p. 97.

As a result, the ninth-grade curriculum has included a required course for girls called "How the Body Reproduces and the Effect of Communicable Diseases."²⁸ It is not taught in terms of the birds and the bees, for the girls are there to learn about their own bodies and they receive unvarnished answers. Mrs. Dyatt gives informal lectures and shows pertinent films with diagrams which may be posted on the bulletin board. There was no opposition from parents of church. Both Protestant and Catholic groups helped get the program started. "One year has proved decisively that the ninth-grade is none too early for such instruction."²⁹

Even Dorothy Dix says that "perhaps if our little Jills could be taught what they are too young to figure out for themselves, how much more glamorous modesty, reserve, and purity are in a girl, than hoodlumism, we would have more good little girls and fewer bar flies."³⁰

Flexibility.—Gruenberg says that "many parents are unable to answer their children's questions."³¹ When youth begin to step out into a world full of dangers, they realize that something should have been done earlier. She says that everything is changing; that one must be on the

alert to check and appraise one's own ideas. Where rouge or lipstick used to be a symbol of "that kind of a woman," today it is a matter of fashion or taste and need imply nothing of moral significance. With these dozens of changes in usage and meanings, parents must understand so that they may be guides and friends to their sons and daughters.

Home and family.—Aren't young people welcome at home? Does recreation always have to be carried on outside the home? It is true that fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, young men, young women, old men, old women have been working side by side to produce more guns, more planes, more ships, more ammunition. The youth of the country both male and female have followed the demands of the people, the mores of society, capital, labor, while those still younger are left at home to be cared for by grandmother, grandfather, young boys, young girls, or many have been just left, without any care or supervision.

Sometimes one is apt to think that because some young person is quiet or makes few remarks he isn't concerned about his home, but the kind of home that parents create, the maintenance of its continuity and the adaptation to the changing conditions of to-day are all vital to youth and are necessary to all youth through the adolescent period.

Delinquency.—One member of the board of directors of the Ohio Humane Society said in addressing

²⁷Ibid., p. 98.

²⁸Ibid., p. 98.

²⁹Charlotte Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

³⁰Dorothy Dix, "Movies Have Potent Influence Over Girls," *Cincinnati Times Star*, Cincinnati, Ohio: (February 4, 1944).

³¹Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, "What is Sex Education?," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (April, 1944), p. 39.

a civilian club that there is not just one cause of juvenile delinquency, but "the unhappy home is certainly one of the greatest, if not the greatest cause."³²

Again Gruenberg says,³³ "delinquency is your problem." In each of three articles by that title, she emphasizes that young people are bound to be influenced by other young people, that one can't inoculate children against delinquency as simply as one inoculates against small-pox. She says that among the factors that make for an increase in delinquency is the fact that older boys and girls are leaving school in large numbers. The call for jobs is very strong. They are vital in the war effort. "The first thing that we have to understand is how the war is affecting our 13-year-olds. Why it makes them behave as they do, and to ask further, 'What can we do?'"³⁴ There is more money for all. Fathers long unemployed have had jobs at good wages, and mothers in large numbers have taken jobs. "These mothers going out to work were leaving children unsupervised for many hours during the day. With time on their hands, youth are bound to get into mischief, or worse. With the family migration toward industrial centers, the young people find themselves among strangers, unwanted. They are attracted by those who want

their dimes and quarters. Police are asked to close the dives, but closing such recreational opportunities as are open to them and attractive to them is no solution. It merely forces them into dark corners."³⁵

Time magazine reports that "The boy of 17 is the No. 1 Criminal of the United States." While the older brothers have been busy at war, one finds these 17-year-olds have committed 27.7 per cent more crimes this year than last. The number of girls under 21 arrested leaped 130.4 per cent over 1941. The biggest jump was in the "V-girl" area of amateur prostitution and saloon going. Auto theft was up 11.4 per cent; rape 9.7 per cent. There was also a 30 per cent increase in girl burglaries. While robberies were down, the haul per hold-up was greater. Burglaries in the day-time were up 7 per cent because women workers were away from home. Filling stations, which used to be easy pick-ups, have now declined 72 per cent."³⁶

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, two outstanding criminologists say that a few things we ought to know about delinquency are:³⁷

1. Human behavior is the product of a continuous and dynamic interplay between the human organism and its environment.

2. This interplay necessitates constant adaptations to the prohibitions and conventions imposed by society.

³²A. M. Kayser, "Unhappy Home Life Blamed For Delinquency," *Cincinnati Times Star*, Cincinnati, Ohio: (March 8, 1944).

³³Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, "Delinquency is Your Problem," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (April, 1943), p. 18; (May, 1943), p. 24; (June, 1943), p. 25.

³⁴*Ibid.*, (April, 1943), p. 18.

³⁵Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, *op. cit.*, (April, 1943), p. 54.

³⁶"Crime," *Time*, New York: Time Inc., (March 20, 1944), p. 38.

³⁷Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, "What Do We Know About Delinquency," *Survey*, East Stroudsburg: East Stroudsburg Publishing Co., (March, 1944), p. 13.

3. For many, these adaptations are becoming increasingly difficult.

4. Children are not born with a tendency to law-abidingness. The opposite is more nearly true. Only by hard and continuous effort will they succeed in conducting themselves in conformity with the standards set by the law, home, school, and church.

5. Some youngsters are relatively impervious to deleterious influences. Others are easily affected by them. Some are mentally tough skinned. Others have a porous mental skin and a resilient conscience.

6. All humans—children and adults—have a breaking point at which the demands of legally organized society could prove too strong for their inhibitory mechanism. Many, however, never reach this extremity.

Student Government.—“Teen-agers try their elders, find them delinquent.”³⁸ Thus spoke a group of boys and girls who found their elders delinquent in not giving youth enough responsibility.

They wondered why they couldn't have ‘Student Government’ which would not only give them more responsibility, but they would profit immeasurably from the experience. They wondered why school property couldn't be available as a community center after school hours. Especially since there is so much talk about juvenile delinquency and decent places for kids to hang out, they wondered why they couldn't share in planning recreational programs where they could play ping-pong, other games, and dance. One youth said, “But we can't play the juke-box on Sunday night, and after all that's the one night we could enjoy meet-

ing there; we don't go out on school nights, and Saturdays we usually have dates.”³⁹

Some young people knew churches which did share their activities with the young people, and the young people spent a great deal of their time at these churches, under supervision. The group was a little wearied with the phase of juvenile delinquency and, as one girl sighed, “Why don't the parents, teachers, preachers, do something about it, right in their own communities?”⁴⁰

Some Communities are concerned.—In Toledo, Ohio, Miss Ethel Wooden, principal of the Girls' Vocational High School, says, “Various organizations are considering the possibilities of canteens or clubs for high-school students where young people may gather for wholesome recreation. Evidently private industry is not catering to this teen-age group and young people are finding wholesome places for recreation scarce. The project will require careful planning and a committee of young and ‘old’ people has been appointed. Here are a few of the problems: location, personnel, finance, administration, and membership. How many Whitney girls will back such a project by attendance, interest, planning, hard work, and financial support?”⁴¹

Other communities are taking steps in the right direction. In Kansas City, Missouri, teen-age clubs and

³⁸“Teen-agers Try Their Elders, Find Them Delinquent,” *Cincinnati Times Star*, Cincinnati, Ohio: (April, 1944), p. 12.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴¹Ethel Wooden, “Liquorless Night Clubs,” *Whitmiss*, Toledo Girls' Vocational High School, (March 31, 1944), p. 2.

community centers are among the projects included. "Several councils have taken action to eliminate hazards to young people in the streets and to provide additional playgrounds where needed."⁴²

Washington, D. C., has "set up advisory councils of school personnel and other persons, chosen for their understanding of and interest in civic programs."⁴³

The Jefferson High School stage-door canteen is open for dances and parties three Fridays of every month. The admission fee is 17 cents. Music, refreshments, floor-shows, and entertainment are planned by the students.

In Portage County, Ohio, a weekly question-and-answer column is conducted in the local newspaper for the discussion of the problems of young people and parents. Plans are also underway for a mobilization drive to enlist volunteers to serve as group leaders in youth-serving agencies."⁴⁴

New York City, with a \$60,000 gift from the New York foundations, has set-up a "program of psychiatry and social work service for the treatment of teachers, for the problem of child behavior, and the provision of supervised recreational opportunities for deprived children. A new feature of the program will be a youth counseling service which will provide services to youth and work closely with the

judges and probation officers of the children's and youth's court."⁴⁵

Cleveland, Ohio, began a carefully planned program to eliminate delinquency as far back as 1926. The program "included participation by neighborhood leaders, the consolidation of casework services, and the cooperation with the police juvenile bureau, schools, and recreational agencies."⁴⁶

Ten private agencies in Los Angeles, California, are making plans to cut down delinquency "through the group work section of the council of social agencies in close cooperation with recreation officials, the schools, and other social and religious groups."⁴⁷

The South Side Community Committee of Chicago, Illinois, sponsors four neighborhood centers, with full recreation and leisure time programs, in an area where ten years ago, 20 out of every 100 boys under 21 years of age were going before the Juvenile Court."⁴⁸

The Greater Middletown Recreation Commission of Middletown, Ohio, "expects to employ a full-time director to stimulate neighborhood, family, and community-wide programs for children and adults."⁴⁹

Hartford, Connecticut, neighborhood units and extension services have been established "with programs extending and coordinating with casework, groupwork, neighborhood, health and other services."⁵⁰

⁴²"Good Ideas at Work," *Survey*, East Stroudsburg: East Stroudsburg Publishing Co., (March, 1944), p. 84.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁵"Good Ideas at Work," *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵⁰"Good Ideas at Work," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

At five points, in Birmingham, Alabama, "with the cooperation of the churches and other groups, athletic leagues, clubs, many different kinds of activities were organized. In recent months, no serious case of delinquency has been reported."⁵¹

Gary, Indiana, "under the general staff are teacher activity committees each with a teacher sponsor, to plan programs in junior police work, training in home economics, care of small children, and many other fields."⁵²

In Seattle, Washington, rooms or buildings have been taken over, equipment installed, dances, games, discussions, parties, and other activities have been planned and conceived by the "teen-age groups," who organized clubs in different sections of the city.⁵³

Omaha, Nebraska, has organized an Improvement Society "to eliminate vandalism in public parks."⁵⁴ This is a neighborhood organization of boys and girls with adult supervisors.

Travis County, Texas, has employed a youth counselor "who has been working with rural supervisors, home demonstration agents, parent conferences, 4-H clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, in building up youth participation in community fun nights, club programs, and other social activities."⁵⁵

In an old fire station of Ladder Company 13, in Detroit, Michigan,

some neighborhood boys and girls have established a "hang-out" which they operate under the general supervision of the YWCA. "Juke box, snack bar, lounge, ping pong, powder room, badminton, shuffleboard, are included in the facilities. Jitterbugs are welcome and there is no ceiling on noise."⁵⁶

In Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a new youth center has been established at 119 Third Avenue S.E., and is one of the choicest night spots. It is supervised by a director and an assistant director, both young enough to gain the confidence of the young people and old enough to assume responsibility. Here the young people have a game room where they may read or talk; a soda fountain and dance floor with booths and a juke box, where they may eat, dance, or have music."⁵⁷ Iowa City, Iowa, has a similar youth center which they call the "Paper Doll."

