



美 留 與 國 美

著 堃 慶 楊



行 印 處 聞 新 國 美

月 八 年 八 四 九 一



278





美 留 與 國 美

著 堃 慶 楊



行 印 處 聞 新 國 美

月 八 年 八 四 九 一



目 錄

前 言

Stephen Duggan 先生序

楊振聲先生序

- 第一章：美國的土地與人民……………一
嶄新的國度——地理背景——美國的人民——紛歧中的一致——美國人的特色
- 第二章：美國民治的誕生……………九
美國的自由種子——殖民地的封建勢力——爭取自由的七年苦戰——憲政的建立——華盛頓的功勳
- 第三章：美國憲法下之政治與人權……………一八
美國民主憲政的原則——不流血的革命——方場的演說家——容納反對派的風度——官威的沒落
- 第四章：平民的建樹……………二九
爭取普選權和政治的民主化——農工運動的發展——愚昧的掃除——黑人地位問題
- 第五章：從粗木屋到摩天樓……………三六
荒涼大陸的開發——城市的勃興——黃金與煤油——『中國飛剪』——全國動脈的建設——從農業國
進到工業國——工業的戰時動員——美國文化在成熟中
- 第六章：美國民治與工業文明問題……………五〇
巨擘魁雄與平凡大眾——技術文明成果的享受問題——經濟不安全問題——失業——生產能力和消除貧乏——民主政
治的改進問題——補救的行動

前言

本書爲一居住美國歷時十年，並畢業於密西根大學的中國青年學生的經驗談。他在一九三九年獲得密大哲學博士學位，嗣後爲一卓越的報紙編輯，並任華盛頓大學教師。楊博士撰寫本書，原爲便利中國學生留美深造。駐華美國新聞處因相信楊博士對於美國景象的描繪亦爲其他中國人士感覺興趣，特將原作中六章翻印，輯成本書，而遺去其僅適用於留美學生的部分。保留於本書各章乃比較一般的觀察，可謂中國作家心目中美國文明與文化的透澈的分析。

國家圖書館



001685302

Stephen Duggan 先生序

這是一本特出的書。作者留美十年，卒業於密西根大學，著此小冊以述其留美經驗。一九三九年他在密西根大學取得哲學博士之後，曾任報館編輯，頗著成績。他之稔悉美國文物制度，和他的新聞事業有密切關係。現下他在華盛頓大學任教授，假如這本書祇是一位外國學生敘述留美求取高級教育的平常經驗，那末，這本書並沒有什麼特別的地方，以往曾經有過許多這一類的書出而問世；但這本書却是不同。

此書原係由楊博士用中文寫成，以便利幾千位來美留學的中國同學，他旋將原文草率地譯成英文，給國際教育社同人與美國國務部文化合作司過目，兩機關同人都很贊賞此書的內容，一致認為應將英文譯本的內容略為改變，分別刊發，以便利一切來美留學的各國學生，但有許多特為中國同學情形而寫的段落，還是依舊保留。

此書對於美國的文明與文化，有精到的分析。書中敘論美國的政治，經濟，社會，文化和工業等方面的生活，篇幅簡短而適當。美國的現象可以說沒有一樣跳過了楊君銳利的眼力，外國同學讀此書，可以領會到基督教團體以至工會等偉大組織，在我們文明中所佔的地位，或是連環商店以至文藝公司的專欄在我們人民生活中所起的作用，楊君以友誼的態度去分析美國，但是他對於美國風俗制度的缺憾，亦毫不猶豫地加以指出，著者對於『美國的夢』的愛慕，瀾漫全書，故美國學生讀之，足使其對於自身生活制度得到真切的認識，和對於美國更加發生敬仰和警惕。

楊君作此書，絕未受到任何拘束。他曾從若干人物的談話中，獲得重要的材料，下列二人的助力尤為扼要：他和 James Trustlow Adams 先生會談和通信的結果，對於美國人民生活的目標，得到許多指點。他和 Wilma C. Fairbank 夫人往來合作的結果，使書中的內容和結構，都獲得許多改進，此書大半以隨筆的體裁寫成，有些地方的文字很活動，個別事件敘述起來，帶著戲劇性，外國學生和美國學生讀之，常感興味。國際教育社謹以此書，介紹給賢明的讀者。

楊振聲先生序

這是一本很有用的的小書，因為它把美國的歷史，風俗，人情很簡單明白的介紹給我們。

我們來美留學的學生，都有兩個基本目的：一個是求學業的深造，另一個是增進人生的認識。前一個是每人顯然的目標，後一個也可以說是學業的背景。

課餘之暇，我們總免不了與人家的社會人生相接觸。在接觸中我們會發現當地人生觀念，風俗習慣與我們的有許多不同，這許多不同，都有它歷史環境的因素，這本小書就是想告訴我們這些因素。

明了這些因素之後，也許我們會在小異中發現人生的大同，在這個了解上，我們會與我們所在的環境生活得更融洽，更友誼，也更愉快。不獨如此，在方式不同的生活中，我們會因比較，融會，更認識自己的生活，也更認識人生的整個。