In a "Furniture Shop" in Kalamazoo, Michigan, "Uncle Jake," (Jacob Kindleberger) has headed the Home Works Corporation which advocates that boys be kept at tasks "which not only earned them a little money but taught them something worthwhile..."⁵⁸ The boys elect their own officers, keep their own time cards, balance their own books, and divide the earnings according to the number

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵⁶"Good Ideas at Work," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵⁷"Youth Center Opened," *The Cedar Rapids Gazette*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: (February 27, 1944).

⁵⁸Karl Detzer, "These Youngsters Make Vacations Pay," *Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville: Reader's Digest Association Co., (August, 1941), p. 49.

of hours each has worked."⁵⁹ Their factory is a public school industrial-arts shop with a regular instructor in charge. Their material is scrap lumber bought from the salvage department of the paper company there. They make bird-houses, screens, trellises, clothes props, benches, lawn chairs, and dog houses. Uncle Jake says that any organization, service club, scout troop, church, or industry in any town can start a system like theirs. He says two things one must remember are, "organize a company, not an individual, that will teach youngsters the rudiments of the business, and employ a competent adult advisor, someone skilled enough to guide, while letting the boys run the show themselves. Then they can't fail."⁶⁰

The Parent Teacher Association in Moline, Illinois, has had a prominent part in setting up one of the most remarkable organizations yet established to provide for the recreational needs of youth and to offset conditions that cause juvenile delinquency. The Moline Plan, conceived and executed by young people of high school age with the assistance of the PTA and other interested adult groups, was first suggested by a high-school girl. The girl, a senior, Ruth Clifton, had planned her remarks systematically and well, when she finally succeeded in getting the attention of the Council of Associated Dads' Clubs of Moline.⁶¹ She said to them,

We know home-town conditions better than the adults do . . . We don't like the sale of liquors to minors nor wide-open gambling . . . We regard the increase in juvenile delinquency as a challenge that we accept . . . We have drawn up a plan . . . We want to organize and govern ourselves. We want to handle our problem in our own way. If we're allowed to, you'll find you won't need any recourse to law . . . She then outlined the plan as she and her co-workers had set it up.

Her earnestness and her efficiency won the day. The plan was put into immediate execution. A sponsoring committee was appointed and a resolution adopted to provide a recreational center. A three-story building was selected. Two stories are occupied by the center, and it is hoped that the third will soon be available for little theater groups. The sponsoring committee, with the help of the young people, cleaned, renovated, and painted the new quarters. Boys and girls helped to build tables and benches. Coke and ice cream bars were set up; games were contributed; a juke box was bought; the basement floor was fixed for dancing. The youngsters pay 25 cents dues a year. One paid employee is included in the program, a girl who dispenses food and soft drinks. Background guidance is furnished by an adult, Richard C. Dopp of the Fairbanks-Morse Company, who took a six-months' leave of absence for the purpose. "Pops" is already regarded as a confidant by most of them. The Rek, as the club is called (short for recreation), maintains harmonious relations with the YMCA and the YWCA.

The whole town is backing the new organization, as well it may.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶⁰Karl Detzer, *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶¹Retta Teichman, "Youth Combats Delinquency," *National Parent-Teacher*, Illinois: (November, 1943).

"Since the outbreak of the war," says Benjamin De Jaeger, Moline Chief of Police, "juvenile delinquency has increased 25 per cent in Moline, but since the opening of the Rek there has been a definite decrease; there is almost a total disappearance of wild drinking parties, of overloading and speeding of jalopies in Moline streets at night." The youngsters formulated their own rules, are enforcing them, and penalize any offenders.

The Board of Education of Cincinnati granted the East Oakley School, on Madison Road, permission to use that abandoned school as a location for a teen-age canteen. "A group of East Oakley residents promised to assume the costs of operating the project. They said all Oakley organizations had agreed to cooperate and business men promised financial backing."⁶² Now the youth and adults are getting it ready for use.

Thanks to ranchers and business men of West Texas, Boys Ranch, their creation, is a pioneer of its kind. Boys Ranch is a ranch and a home for needy boys.. It is not an institution or a laboratory to test "fine-spun theories." It is not mixed up with politics. "It is an outgrowth of the belief that one of the surest places for a boy to grow up and develop whatever is good, is the open country, where his surroundings provide the chance to pour out his energies in useful tasks in both work and play, thus bringing him

closer to clean, wholesome, and natural things."⁶³

Maybe military service is an outlet for some with terrifying energies. Maybe it will give them the discipline they so sorely need. However, if they are sent into the army now Gruenberg feels that they should be sent with adults' heads bowed. "Ashamed that 'the perfect solution' should come only with the tragedy of war, that we failed to find a place for this tremendous group before."⁶⁴

Even "problem children may make good soldiers,"⁶⁵ according to Dr. Louis A. Lurie, psychiatrist, and Mrs. Florence Rosenthal, director of psychiatric social service at the Child Guidance Home in Cincinnati, Ohio. Out of 114 boys and girls who went into branches of the service, they found that 40 per cent earned recognition through promotion, citation for bravery, or special assignment. Lurie says, "Certain types, if not too severe, may make excellent soldiers."⁶⁶

SUMMARY

Mental Hygiene is important to youth.—Youths go through quite a normal self-absorption and pre-occupation period of mental hygiene in order to snip the apron strings, which keep them from growing up and becoming socially economic and independent. Parents need to adjust themselves to this period in the lives of most young people.

⁶³Neil M. Clark, "Alley Cowboys," *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing Co., (April 1, 1944), p. 26.

⁶⁴Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁶⁵Louis A. Lurie, "Problem Children may make Good Soldiers," Cincinnati: *Cincinnati Times Star*, (April 4, 1944).

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶²"Teen-agers to Use Abandoned School in East Oakley," *Cincinnati Times Star*, Cincinnati, Ohio: (February 28, 1944).

Each case has many factors.— Each individual must be dealt with as an individual. Every youth needs guidance on many problems. One must look at youth from many angles. One must not only consider the youth's own feelings, but one must also consider his interests, his health, his abilities, his ambitions, and his personality. Gruenberg says there is work to be done, real work, and youth want to do it. "Through cooperation with government agen-

cies, educational authorities, business, and labor, every boy has an excellent chance to find his place in the bewildering world of to-day while preparing for the complex world of to-morrow."⁶⁷ "Education begins at home."⁶⁸ "One must ration words."⁶⁹ "One must be firm."⁷⁰

⁶⁸Charles F. Kettering, "Education Begins at Home," *Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville: The Reader's Digest Association Inc., (February, 1944), p. 80.

⁶⁹Gladys Huntington Bevans, "Ration Your Words," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (July 1943.)

⁷⁰Gladys Huntington Bevans, "Are You Kind but Firm?" *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., (July, 1943).

⁶⁷Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, "Rarin' to Go," *Woman's Day*, New York: Stores Publishing Co., Inc., (November, 1943), p. 75.

Samuel Adams as an Intellectual Force in the Revolution

MARY ELIZABETH COCHRAN

"That Massachusetts led the thirteen colonies during the years preliminary to the Revolution has been sufficiently set forth; that Boston led Massachusetts is plain; the reader will clearly . . . understand that it was Samuel Adams who led Boston."¹ If this statement is correct, and there is much evidence that is, then the logical conclusion is that Samuel Adams led the American Revolution, and he has not received proper notice in orthodox histories.

Sam Adams was slightly above medium height, with an erect carriage, heavy brows, benign and majestic countenance, and a manner always cordial though a little formal. He wore a tie wig, a cocked hat, knee breeches, buckled shoes, and a red cloak.² Abstemious, untiring, he cared not who got credit for his measures. His unassuming ways and the purity of his character enhanced his influence. He antedated Jefferson in democratic simplicity and democratic friendliness.³ His was a paradoxical combination of characteristics. In religion, he was the narrowest of Puritans, but his manner was genial.

He was a conservative, but his generation considered him a wild radical. Personally, he was inflexibly upright, but he was expert in foxy wiliness of political maneuvering. An indifferent business man, he was both forceful and shrewd in politics. His trembling voice belied his audacity of opinion and, although he was prematurely gray and was long afflicted with shaky hands, he was rarely ill and lived to be 84.

He did not seek public office, but over a third of his life was spent in public service.⁵ He was typically Yankee in his shrewdness. In determining his real influence difficulty is encountered because he often credited others with measures that he had originated to further the cause he believed in.

The father of Samuel Adams (also a Samuel) was a good business man and accumulated an ample fortune, but he too was intensely interested in politics. About 1724 he helped found the Caulker's Club, which was intended to be a political weapon. From this term, by easy corruption, has come the term *caucus*, which is well known in American politics.⁶ The elder Adams, a brewer, was a church official and held many public offices, local and colo-

¹James Kendall Hosmer, *Samuel Adams*, (Amer. Statesman series. Boston, 1884) 351

²Samuel Fallows, *Samuel Adams, A Character Sketch*, (Chicago, 1898) 18.

³Moses Coit Tyler, *The Literary History of the Revolution*, (2 vols. New York, 1897) II, 6

⁴Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 357-358

⁵Samuel Adams, *Writings*, (4 vols. New York, 1904-1908) III, 222

⁶Fallows, *op. cit.*, 19 ff.

nial. The elder Adams lost heavily when the Massachusetts Land Bank was outlawed by an act of Parliament, and both father and son were bitter toward the British government. Perhaps "In these episodes of his early years there was enough to account for his anti-British convictions."⁷ It may be that his Calvinistic training and background were responsible for his hard, unyielding, uncompromising attitude toward questions. He wanted to study law, and we can believe that he would have been successful in that calling; he certainly was unsuccessful in business.⁸

In 1736, at the age of 14, he entered Harvard, where he was a serious student. Life was rather rigidly prescribed for the students of those days, but Sam Adams escaped censure except once when he overslept and missed morning prayers.⁹ After four years he was granted the baccalaureate degree, ranking fifth in a class of 22. It should be noted that class rank depended on the family's social position not on the student's scholarship. He later worked for the degree of Master of Arts when he chose a rather bold statement to defend for his thesis; "Whether it is lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot be otherwise preserved?"¹⁰ He maintained the affirmative, nearly 30 years before

similar opinions were expressed in the controversy of Massachusetts Bay with Mother England. At the Commencement of 1743, there were 19 disputants; Adams and two others chose political subjects.¹¹ As an undergraduate, Adams had spoken on similar topics. Also out of his college funds he saved enough to publish a pamphlet he had written entitled, *Englishmen's Rights*.¹² Surely coming events cast their shadows before.

Adams read rather widely in and out of college, paying particular attention to Hooker, Locke, Grotius, Blackstone, Vattel, Hume, and other men who had contended against monarchical or ecclesiastical tyranny.¹³ With all his reading we may note that "his style bears the noble impress of his ceaseless and reverent reading of the English Bible."¹⁴ One might add that he drew on the history in the Bible for examples to illustrate his principles.

A few typical examples of his use of various political and legal theories in his writings will be given. He frequently uses almost identical language in his articles though they may have been written at widely different times. He draws heavily though by no means exclusively from John Locke. This is not strange for Leslie Stephen said that Locke's writings became the political Bible of the eighteenth century.

In November, 1772, Adams drew up the paper on "The Natural

⁷Ralph V. Harlow, *Samuel Adams*, (New York, 1923) 6, ff.

⁸James Phinney Munroe, *The New England Conscience*, (Boston, 1915) 23

⁹W. V. Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, (3 vols. Boston, 1865) I, 5

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 10

¹¹Benjamin Peirce, *A History of Harvard University*, (Boston, 1833) Appendix

¹²Fallows, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.

¹³Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 444

¹⁴Tyler, *op. cit.*, II, 12

Rights of the Colonists, as men, as Christians, and as subjects."¹⁵ He used ideas from Locke's *Letters on Toleration*, his *Government*, Coke's *Institutes*, Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and Vattel's *Law of Nations*. A strong Lockian doctrine, "No man can take another's property from him without his consent"¹⁶ might also be called the text for a number of his articles. Adams is known to have used at least 26 pseudonyms in his articles for the press. "Valerius Poplicola," in the *Boston Gazette*, October 28, 1771, states that Locke "shows that express consent alone makes any one a member of the Commonwealth."¹⁷ On September 9, 1771, *Boston Gazette*, "Candidus" writes, "The supreme power, says Mr. Locke, is not nor can possibly be absolutely arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people."¹⁸ On December 23, 1771, he states that Locke contends that preservation of property is the end of government.¹⁹

Familiarity with the doctrines of Vattel is also indicated. "Vindex," "Candidus," and "Valerius Poplicola" quote from this author in articles appearing in the press from early 1766 to late 1773. Two of these are given: "The Constitution and its laws are the basis of public tranquility—the firmest support of public authority, and the pledge of the liberty of its citizens."²⁰ "Tyrrants alone will treat as seditious

those brave and resolute citizens who exhort the people to preserve themselves from oppression in vindication of their rights and privileges."²¹

There are numerous references to other writers. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* is drawn upon, as, "Laws therefore, they are not which public approbation hath not made so."²² A statement of Grotius is translated to read, "Whatever is originally in its nature wrong, can never be sanctified or made right by repetition and use."²³ Montesquieu is referred to several times, as when "Valerius Poplicola" on October 5, 1772, states that no prince has power to tax subjects without their consent.²⁴ On October 14, 1771, Zwinglius is quoted as saying, "They who lie under oppression deserve what they suffer and a good deal more."²⁵ Blackstone is invoked in support of the common law against the civil law, and he is also used in the legislature's reply to the governor (written by Adams) on land titles.²⁶

Coke's *Institutes* was drawn upon in support of several of the arguments. Parliamentary representation, Magna Carta as declaring the fundamental laws and liberties of the people, and the doctrine of the consent of the governed are some of the contentions which rest on the authority of the learned jurist.²⁷

¹⁵Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 502-508

¹⁶Adams, *Writings*, I, 288. ff.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, II, 257

¹⁸*Ibid.*, II, 210. He includes in this the doctrine that a man's property is secure.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, II, 299

²⁰*Ibid.*, II, 151

²¹Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 453

²²Adams, *Writings*, II, 452

²³*Ibid.*, II, 410

²⁴*Ibid.*, II, 322 ff.

²⁵*Ibid.*, II, 251

²⁶*Ibid.*, 235, 434 ff.

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, 271, III, 326, II, 437.

There are also fugitive references to other sources. In a letter to John Scollay, December 30, 1780, he exclaims, "Will men never be free? They will be free no longer than while they remain virtuous. Sidney tells us, there are times when People are not worth saving, meaning when they have lost their virtue."²⁸ On July 15, 1777, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee that Shakespeare refers to a tide in the affairs of men, which wise men will carefully watch for, "and I will never forget it because it coincides with my religious opinion and I think it is warranted by the Holy Writ that 'God helps those who help themselves.'"²⁹ He also cites examples from Greek and Roman history to impress the lesson that people must be ever watchful for liberty.³⁰

The exact influence of the clergy on the thinking of Adam is not exactly determinable. The New England clergy seemed to draw their political opinions from the same source that he did. He was an active church member. The usual sermon before the Massachusetts Assembly, May 25, 1768, was preached by Shute of Highham, "Who denied the absolute authority of Parliament and justified resistance to laws not based on equity."³¹

The period between 1764 and 1776 is the time of Adams' distinctive contribution to Revolutionary development. The industry of the

man is amazing. He was a member of the Assembly and the author of its state papers, and he was essayist, pamphleteer, and ever active agitator. In the town meeting he served on committees, acted as moderator and showed intense interest in public affairs. As a writer he was powerful: "He had been contributing letters to newspapers for a number of years—the kind of letters signed, *Veritas*, *Senex*, and the like, which made up the greater substance of those pre-revolutionary journals—but his first writing of consequence was a document prepared for the town meeting, a document which was adopted, protesting against the proposed Stamp Act. This paper is important in being the first formal statement ever made by the colonies that Parliament had no right to tax them and in containing the suggestion that the colonies get together to secure redress."³²

The Sugar, Stamp, and Townshend Acts enabled Sam Adams to make concrete applications of his principles. The Boston Massacre was grist for his mill as well as the attempts to force tea on unwilling colonists and to quarter soldiers among them. He even found time to fulminate against the possible establishment of an American episcopate.

Harlow, with his decidedly unfriendly psychological interpretation, states, "It was in connection with this anti-Sugar Act program of the radicals that Sam Adams began to appear as something more than a failure. For the first time in the 42 years of his life he succeeded

²⁸*Ibid.*, IV, 328

²⁹*Ibid.*, 387. This seems to be a favorite of his for he frequently quotes it.

³⁰*Ibid.*, IV, 212 ff. He says that power is intoxicating and seems to fear that people will lose power to ambitious leaders.

³¹Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 183

³²Munroe, *op. cit.*, 24

in doing something well, so well that it brought him a certain amount of distinction among his political associates."³³ As chairman of the town meeting he applied for the opening of the courts which were closed on account of Stamp Act regulations.³⁴ At the mass meetings in connection with the tea controversy, Adams was at his best. As moderator he gave the signal, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country," which sent the "Indian" band to the tea ships.³⁵ One of his characteristics is shown in his writing of the tea controversy: "I think we have put our enemies in the wrong and they must in the judgement of Rational Men, be answerable for the destruction of the Tea which their own obstinacy had rendered necessary."³⁶ Adams stood firmly against England's effort to make Boston pay for the tea and carried the town with him, although Josiah Quincy and Benjamin Franklin advised that payment would be a politic measure.³⁷

Never has the press been more effectively used for propaganda than by Samuel Adams. Tyler says that he was the first of modern politicians to recognize the power of public opinion in directing events, and the power of the newspaper in directing public opinion. He did not seek to put himself but his *ideas* before the public. So, "Accordingly

of all American writers for the newspapers, between the years 1754 and 1776, he was perhaps the most vigilant, the most industrious, the most effective, and also the least identified."³⁸

The *Boston Gazette* published many of his contributions. Its circulation was around 2,000 copies per week. The *Spy* also took his articles, and before the Revolution it had reached the weekly circulation of 3,500. It was also a radical sheet.³⁹ Governor Hutchinson complained that many people read nothing but the radical journals and so were victimized by propaganda. He subtly played on religious fears and prejudices: "Nay I could not help fancying that the Stamp Act itself was contrived only to insure the people to the habit of contemplating themselves as the slaves of men: that the transition from thence to a subjection to Satan, is mighty easy."⁴⁰

His theories of government are constantly emphasized in his press articles. The Natural Rights Theory and the Compact Theory are upheld, "For government is an ordinance of Heaven, designed by the all-benevolent Creator, for the general happiness of his rational Creature, Man."⁴¹ "An elector in 1771" writes, "Behold, my dear countrymen, the mystery of government. It was instituted for the happiness of the people. The two representative bodies of Wisdom and Goodness shall point out that hap-

³³*Op. cit.*, 32

³⁴Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 114

³⁵Fallows, *op. cit.*, 54 The report had just been brought that the governor refused to give the ships clearance papers.

³⁶*Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 20, Samuel Adams to James Warren, Dec. 28, 1773

³⁷Fallows, *op. cit.*, 58 ff.

³⁸*Literary History of the Revolution*, II, 8

³⁹Harlow, *op. cit.*, 184 ff.

⁴⁰Adams, *Writings*, I, 203

⁴¹*Ibid.*, I, 269

piness."⁴² "Valerius Poplicola" discusses the compact with the king and natural law on October 28, 1771.⁴³ "T.Z." takes up the question of taxation and the principles of representation and the security of property on January 19, 1769.⁴⁴ In January, 1776, a "Religious Politician" uses historical citations to open the eyes of the colonists to the need for independence.⁴⁵

Samuel Adams' ingenuity in finding time to write the number of letters that are extant is amazing. When the destruction or loss of greater numbers is taken into consideration the wonder grows.. No mere friendly greetings are these letters, but finished discourses on government. Often they were written to incite men to action. He wrote to prominent men in various colonies and to men in England. He wrote to John Wilkes who became a rather tarnished symbol for liberty in England.

Three things stand out pre-eminently as his service to the patriot cause in this period: (1) Insistence on limitation on government and preservation of the rights of colonists; (2) Independence; (3) Union of the colonies. Nearly all his letters, state papers, and newspaper articles ring the changes on these. He was very careful not to urge independence openly before he thought the public was prepared for it. Professor McLaughlin says, "It was the principle of the unalterability of standing law that underlay the

American Revolution. The writings of Samuel Adams, the Father of the American Revolution, once and again declare this doctrine, maintaining that the English Constitution, in its essentials, was not what Parliament might for the moment declare it, but unchangeable: and this very unchangeableness was the basis of liberty."⁴⁶ We find that, "Samuel Adams turned as a matter of course to the current philosophy of Natural Rights, familiar doctrine to him, and often enough expounded in the newspapers or at the Caucus Club."⁴⁷

In a letter to J. Smith he says that the British Constitution was copied from Nature, a principle being "The Supreme Power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his consent."⁴⁸ He wrote the address of the Massachusetts House of Representatives to the Governor, April 24, 1771, in which that officer was assured of the people's support so long as his administration was for the public good,⁴⁹ — perhaps a veiled threat.

If one part of the Revolution could be singled out at the chief service of Samuel Adams, it might well be independence. He was, undoubtedly, one of its earliest advocates. Hutchinson thought that as early as 1765, "his professed principles which he owned without reserve in

⁴²*Courts, Constitutions and Parties*, (Chicago, 1912) 269 f.

⁴³Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*, (New York, 1922)

⁴⁴Adams, *Writings*, I, October 23, 1768. The right of representation in the taxing body is stated though he says that colonial representation in the English parliament is impracticable.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, II, 170

⁴²Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 398 *Boston Gazette*

⁴³Adams, *Writings*, II, 262

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, I, 282

⁴⁵Wells, *op. cit.*, II, 37-373

private discourse to be independence."⁵⁰ His public and private writings of this time do not take this ground; on the contrary, the wish for independence is often denied.⁵¹

This was likely because he felt the people would not follow, but "One wonders if the puritan conscience of Samuel Adams did not now and then feel a twinge when at the very time in which he devoted himself body and soul, to breaking the link which bound America to England he was coining for this or that body phrases full of reverence for the king and rejecting the thought of independence."⁵² At the end of an Appeal to the Sons of Liberty, March 18, 1769, he said that the conditions which he reviewed may be "hastening a period dreadful to Great Britain."⁵³ A year later, "It was still his policy to express in all his writings a hope of conciliation, but final separation was now the moving spring of his actions, and he made advances toward that point with a resolute purpose and unalterable will, guarded always by the sagacity and caution which tempered every movement!"⁵⁴

On April 19, 1775, as Adams and Hancock escaped across the fields, they heard the firing announcing armed conflict. The story is that Adams flung his hands above his head in his exultation and exclaimed, "O! what a glorious morning is

this!"⁵⁵ Shortly afterward at the meeting of the Second Continental Congress he found his fellow members still unready for independence. He resolved that if the rest of the country would not follow he would try to get New England to make the break and form a confederation.⁵⁶

With the aid of Wythe of Virginia, in January, 1776, he bent every effort to secure confederation and independence. His chief antagonists were from Pennsylvania where the leaders, Dickinson and Wilson, hoped for a reconciliation. Adams reverted to his old trick of controversial writing. He argued that the time was ripe for a commonwealth in the west. He called attention to the futility of looking for foreign aid while still professing allegiance to Great Britain.⁵⁷

In a letter to Samuel Cooper, April 3, 1776, he asked, "Is not America already independent? Why then not declare it?"⁵⁸ To James Warren, he wrote, "Every day's delay tries my Patience, I can give you not the least Color of a Reason why it is not done."⁵⁹ Some of the wavering members were influenced by the force of his reasoning. He was not on the committee to help draw up the Declaration, having been appointed to help formulate the Articles of Confederation. He was happy to have reached the goal at last, but regretted that it had not come earlier. He thought Can-

⁵⁰Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, (3 vols. London, 1828) III, 133 f.

⁵¹Adams, *Writings*, I, 135

⁵²Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 121

⁵³*Ibid.*, 133 f.

⁵⁴Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 326

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, II, 293 f.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, II, 330 f. He adds that he kept this a secret until the next year.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, II, 362 f.

⁵⁸Adams, *Writings*, III, 276

⁵⁹Warren-Adams *Letters*, I, 224 f.

ada would have come in but for the delay.⁶⁰

Second only to his work for independence and contributing to it, was his effort to unite the colonies. Here too, he was a pioneer. Richard Henry Lee's letter to Dickinson, July, 1768, recommending an inter-colonial committee of correspondence, came five months after the Massachusetts Circular letter, suggested and written by Adams had reached the colonies and was published. The Letter urged union and correspondence. Massachusetts perfected a provincial system of correspondence which served as a model for the intercolonial committees and that system was largely the brain child of Sam Adams.

He was the first man in Massachusetts to suggest a general congress. In August and September of 1773 he wrote a series of articles in the *Gazette*, urging that such a congress was the only salvation of the country.⁶¹ During the Assembly at Salem in 1774 he held secret meetings with those who could be trusted. They worked privately until they were sure that they had a majority. Then, behind locked doors, Adams at the head of a committee of nine, introduced his resolution to appoint delegates to a general congress. Some feared to take such a decisive step but they could not get out of the hall. The measure was passed while

the governor's secretary, sent to dissolve the Assembly, was kept waiting outside.⁶²

Adams had a thorough training gained in political clubs. He joined a political club which asked each member to furnish political essays to a journal called *The Public Advertiser*, the first number of which appeared in January, 1748.⁶³ Then too, "He was a member of the Caucus Club; one of those semi-secret political machines which seem to be inseparable accompaniments of democratic government. . . . It was in an assembly of this sort, held in the garret of an obscure militia officer, that Samuel Adams learned how the principles of John Locke could be given a practical application, and how easy it is for a small group, which knows what it wants, to secure the adoption of its policies."⁶⁴ The Caucus Club finally attained a membership of sixty.⁶⁵ It acted with other clubs on public measures. Harlow says that the *Boston Gazette* was an organ of the club.

Adams was pre-eminent as a manager of men; not only ordinary men but men of ability followed his leadership. He was clear headed, cool, and exceedingly tactful. He was the master of town politics, and this stood him in good stead in a broader area where he found the same methods successful. He and James Otis promoted celebrations to

⁶⁰Adams, *Writings*, III, 295. July 9, 1776 letter to Hawley. He expresses the same idea in other letters. In 1775, The Boston Committee of Correspondence was in communications with the Province of Quebec. There was also a committee in Montreal. Wells, *op. cit.*, II, 474 ff, says that he and Warren twice sent an agent to Canada.

⁶¹Wells, *op. cit.*, II, 86

⁶²*Ibid.*, 174-175

⁶³Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 45. Evans Bibliography gives it a life of 2 yrs.

⁶⁴Harlow, *op. cit.*, 8 ff.

⁶⁵Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 86

keep alive the spirit of liberty.⁶⁶ The anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was celebrated, later superseded by the celebration of the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. An orator made the most of the occasion.

Outside the town Adams had two main fields of action, the state assembly and convention, and the Continental Congress. He was long clerk of the assembly and drafted many state papers. He made the motion setting up state committees of correspondence and had Otis appointed chairman of the committee. He was a member of the State Board of War and served as Secretary of State from 1775 to the end of the war. When he was in Congress a deputy acted for him.⁶⁷

When the constitutional convention was selected in Massachusetts, he was a member. He and John Adams were appointed as a subcommittee to draft the constitution. It was said that John Adams had the best understanding of law of all men in Massachusetts, and Samuel was best versed in the rights of the people, and without the work of each "the Constitution could not have proved the excellent model of government that it was."⁶⁸

When Adams set out for the First Continental Congress, it was the first time he had been away from home for more than a few days at a time.⁶⁹ While he was active and

served on an incredibly large number of committees, after the Declaration of Independence his work there could have been done as well by others. He introduced into the Congress the powerful engine of the caucus.⁷⁰ He was on the war committee. His ignorance of military matters was perhaps matched by his zeal. When Britain made an effort for conciliation in 1778, Adams warned against it.⁷¹ Probably one of his most important acts in Congress was his motion that there should be an invocation by an Episcopal clergyman.⁷²—This may appear trifling, but the delegates were of various shades of religious opinion and markedly jealous of each other. If Samuel Adams, the strict Congregationalist, could ask the prayers of an Anglican, others might also be tolerant. He tried to keep in the background as much as possible and give prominence to the representatives from other sections to soften jealousies.

Samuel Adams was insisting on preserving what he conceived to be the British Constitution. He believed in a democratic check and thought that purity in government was possible only if there was strict accountability.⁷³ He advocated good schools to teach morals and virtues and he believed that private and public morality were interdepen-

⁶⁶John Adams, *Works*, (C. F. Adams, ed. 10 vols. Boston, 1850-56) II, 218

⁶⁷Wells, *op. cit.*, II, 69

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, III 80, n.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, I, 207

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, II, 423 according to Jefferson's *Recollections*.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, III, 14 ff. It has the fire of earlier productions.

⁷²*Ibid.*, II, 221 ff.

⁷³*Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 196 ff., to James Warren, Dec. 27, 1775.

dent.⁷⁴ He was afraid that the new government had too much pomp and parade. He seemed to sense that the people were hardly ready for the republican principles to which he was committed.⁷⁵

He was a practical politician and he realized that people were governed more by their feelings than by reason. This realization may account for his successful leadership. He disparaged men's fears of liberty," as if anything were so much to be dreaded by mankind as slavery."⁷⁶ He especially feared the effect of power on man: "All men are fond of power. They soon come to believe that they need more and more. Therefore there should be definite checks."⁷⁷ Two statements sum up his practical philosophy. One is a political maxim, "Put your enemy in the wrong;" the other has been referred to, "God helps those who help themselves."

Harlow assigns three phases to Adams's work: (1) Formation and rise to power of the radical group in the legislature; (2) Development of a political philosophy; (3) Extension of political organization to other colonies on the basis of political radicalism to bring about the union of North America. His tact and cunning were distinct assets in putting the radicals in power. He would set a process in motion and then put some one else at the head, keeping in the background himself. The heads did not suspect that they

were merely agents of the master mind.⁷⁸ He was not open to bribery nor was he personally ambitious. This was known and it added to his influence. His power as a writer was an effective weapon for his political group. He realized that the innumerable productions of his pen would be more influential if they seemed to be the work of many writers. He seldom published anything over his own name, "but under a number of titular disguises which no man has yet been able to number."⁷⁹ His writings were for a practical purpose and he had no further use for them after they had served their purpose. John Adams tells of seeing him destroying quantities of letters and papers.⁸⁰ An example of his methods is his writing Hancock's orations for one of the celebrations at which Adams acted as moderator in which capacity he thanked and complimented the orator.⁸¹ His popularity among the common people was another feature of his political power.⁸² He was a special favorite in the shipyards where real popular power resided.⁸³ His own poverty is indicated by the fact that his apparel when he went to the Continental Congress was supplied by the town.⁸⁴ He is one of the few men of his time who ended life much poorer than he began it.

⁷⁸Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 364.

⁷⁹Tyler, *op. cit.*, II, 9.

⁸⁰*Old South Leaflets*, VIII, no. 179. J. Adams to Wm. Tudor.

⁸¹Wells, *op. cit.*, II, 138. Apparently Wells misses the humor of this.

⁸²Hosmer, *op. cit.*, 115 f.

⁸³Wells, *op. cit.*, I, 202

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, II, 209.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, I, 171 ff. Nov. 5, 1775

⁷⁵Adams, *Writings*, IV, 228

⁷⁶Warren Adams Letters, I, 9 March 25, 1771.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, I, 190 to Warren Dec. 27, 1775.

Weather and the Weather Man Went to War

ELSIE MARGUERITE BROOME

Mark Twain's famous remark, "Everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it," is no longer true. Much has been done to minimize its ill effects and take advantage of its good effects. War has shoved weather forecasting so far ahead of what it was 20 years ago that the old timer would have trouble recognizing it.

When the United States entered the war the AAF, the weather Bureau, and the WPA had already begun to assemble hundreds of millions of foreign weather observations for the preparation of 250 strategic climatic studies. Reports were collected as far back as a hundred years. Weathermen in Washington prepared an "Analogue," which is an historical record of past weather resembling the current weather pattern. Once the analogue to the current weather map is chosen, the forecast can be prepared from subsequent maps in the same historical sequence.¹ This information aided in later interpretations and forecasting of weather in many theaters of the war. It helped to trace basic climatic patterns and to predict weather for specific current operations such as: planned air routes, bombing patterns, convoy protection systems, and in selecting the most favorable weather for concentrated attack and invasion.

In 1941, at the time of Pearl Harbor, the Army Air Forces Weather Service consisted of a handful of officers and enlisted men who could have met in a single hotel dining room, but in three years it had increased 10,000 per cent.² During the war the AAF weatherman could be found "In many lonely isolated dots on the map no one had ever heard of before—they hung out their shingles for business alongside the most advanced runways, and a hundred yards behind the front lines on newly invaded Pacific Islands. And they battled cold, heat, and loneliness at sun-parched bases in Burma, ice-bound outposts on Greenland's ice cap, and jungle clearings along the Amazon in Brazil."³ Whole books could be written on the work, hardships, and perils of these weathermen.

They probed the air with meteorological balloons, took note of wind velocity and direction, humidity, precipitation, clouds, and other clues to weather's imminent behavior. From reports made by careful observers, maps were drawn and studied for predictions and forecasts. The AAF Communications Wing, by means of the world's largest aviation radio network, supplied reports and forecasts from

¹*Bulletin*, Public Relations Office, AAF Weather Services, Asheville, N. C.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*

all parts of the world where American troops operated. The importance of correct weather information was indicated by the vast amount of equipment and men used to gather data for forecasting. Universities, colleges, technical schools, civilian and army instructors trained hundreds of cadet officers and thousands of men and women in the armed services how to forecast, interpret, and use meteorological data.

The Army Air Forces listed more than 20 weather squadrons made up of thousands of meteorologists operating from land stations and aircraft from the Arctic to southern Australia, Africa, and South America. Painstaking forecasts guarded our planes over the Himalayas, across the deserts and jungles of Africa, from Canada to the stormy Aleutians. Our planes dropped paratroop forecasters behind enemy lines to send out weather reports by special radio equipment. One of the riskiest jobs of all was performed by the weather pilots who flew out alone over enemy territory, in superfast planes, a few hours ahead of American bombing raids, to make final checks on the weather at the target. They signaled the air fleet whether to take off or to wait for better conditions.⁴

The head weatherman of the Air Forces was attached to the Supreme Allied Commander's headquarters. He was in daily conference with the British who contributed to the master reports of the army, navy,

and air forces experts for General Eisenhower and his staff. His job was to take the information and apply it to the particular air strike, beach assault, or other scheduled operations.

Why all the military emphasis on weather? Because weather is a prime factor that must be considered in planning almost any kind of military operation. To our forces, it was an important weapon. Weather has often decided battles, it can make generals change battle plans, can disrupt transportation, destroy and injure our naval ships both large and small.

Perhaps weather played its greatest role with the air corps which served as the nerve center of all other branches of the armed forces. In the air war, men who man aircraft can testify that weather is potentially as dangerous and as merciless as the enemy. They know only too well that severe turbulence inside a strong head wind can exhaust fuel supplies as surely as a rip in the gas tank; that a load of ice building up gradually or suddenly on wings can destroy a plane's balance as abruptly as a load of flak in the fuselage; that electrical and magnetic disturbances can knock out delicate flying instruments as completely as a smashing blow; that low lying clouds and fog can blind like a smoke screer and send pilots crashing against mountain sides, buildings, or towers.

Cold, snow, ice, winds, tropical storms, clouds, and every kind of weather played its part, some good and some bad for both friend and

⁴Carey Longmire: "Weather Out of a Box," *Collier's*, March 10, 1945.

foe. All belligerents take orders from "General Mud."

Armies will pay almost any amount for important weather information. Against this implacable enemy, the weather, only one tactic prevails: accurate weather forecasting. Accuracy, in turn, depends on quantities of observational data secured at every advance area where weather is building up, and on reliable communications and transit. Few kinds of information are as perishable. To be of greatest value the report should be not more than an hour old. Weather information twelve hours old is practically ancient history. Only urgent tactical orders that might decide the outcome of battles already underway enjoyed priority over weather messages.

Most military campaigns for the entire war could be recorded in terms of movements of air masses and the passages of fronts. Air which remains for a few days over an area of 500 to 1,000 square miles tends to take on the temperature and moisture characteristics of that region. Masses with warm temperature, high humidity, and low barometric pressure, called "cyclone" or "low," build up over warm bodies of water such as the warm Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, also south of the Aleutian Islands and west of Alaska, where the warm Japanese ocean current flows far northward into the cold Arctic waters. These "lows" move onto North America, across the continent in an easterly direction and leave the land by way of the St. Lawrence

River and Gulf. They may continue to follow the Gulf Stream across the Atlantic into the European zones.

"Highs" or "anticyclones" are masses of air with high barometric pressure, low temperature, and little moisture. They form over cold land bodies especially the Arctic, Northern Canada, Greenland, and northern Siberia, and then travel south and eastward toward warm water bodies. Each type tends to keep its own characteristics as it moves in a general easterly direction about five to 25 miles per hour. Air tries to equalize its density, causing a constant motion from high to low pressure. When "Highs" and "Lows" meet, a line of discontinuity called a "front" or "squall line" is created. "Fronts" may be from 20 to 50 miles wide and may extend continuously or intermittently for a distance of several hundred to a thousand miles.

Weather in advance of a front, or to its rear, is usually different from that along the line of discontinuity. It was the weather in these three different zones that largely determined great military operations.

This west to east movement gives decided advantages to countries whose enemies are east and disadvantages to those whose enemies are west. Japan had weather information in advance of the United States and Britain. Our weather preceded that of Germany and Italy, but Germany had information in advance of Russia. The struggle on both sides to even up the inequalities in this meteorological score led

to the transmission and interception of ciphered weather reports, weather espionage, bombing and seizing of enemy weather stations; and to the establishment of our own stations in forgotten corners of the world. We battled Germany for Greenland and furnished money, fuel, and goods to friendly nations along our air routes in exchange for weather bases.

Germany's great invasion of Russia was hidden behind low clouds and fog caused by a traveling weather front. The attack was timed to strike just as a cloud blanket enshrouded the Russian war front. Lack of visibility grounded the Russian air forces but permitted the Luftwaffe to bomb at will from the clear skies which prevailed over Germany behind the weather front. Germany could neither estimate the tenacity of the Russian armed forces nor could her long range forecasters tell that the following winter would be the coldest on record.⁵ Russian soldiers were better trained and prepared to fight in the intense cold, ice, and winds than were the Germans. As Russia withstood the first great onslaught, the weather became her greatest ally during all the winters of the war.

Weather is impartial; it works for all belligerents. It is largely a matter of being able to take advantage of it. Germany had waited and planned for months and years for the perfect time to attack Poland. The time came the last of August, 1940, when Poland's plains and dirt highways were dry and firm, suit-

able for great tank movements. Clear skies permitted perfect bombing and the blow to that small country was short and decisive.

Early in the war it was thought that clear skies were best for bombing and invasion tactics. The RAF raided Berlin on a bright moonlight night, and 22 heavy bombers sustained heavy losses from antiaircraft guns and fighter planes. Dieppe proved a tragic error to the Allies when the great Commando attack moved in under low clouds and the wind changed direction, carrying the fog and clouds out to sea, leaving the whole Allied forces to take a terrific beating from German shore batteries.⁶ These errors destroyed once and for all the belief in the efficacy of "bomber's moon" unless the enemy could put up only a minimum resistance.

Nazi military leaders made final plans for an attack after they had received the findings of their expert weather forecasters. This added to their successes during the first years of the war. Because of their accurate forecasting no rain slowed down the invaders into France and the Low Countries. Unexpected rain and cloud cover at that time might have changed the whole course of French history. It certainly could have saved thousands of civilian lives from the low level bombing and straffing they endured in the first few weeks of the invasion of France. The break-through of the Maginot Line at Colmar occurred on a rainy day when observation from

⁵Invasion Weather, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

⁶Invasion Weather, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

the French side was obscured.⁷ Foggy seas allowed the first German troop transports to slip unnoticed into Norway while later storms hampered movements of the Royal Navy.⁸ The same conditions played favorite the other way when it permitted Britain to evacuate her troops from Norway under a blanket of fog and clouds after the German invasion of that country.

Perfect timing and superb knowledge of meteorological conditions enabled the Allied bombers to take off from England in October of 1942, travel ahead of a storm, reach its objective, Lille, France, bomb that German held city's military installations and then dodge into a cloud bank which had been following across the English Channel.⁹ Accuracy of German forecasts made possible the movements of the two German warships, the Gneisenau and the Scharnhorst, through the Strait of Dover under the British noses during the heaviest pea-soup fog of years, when the RAF and the Royal Navy could not be used. The same weather conditions had saved Britain from an even greater catastrophe earlier in the war. With the sudden fall of Belgium's resistance, more than 300,000 British troops were trapped in a small area with their backs to the sea. They were rapidly being cut to pieces with everything the Germans could throw at them, this dur-

ing the heyday of the German dive bomber. After three days of terrific beating under clear skies, one of Britain's forecasts showed approaching cold air which would bring a low blanket of clouds. The navy hurriedly massed every type of sea craft that could cross the Channel and return on the heavy seas that would soon follow. This armada, shielded by low clouds, moved across the channel while the German air forces were helpless in the cloud bank that followed on into Germany. Britain's evacuation was so successful that the word, "Dunkerque" will be a legend in world history.

Choosing weather for large scale military operations is a long and complex problem. Many months were required to collect and study climatological data for accurate information on conditions likely to occur over Britain and northwestern Europe. General Eisenhower's staff was unable to agree on the most favorable type. The air, ground, and amphibian forces could perform best as single units under entirely different kinds of weather. This complicated operations as the invasion armada included all these different military units. A compromise had to be made on which weather would provide the best conditions for the whole operation with the minimum disadvantage to each.

Climatological data showed that the last days of May would likely have the best stretch of weather with little fog. June and July had the best weather over the whole invasion area. July had high tides,

⁷Weather Goes to War, *Scholastic*, Jan. 5, 1942.

⁸Weather in Ninety-Day Doses, *Newsweek*, June 30, 1941.

⁹Thunder Over the Atlantic, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

waxing moon, with light fogs and mist expected on two days a week.¹⁰ Once the invasion started it would need clear weather and fairly calm seas to continue landing supplies to the ever growing mass of men and artillery on the continent.

On June 4, 1944, groups of American and British worked long and laboriously in London weather offices collecting and mapping all information from stations scattered from Northern Canada to Norway and from middle United States to Africa. These areas furnished the clue to weather soon to be over Britain and northwestern Europe. The forecasts were: blankets of fog, low lying clouds, rain, and wind which would make high choppy seas.¹¹ The gigantic military forces huddled together could not long be held back or shielded from the ever increasing German buzz bomb. Germany, too, was expected to have carefully hoarded her last great air squadron reserve for just such an Allied move.

On June 5, a cold front arrived, bringing the predicted weather; it looked as if the whole invasion timetable would be upset. General Dwight Eisenhower balanced the crucial invasion factors one against another and, on the advice of his weather experts, decided to wait 24 hours. On the morning of June 6 a necessity became an advantage as the great armada enshrouded in low clouds and fog crossed the high choppy seas from Britain to Nor-

mandy where 150,000 troops were poured into France,¹² while Germany was struggling to pierce the wall of clouds which in some measure protected the Allied landings.

Two great Allied man-made floating harbors had been built secretly in Britain to go with the armada, since the British bombers had long ago ripped up harbor facilities along the coasts of northwestern Europe to prevent their use by the Germans. High choppy seas and pounding waves severely damaged the man-made harbors used by the Americans. This slowed down unloading operations at a severe cost to our beachheads.

Through the summer our troops rolled across France and were well inside Germany's borders in December. Suddenly we were startled by the news that Von Rundstedt and his two powerful armies were pushing the Americans back into Belgium and Luxemburg, capturing men, arms, and ammunition which they could use against the Americans. Gloom hung over the Allied world when we were told that our Air Squadrons were grounded by mist, blinding fogs, and miles of smothering clouds. For two days not one Allied bomber left its base in all Western Europe. We who had boasted of 1,000, 2,000, and even 5,000 bomber raids over Germany, sent out only 24 bombers on the 23rd of December to help our ground forces. Allied programs were for the moment completely disrupted, and our commanders had to discard or revamp every future

¹⁰The Weather and Invasion, *Newsweek*, May 15, 1944.

¹¹Weather Invasion, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

¹²*Ibid.*

move which they had planned over a period of weeks.¹³ Men and equipment had to be moved from other fronts to the now critical area, and we were not even sure that Germany was not prepared to strike against the places that we were weakening.

Shortly before the beginning of the German drive, our weather observers had predicted two weeks of just such weather. The German high command had arranged its offensive to coincide with this cloud cover from its long range forecastings. Not all weather predictions are infallible, but the first few days had worked out exactly as charted, and now the second week offered no promise of change. Just when things looked blackest, one of our weathermen, in flying northward over enemy territory, saw a lift in the clouds. His report was sent back to the base station where a tired-eyed young officer reconstructed the weather map and discovered that a high pressure air mass was moving in from the east (they usually move from the west). This meant clear cold skies would soon prevail over Germany's western boarder. The sudden sharp break had not been expected by either the Allies or the enemy. With this new promise, telephone lines all over Allied-held Europe carried messages to all air forces commands, and the next morning thousands of bombers and fighters took to the air. For five days the skies remained clear and the German armies endured an air pounding without precedent. The danger to

our positions that week can hardly be overstated. The enemy had counted on those five days to keep our aircraft grounded but their timetable had been completely upset by five days of "the world's most beautiful sunrises."¹⁴

Europe had low clouds, fog, and mist most of the winters, with fog especially heavy over large industrial areas. The Allies were forced to use low level bombing during the last winter of the war. Planes at low level are vulnerable to small arms on the ground as well as anti-aircraft.

Because of the condensation of moisture of air from the warm Gulf Stream as it is carried on to the cold land of Britain, dense fog forms over that country much of the year especially at night and in winter. Low visibility prevented combat planes from taking to the air from Britain when German bombers came over on large scale missions as at Coventry. To counteract this weather enemy, Britain buried pipe lines around some of her air fields, pumped oil into them, and lighted it to burn away the fog at short intervals enabling planes to take off and land. This device was especially valuable to Britain's night bombers during the latter part of the war.

Even peculiar and whimsical desert weather played its role in the war. Generally any change of weather which tends to disorganize communications favors sudden attack if the attacker knows the

¹³Weather and the Invasion, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

¹⁴How Weather Turned on Rundstedt, *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb., 1945.

nature, time, and extent and can make full use of it. Violent wind which created clouds of dust was chosen by General Alexander's eighth army to launch a blow against a strong Nazi line at Foundouk.¹⁵ A freak of weather undetected by Allied forecasters saved Rommel and his Afrika Korps from what appeared to be certain doom. General Montgomery was about to close the trap of an encircling movement when heavy rains began to fall. It poured for 48 hours, stalling tanks and giving Rommel time to flee westward toward Tunisia. As the fleeing army reached Kasserine Pass, a narrow strip of land between low mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, a ground fog prevented use of Allied bombers so that Rommel succeeded in getting to the "wasp waist" of the Mediterranean, where most of the high ranking German officers escaped to Italy.

At El Guettar, Tunisia, the Germans had planes dive through clouds and release bombs and then fly back into the clouds while escorting Messerschmitts patrolled above. The American fighters anticipated this move by the Nazi and had interceptors, P 40's, hid under the clouds, and when the Stukas came down the Americans were there to greet them. Most of the Stukas were shot down before the Messerschmitts waiting above the clouds realized what was happening.¹⁶

At Kairouan, the Free French took advantage of "drifting moun-

tain fog, rain, and strong wind when all enemy aircraft were chained to the ground, to drive the Nazis from a mountain stronghold in a surprise attack."¹⁶ All belligerents took advantage of blinding dust storms and the position of the sun for attacks. Each timed its attack when the dust storm or the burning sun of the desert would be in the enemy's eyes.

Another phenomenon that was especially hazardous to our bombers and fighter planes over Europe was the cirro vapor streak which formed in long bands behind high altitude planes when they encountered sub-cooled air. These long white cloud streaks pointed the direct route that bombers would take to their target. Sometimes these streaks became so thick that planes had difficulty staying in close formation and German fighter planes followed the tell tale streaks and picked off rear bombers of a squadron or any strays.

Weather divisions of the AAF performed almost unbelievable feats in collecting weather information and in their forecasts which made possible almost total use of the airplane in every land and climate. The operations officer of the 15th squadron made the statement that the operation of the reconnaissance unit in Italy had slashed the war at least six months in the Mediterranean by making possible continuous strikes against the enemy. Prior to this time, "Precious time and gasoline were being squandered flying three or four hours toward targets, only to find them overcast; failure to utilize the maximum

¹⁵Geography Sets the Stage for Global War, *Scholastic*, Oct. 25, 1943.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

number of bombing days was giving the enemy an opportunity to put his factories back into operation before they could be ground into rubble by encore visits." He also stated that "Dozens of other planned missions were being held grounded by the uncertainty of weather conditions enroute and over the target."¹⁷ I heard the following statements made by two Air-Corps veterans who had just returned from Europe in regard to AAF weathermen. One said, "I certainly didn't envy them their job, they worked harder than anybody; I don't know how they were so accurate." The other said, "I tell you it was uncanny, the accuracy of their predictions; they wouldn't miss a forecast more than 15 minutes if that long."

Occasionally there was a "busted forecast" which caused serious mishaps. On one occasion a group of 16 planes, including that of General Arnold, was given clearance for a flight to Scotland. The local forecaster had spotted a front over the terminal but calculated that it would move off by the time the planes arrived. Instead, the front remained stationary, hanging over the terminal like a pall. When the

planes came in, a scene of great confusion took place. Pilots, unable to land, circled perilously overhead while air-to-ground communications tried desperately to get the planes down safely. Finally some of the planes succeeded in creeping down through the mist to make landings. Others sat down at airfields miles away, sustaining considerable damage.¹⁸ Records prove such accidents were extremely rare.

Many new devices and the work of the AAF have made possible long range forecasting such as: a network of robot radio stations scattered across the top of the earth in the North Polar region send signals from 100 to 200 miles; triangulation through the use of three widely separated stations detects storms electronically, and fixes their location; radar-equipped planes can use a special screen to locate storms for distances of 100 to 200 miles, and many other methods of which we will soon be hearing. Carey Longmire says: "Experts can give you a pretty good idea of whether it will be fair or stormy a month from now at Podunk Center, or Novorossiisk."¹⁹

¹⁷AAF Weather Service, *Bulletin*.

¹⁸Invasion Weather, *Fortune*, Nov., 1944.

¹⁹Weather Out of a Box, *Collier's*, March 10, 1945.

The External Powers of Our Federal Government

RALPH HEWETT SMITH

The external powers of the dual government of the United States of America are solely in the hands of the Federal Government. No individual state may deal with a foreign government or a foreign individual. The states are expressly denied this privilege. The sovereign power of a democratic nation lies in the people as a whole, but a mass of people cannot speak except through a chosen representative. Who speaks for the United States of America?

Our Federal Government is not a single spokesman. It is a three-headed institution. The Judiciary has some influence in matters of foreign affairs through its decisions in endorsing or refusing to endorse the constitutionality of statutes enacted by Congress or rulings of the Chief Executive. In 1936 the Judiciary made a pronouncement in connection with a case, the *United States v. Curtiss Wright Export Corporation*, known since as the *Chaco Arms Embargo Case*, in which it expressed the opinion that our sovereign powers in foreign affairs are above and beyond any statement in the Constitution. This opinion may be more clearly understood through a survey of the general functions and powers of our Federal Government in foreign affairs, and our present place in the "law of nations."

This famous pronouncement of the Supreme Court has had far-reaching influence on our foreign affairs. The spokesman for America is not the Judiciary, nor Congress, but the Chief Executive. Congress may legislate regarding commerce, immigration, and importation of goods. The senate may pass upon treaties and appointments, but may not initiate the action. The Senate cannot force a treaty, nor keep the Executive from canceling one, or even dropping one after the Senate has ratified it. Congress as a whole has a powerful check in its prerogative of making all appropriations, but there are devious ways of securing the finances without going through the legislative body. Neither the Judiciary nor Congress may be the real spokesman for our nation in dealing with foreign governments. That duty has been placed squarely on the shoulders of the elected president of the United States. To give him a long arm in this wide service, the Department of State was organized, with its important division of Foreign Service, which include diplomats, ministers, and consuls. They are placed all over the earth, to share the detailed duties of carrying out the will of our Federal Government.

Sovereignty in our government does not reside in our federal constitution. The sovereignty of Amer-

ica existed long before there was a constitution. Sovereignty is the power of our nation to change, amend, or replace the constitution. When the thirteen colonies were first granted certain powers by England, she still retained the power of speaking for the colonies as a whole. When they revolted, no single colony had the authority or power to deal with foreign states for the group, and the foreign states refused to deal with an unorganized group, none of whom could speak for the whole. Thus the colonies were driven to meet and decide wherein their sovereignty lay. They were compelled of necessity to choose a spokesman for the new nation. Sovereignty, like land titles, always must reside somewhere; it is never in abeyance. The moment that England relinquished her authority, the sovereignty of America was born. To find its voice was the duty of the thirteen original colonies. That voice was eventually sanctioned, legalized, and recognized. The Civil War was fought finally to determine recognition.

Power is that control which may affect the life, liberty, or property of an individual; protect the health, safety, welfare, or even the convenience of that individual. Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian scholar, in his *The Principles of Power*, traces the source of all political power through the formula: sanction, legalization, and recognition. It is evident today that the world *sanctions* some form of world power, and is seeking some form of *legalization*, with the hope that finally every nation will recog-

nize that authority and obey it.

Thus today's problems in external affairs present new situations, as the nations of the earth draw together in an effort to build an institution for peace. The United States, with faith in democracy, is teamed, for instance, with one other great power, Russia, with her faith in the police state. The internal affairs of our two nations are ruled by completely opposite ideologies. Yet both have given sanctions to being teamed together to guide the external affairs away from war. The source of power in the United States, the people, is represented by groupings according to geography; in Russia, by groupings according to economic interests; in the United States one votes from a district, as Kansas; in Russia one votes as a farmer or a carpenter.

International law is a body of agreements among nations, now more commonly named "the law of nations." According to many jurists, however, it is not law at all. They believe that law is something which must be enforced, and the "law of nations" depends upon consent, in the absence of a recognized world power. Meticulous theorists disagree about when a law is truly a law. So long as agreements are not challenged they serve the purpose of law, and the great body of international agreements is the foundation upon which we must build that institution which will rule a future of discussion, instead of a future of conflict. We shall always have disputes, but we hope to resolve these disputes under a rule of law.

Foreign policy is something America has been accused of not having. Actually the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door to China were two well defined policies, and there has been all through our history a very clear desire on the part of America to keep out of entangling alliances or power politics. Now our security demands that we play a role in world affairs and share the responsibility in guiding the future of two billion people into the paths of peace.

Every structure depends somewhat for strength upon the foundation on which it is built, and on the success with which the upper structure fits the foundation upon which it is built. The source of all power in today's civilization is the people, the governed and their consent. If peace is to be chosen in place of war, disputes must be submitted willingly to a peaceful tribunal for judgment. There is at present no central tribunal to which all nations will come for judgment. That is what we are trying to build into the international picture. We have almost universal sanction, but no legal authority, and no assurance of universal willingness to come to such a court for final decisions.

Force or strength is not confined to military measures. The potential strength of our own nation is far beyond the dreams which most of us held previous to the recent war. We scoffed at a president who said we must build 50,000 planes in a year, and three years later nearly doubled that number in twelve months. The atom bomb has done

more than blast cities; it has blasted the doubtful feelings of the potential power that exists in the scientific world. It was but a climax to wonders of radar, medicine, nutrition, air and sea developments,—but more than all, the potential powers of the American citizen as reared in an atmosphere of free education with opportunities for initiative.

The external powers of our Federal Government have for spokesman, the President. He represents our sovereignty. He appoints and receives all foreign representatives. He executes the legislation of Congress in regard to trade and immigration. He is commanded by law to do certain things and those duties are specific. His power springs from directives, some outlined in the constitution, some legislated by Congress, and above and beyond these, the Judiciary has given its word in the Chaco Arms Embargo Case, that "the conduct of foreign relations would still be a proper and necessary function of our national government as a necessary concomitant of nationality even though no grant of such authority could be found in the constitution."

The line between the functions and powers of our government in foreign affairs is very close, and often one results from the other or depends upon it. Our Executive has the Department of State with its division of Foreign Service. In addition there may be special agents representing the president personally. We have 30 ambassadors, 24 ministers, and some 250 consuls scattered through-out the world.

Working under these appointed officers is a corps of career workers who have been organized under a plan set up by the Rogers Act of 1924 that is similar to our domestic civil service. The persons who carry on this work are trained and developed, given easy posts, advanced according to experience, and are not affected by changes in political administration. The salaries of the secondary workers range from \$2,500 to \$10,000. Our appointed chief foreign diplomats receive from \$10,000 to \$17,500, a modest scale compared with that of other nations.

The foreign service division is, of course, but one small part of the Department of State. This organization consists of the head or cabinet member, named the Secretary of State, who attends to the most important matters, an assistant secretary in charge of affairs not requiring the personal attention of the secretary, and who serves in his place when he is absent or incapacitated; four secretaries who supervise various areas of departmental work; a legal adviser, five other advisers on international economic affairs, and four advisers on political relations.

The political work is divided into European Affairs, Near Eastern Affairs, Far Eastern Affairs, and Affairs Relating to the American Republics. The divisions besides Foreign Service, are Office of Fiscal and Budget Affairs, Public Relations and Research. The latter has a treaty division, a division of protocol, a division of international conferences, a division of commercial economic operations, a division of

commercial policy and agreements, a board of economic operations, a division of research and publications, an office of coordination and review, a division of cultural relations, and a division of current information. All these are subject to frequent change.

In personnel the State Department is one of the smallest; in geographic sweep of activities, it is the most extensive of all. It is the servant of the president in reaching out to deal with matters the world over.

The President, himself, speaks for our nation on ceremonial occasions, and receives official visitors to our shores. He appoints ambassadors, ministers, and consuls. He may employ in addition special personal or secret agents abroad without procuring senatorial consent, and nearly every president has done so, from Washington on down. These are paid out of the President's contingent fund usually.

On his sole responsibility the President may receive foreign ambassadors and may dismiss them. He may carry on correspondence to obtain information, press claims, offer settlements, and reply to all manner of proposals. A large number of these are classed as functions and are only related to power, but as functions they affect the life, liberty, and property of individuals.

Powers are divided by textbook writers into *express* powers, *implied* powers, and *resultant* powers. The express powers of the Federal Government are listed by Anderson as follows:

1. Declare and prosecute war.

2. Raise, support, and regulate land and sea forces.
3. Use the militia of the states.
4. Make treaties with foreign nations.
5. Send and receive diplomats.
6. Define and punish piracies and offenses against the "law of nations."
7. Regulate privateering and captures.
8. Judicial powers over admiralty and maritime cases.
9. Regulate commerce with foreign nations and Indian tribes.
10. Govern Territories.

During the recent war both our powers and functions have reached beyond this list. In the declaration of Cairo we staked out responsibilities in the far east. At Potsdam we discussed policies affecting the Kiel Canal, the Danube, the Dardanelles, eastern Europe, and the Orient. The United States interests, the national self-interests, are now world-wide. One pole of our policy is security, the other is the ideal of freedom and democracy with the future of all peoples at stake.

The express powers are delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution. This includes implied powers of using the means to carry out the enumerated powers. In carrying out the means of executing the enumerated powers, conditions arise in which a group of powers are involved and the authority for action here is often in the decision of the courts. The courts have really established the doctrine that the United States is one nation for all

external and international purposes; that all power over external affairs has been denied the separate states; and that consequently "as a nation with all the attributes of sovereignty, the United States is vested with all the powers of government necessary to maintain effective control of international relations." This opinion was stated in the case of *Burnett v. Brooks*, 1933, 288 U.S. 378, 396.

The express powers of the President are easily understood. Implied powers are much more vague and have to be tested and decided by the judiciary. Resultant powers have been established both by tradition and by court opinion. Charles Beard, in *The Republic* expresses the opinion that the implied and resultant powers of the President are limited only by his own personal sagacity and the extent to which he can gain the consent of the people of our nation for whom he speaks.

Though Congress is a federal body, each individual member of that body is elected by a small portion of the nation. Each represents a geographical area and seldom forgets it. One Senator may represent a few thousand people, as Nevada; another represent millions, as New York. Thus individual members are not equal in the numbers of citizens they represent. The representation is geographic and political. The greatest interest of the senator or representative is his state and his political party.

The only federal officer who is elected by all the people is the chief executive, and he is responsible to

all the people. He is given great power, and there have been arranged such checks and balances that he is limited in these powers in a great many ways. Even so, he still has a great field of power so long as the people of the nation approve his acts. Therein lies the greatest check. When consent of the majority does not follow his leadership, his acts lose their effectiveness, and are nullified. We have vivid examples; as, when the nation changed political powers after Wilson, and when in a domestic issue the people repealed the prohibition amendment. This latter had the consent of elected officials, but the majority of the people refused to obey the amendment with the result that no force was great enough to compel obedience. It is exactly the situation we face in trying to arrange machinery to stop war. If the nations of great populations and potential powers are not convinced in large numbers, if the authority set up is not given sanction and recognition as a legal authority, no amount of military force will be able to compel obedience.

That is why authoritative writers are saying that Russia or the United States cannot be forced; they must be persuaded, or documents made by the United Nations are impotent. That is why Congress cannot always speak truly for the whole people, nor can the President, nor even a large number of states, as they did in ratifying the prohibition amendment. It is important that the people be informed and have opinions, so that leaders may know whether the

great mass will follow the laws when they are written.

There is a misconception on the part of many persons in thinking that a law is made first and satisfactory results follow. Sait, a contemporary political writer, shows in his *Preface to Political Institutions*, that need arises first among people. This need promotes the idea for the written document. After it is written down, if the majority of the people find it a good thing for the community, it becomes an accepted authority, and may be enforced because there has been sanction, legalization and recognition by a majority.

The cases which Frankfurter and Davison chose for a book in the series of cases on *Administrative Law*, fall into three sets in regard to presidential powers. First, the power of the President to recognize foreign governments; second, his power of appointment and removal; and third, his power of pardon.

The power of recognizing foreign governments is an implied one deriving from his duty of appointing and receiving envoys. In countries having revolution, a president may receive envoys from one or the other faction. Russia's present government was recognized by England in 1921, but she was an outlaw to America for twelve more years. Roosevelt chose to receive her envoy in 1933, thus recognizing her present government. A small division of Columbia revolted in 1903, and Theodore Roosevelt through implied power recognized the small republic of Panama, as a separate and

independent state, with the resulting power of making an agreement under which the Panama Canal was built. The downfall of President Huerta in Mexico in 1915 was caused almost entirely by President Wilson's refusal to recognize him as the de facto chief executive. More recent cases are the President's refusal to recognize the "state" of Manchuria, established by the Japanese, and the fascist government of Spain.

While the power to negotiate treaties belongs to the President, the Senate must ratify them before they become law. In preparing and negotiating the treaty the President is given no exact directives. So there is a broad field of power in executive agreements. These are usually a part of the process of negotiating treaties, but through custom have never reached a treaty stage. Some are minor matters which the agreement settles and are concluded under blanket authority of Congress, such as postal conventions and trade agreements. Others relate to important matters, and are to all intents and purposes treaties, though they never reach the Senate for ratification. Examples are the Boxer Protocol with China in 1901, the Japanese Labor Agreement of 1907, the Root-Takahira notes on the open door in 1908, and the agreement in regard to San Domingo by Theodore Roosevelt from 1905-1907, pending a Senate ratification of a treaty. A similar agreement by President Taft in regard to Nicaragua extended for five years before the Senate ratified a treaty

in 1916. In 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt made an agreement with the British government in regard to sites for military bases in exchange for 50 over-age destroyers. Congress enacted a trade agreement in 1934 giving the Executive large powers in arranging agreements on trade with other governments. In total our nation through the years has had in effect over 1,250 executive agreements with foreign nations previous to Pearl Harbor.

While the Senate is given a broad check on treaty ratifications, yet that body is powerless to inaugurate a treaty, or to conclude one, or to abrogate one. A President may refuse to conclude a treaty even when the Senate has ratified it. He may even abrogate or recall a document after it has been agreed to by foreign governments and ratified by the Senate.

Also he has the sole power of initiative as to whether to submit a treaty to the senate. There is no way to force him to submit treaties; thus, from the negative point of view, the power of the Executive is supreme. The record shows, however, that of all the treaties submitted, those before 1824 were all ratified, and after that date four-fifths of them were unconditionally approved. The total number rejected completely, 62, is a small per cent of the whole number, some of which were amended.

The courts have upheld agreements of the President, as supreme law. They have been tested when in pursuance of a treaty, when the power came from being command-

er-in-chief, and occasionally when the executive was simply the sole organ for international dealings. The limits to which he may go have nowhere in our history been defined. As Beard states, the force and daring of his own character are his only limitations so long as he carries along public opinion in his favor. History has shown that the power as exercised varies greatly with the individual who is in power at the time. In emergencies the power is great, such as in war, in panic, or depression.

Thus in the making of foreign policy, the President's responsibility is supreme. He may not be the author, but he declares it to the world and takes the necessary steps to put it into effect. Washington was the author of our policy of "no entangling alliances;" Monroe voiced the doctrine in 1823 which has been changed only recently, when the "good neighbor" idea supplanted it; Wilson brought the Caribbean republics under United States supervision. Roosevelt dealt with South America, Japan, Russia, Spain, and declared we must help England and France when those republics were attacked by the fascist Axis.

There have been times, however, when the powers of Congress in international relations have been felt, as in forcing a reluctant president into the War of 1812, or when the Senate balked the foreign policies of John Quincy Adams, of Pierce, of Grant, of Cleveland, and most notably that of Wilson. And, of course, when Congress legislates, then the President must execute the laws whether he will or not. He may veto

the bill, but if Congress passes it over his veto, he is in duty bound to execute the will of Congress. When a statute must be executed it is understood the implied power is there to carry the law into execution.

Congress is given power to regulate commerce, but when danger threatens our nation, the President is directed to take such steps as he deems necessary to protect our nation and to avoid conflict with other powers. Thus, in 1936, when Bolivia became a country of revolution, the President declared an embargo on the shipment of arms to that country. An exporting company of private dealers conspired to sell machine guns to Bolivia and prepared a shipment. The President stopped the shipment and the company challenged his power to do so. When this case, the Chaco Arms Embargo Case, reached the Supreme Court, the attorneys for the Export Company contended that, for a President to have the choice of whether or not to declare an embargo, is a legislative function and can not be legally delegated by Congress to any other division of our federal government. In the decision approving the President's action as legal, the court said:

Many persons have assumed from reading history and Supreme Court Decisions, that all the powers possessed by the national government were delegated to it when it was created and that the people transferred only such powers as deemed essential to national security and welfare.

The power to declare and wage war, to conclude peace, to make treaties, to maintain diplomatic relations with other sovereignties, if they had never been mentioned in the Constitution, would have vested in the

Federal Government as a necessary concomitant of Nationality . . . As a member of the family of nations, the right and power of the United States in that field are equal to the right and power of the other members of the international family. Otherwise the United States is not completely sovereign.

The right to acquire territory by discovery and exploration . . . the power to expel undesirable aliens . . . the power to make such international agreements as do not constitute treaties in the constitutional sense . . . none of these are expressly affirmed by the Constitution nevertheless exist as inherently inseparable from the conception of nationality.

Anderson concludes from this opinion of the Supreme Court that the power of our Federal Government does not depend wholly upon the Constitution in regard to external affairs, that is, affairs with foreign nations.

It is probable that this general acceptance of the powers of our executive caused the American people to be so incensed when the shipments of iron and steel to Japan by private dealers were not stopped by his order. However, there had been no act of Japan which justified his placing an act of embargo on goods in the commercial world of business. It was not the government sending the shipments but the private trade world, and the goods could not be classified as arms, no matter how clear it might be that arms would result in the factories of Japan. It was only in the Defense Act of 1940 that our President gained the power to tell private companies to cease trading in war materials, and then only on the theory that we might need the materials in an emergency. Not all of

America was convinced that an emergency existed, until Japan herself announced it in her Pearl Harbor Act.

All down through history new conditions have arisen which called for decisions, for which the Constitution offered no guide. As stated above, the right to acquire territory, the power to make international agreements, the power to expel undesirable aliens, are now accepted as a matter of tradition and custom as authority. Jefferson purchased Louisiana by an implied power. Treaties, agreements, resolutions, and many a device have been used as we came into possession of, or acquired some sort of jurisdiction over New Mexico, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico, Samoan Islands, Guam, Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, the Caribbean Islands of Nevasa, Great and Little Swan, the Pacific Islands of Wake, Howland, Baker, and Jarvis, and Kingman's Reef; a protectorate over Cuba, a protocol with the Dominican Republic, a treaty with Nicaragua for a canal, a naval base in Formosa, and coaling stations on Great Corn and Little Corn Islands.

As early as 1913, Congress, in order to further commerce, gave national banking associations a right to establish branches in foreign countries, and in 1934 the Export-Import Bank of Washington was established by an executive order to facilitate the exchange of commodities with foreign nations. Federal trade zones were established in 1934 as a result of a congressional authorization whereby quantities of

goods might be stored, exhibited, graded, repacked, and reassigned without entering an American port, and thus be subject to duty.

When the Titanic disaster aroused the world, even the idea of equal sovereignty in a sense was abandoned. E. H. Hambro, the Norwegian president of Parliament, in an address to an American audience, explained how 14 seafaring nations met and agreed how to divide the expense when the United States offered to patrol the North Atlantic. It was agreed that the United Kingdom would pay 40 per cent, the United States 18 per cent, Canada 6 per cent, Norway 3 per cent, and so on. Mr. Hambro said, "Not a United States Senator called it an infringement on the United States sovereignty for England to pay 40 per cent."

The present conditions of our maritime status have completely changed during the war. Prior to 1914 Britain's fleet totaled more than 21 million tons, America's fleet 5.3 million tons. Today British merchant tonnage is reduced to between 10 and 12 million tons, while our war-built vessels total between 35 and 40 million tons. The world position of our nation is entirely new in economic and social, as well as political influence.

One hundred and fifty years ago the Jay Treaty initiated an idea of arbitration in international affairs. There has grown into dealings among nations a great body of international law. The thousands of cases tried in the courts in almost every country are settled by these

laws. Issues of the *American Journal of International Law* for April, 1945, and July, 1945, report examples of these disputes and difficulties.

The following cases are illustrative of disputes of international character: the case of *Rex v. Brosea* (Canada) where a prisoner of war looted a mailbag; in *Republic of Mexico v. Hoffman* (United States) the officer of a vessel sought immunity from jurisdiction in rem when owned by a foreign government, though not in its possession at the time of a collision with another vessel; in *Part Cargo Ex M. V. Glenroy* (Privy Council) a Japanese company had branches in London and Hamburg . . . shipped goods on a British vessel, the *M. V. Glenroy*; the goods were condemned as enemy goods, and the challenge followed; in *Georges Treaudafelon v. Minister Public* (Mixed Court in Egypt) the personnel of a vessel while on shore committed offenses against the local laws; and in *Malero Manuel v. Minister Public* (Mixed Court in Egypt) a Spanish member of a French Foreign Legion was accused of manslaughter on shore in Egypt.

Treaties bring into existence three types of international law, according to Oppenheim and Lizst; *particular* law for a few cases, *general* law for a majority of cases, and *universal* law when all members of the united nations are involved. Chief Justice Marshall stated a hundred years ago that there was also an unwritten part of international law which must be ascertained

from "the great principles of reason and justice."

There is much evidence that the need for a greater authority in international affairs is felt by every nation, a need for which we have no true external power to meet, and which calls for settlement by unwritten international law. Charles Cheney Hyde concludes in a statement in the *American Journal of International Law*, "In the present stage of world organization . . . there is no supra-national organ superior to the separate states; and there is no world constitution. If a world political authority acting under a world constitution is ever established we could posit a satisfactory fundamental norm, not only of international supra-nationality but of all law. That norm would be that the constitution of the world society be obeyed."

In the United States as in other nations, many persons believe that we are not yet ready for a world constitution. A small group of leading citizens has started a campaign to find out if it is possible for us at the present stage to hold a world convention, to build a world constitution now. The meeting at San Francisco with its 50 nations, interpreters, network of communications by which each could talk back home and get the daily reaction, made that meeting less difficult than was our meeting in America in Colonial days to work out the answer to "Who should speak for the American Nation?"

When Lincoln was struggling to find the method of keeping our

union, our nationality, intact in the Civil War, he received a cheering note from a laboring group of cotton spinners of Manchester, England. If it had not been for the voice of these laborers in England, it is not at all improbable that Britain might have recognized the South, and our Civil War might have ended with a divided nation. Lincoln was so grateful for the voice of those 6,000 cotton spinners that he sent them a reply in which the following ideals of government is stated.

A government whose leading object is to elevate the conditions of men; to lift the artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life . . . This is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend.

In March, 1945, the American and Canadian Bar Associations held a joint meeting to discuss the opinions gained from 25 localities. The result was a recommendation for a Permanent Court of International Justice and a wider scope of International Law. Norman Bentwich writes, in the *London Political Quarterly*, that colonial government is a matter of international concern; it should be both a partnership and an international trust. The Russian Mark Vishniak, formerly professor of public law in Moscow, writes that we must consider an international organization, collective security, and an international bill of rights of man . . . We cannot discard the protection of minorities as a condition of peace among nations

and as one of the pillars of democracy.

Denna Frank Fleming, professor of political science, Vanderbilt University, in his book, *The United States and the World Court*, goes so far as to say that the Senate's treaty veto "is a deadly danger to the life of the nation, a mortal danger to the entire constitution itself." He recommends a constitutional amendment to alter this situation.

The subject of the external powers of our government in the light of present day developments toward an international centralized power offers a challenge to all who object to change. Sovereignty and power and international law have been undergoing an evolution for a century. It has increased rapidly during the war. As Sait states in his *Preface to Political Institutions*, "an institution emerges naturally . . . as men acquire habitual modes of behavior, and as they act to satisfy momentary needs. One sees the process in the evolution of great systems of law—Roman and English. International law is taking shape in a similar way . . . created by the behavior of States in their mutual dealings, by conflict and compromise. Institutions rise out of experience. Yet, having been built, by trial and error in one community, they may serve in another community, as ready-made patterns for imitation. Culture spreads by diffusion."

We have no pattern for world government, except that worked out by individual nations for groups of states. The three great powers, Russia, United States, Great Britain, have worked out central powers for themselves. On these foundations and with mutual ideals for the common good of man, the new institution must emerge. A survey of the external powers of our own United States Federal Government is one small study in understanding the trend of the times in seeking the way to a rule of law among the nations.

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