有許多問題，若我們自己探索，也許要幾月幾年的時間，楊慶堃先生在這些問題上，替我們讀了幾百本書，加上自己多年的經驗與體會，簡單明白地介紹給我們，所以我說這是一本很有用的的小書。

楊振聲

一九四五·六·一。

第一章 美國的土地與人民

嶄新的國度——美國的最大特色是什麼？這問題能有幾百種回答，其中之一就是美國的嶄新，簡直新得可怕，美國歷史的短，從年代看固然很顯明，但從人的經驗看，來得更真切。美國一位著名歷史家 James Truslow Adams 現年六十六歲，據他自己說：他二十歲時，常去探望他的曾祖母，那位老太太當時是九十六歲，還能清楚地回憶她自己二十五歲時，John Adams 和 Thomas Jefferson 二氏在同一日內去世，二氏都是美國的開國元勳，是美國獨立宣言的起草人。這老太太的一生，就銜接着兩個大時代——美國開國人物的時代，和繼續發展美國的現時人物的時代。

事實上，現在昂然矗立在美國山河大地的幾千村鎮和城市，多半是美國現時人物或他們的父親或祖父輩，親從森林荒野中興建起來的，許多大城市的老人還能指着高樓櫛比的街道說，「我年青的時候，這裏還是我們追逐嬉戲的一片大森林。」現在許多農家的白鬚翁還能指着田畝的一角說，「我們當初在這裏掘起了最大的樹根，才把人跡罕到的樹林變成現在的良田。」就是許多老華僑也能追憶起四五十年前初到紐約的時候，電燈線和煤管還是橫七豎八的架在天花板上，凌亂得刺眼；自來水還是新奇京貴的玩意兒，華僑們的衣館裏只能用手搖的抽水筒；每天早上家家戶戶都有人提着小馬桶到後院的毛廁去清糞；星期日許多商店還是照常開門，工人沒有休息的機會；賣肉的小販推着肉車沿門叫賣，肉上蒼蠅羣集，那裏有現在把肉放在冷氣玻璃櫃裏的衛生和美觀。這些老華僑們常說，「我們四五十年前初到美國的時候，像紐約的大城市，雨後的街道還滿佈一眼眼的小泥塘，一般平民的起居狀況真和中國沒有什麼大分別。只是最近三四十年來，美國才很快的變成今天的樣子」。

若從中國的年代說，明朝萬曆初年，美國原來的十三州境內還沒有歐人到來移居。直至清代乾隆中葉，才葦路藍縷的開創獨立國家。鴉片戰爭前後，美國還大半是荒林曠野。咸豐同治年間，美國雖說是開始普遍地興辦工業，但規模還是很粗陋，其工業的真正急激發展還是光緒中葉以後的事，至於足以和目前的規模與景况相比擬的美國，那多半是一直到了中華民國

成立以來才出現的。美國人就在這匆忙短促的幾代之中，把三百萬方哩的曠野荒林變成了鋼鐵世界，把颯處東岸海隅十三州的殖民地，擴張成富甲人間的強盛國家。將來的史冊追述今天的美國時，一定會寫下『美國還是嶄新的時候』的句子。

地理背景——這嶄新的國度是一塊略近長方形的土地，面積略超三百萬方哩，北鄰加拿大，南接墨西哥，東面是大西洋，西面是太平洋，南面是寬闊的墨西哥灣，從東岸到西岸約三千哩，從加拿大邊界到墨西哥灣約一千五百哩，比起中國來，美國在面積上，在去北極與赤道的距離上，都差不多，因之兩國的氣候和植物有很多相似的地方。北平在北緯四十四度，紐約也只在四十度對上一些。從北平到新疆的極西邊界，約等於紐約到西岸的阿力根州，中國與美國同是南熱北寒，美國的夫羅里打州和廣東省一樣的接近熱帶。中國與美國都是有大山脈，大河流，大平原和大沙漠的大陸國家，不過美國的主要山脈與河流是由北而南，中國的是由西至東；美國的沙漠在西南，中國的在西北；美國沒有季候風，而華南則有季候風。中國區域的大概，是南中國，華北，東北，蒙古，西北，華西，西藏，美國的區域大概，是東北部（包括紐英倫六州，紐約州和本雪凡尼亞州），西部中區，西部和南部。

美國的地勢簡單說來，是臨近東西兩岸各有由北而南的兩條大山脈，那就是東邊的阿巴雷齊安山脈 *Appalachians* 和西邊的洛磯山 *Rocky Mountains*。這兩大山脈中間夾着一個淺碗似的大平原。平原北部是幾個大湖，通稱大湖區，平原中間是米西西北河。這條米河挾着八大支流和無數小流匯來的水，向南注入墨西哥灣。米河和它的支流灌溉平原區域之廣，全球無匹。在經濟和航業上，這是美國的揚子江，米河把美國東邊三分之一和西邊三分之二的土地，劃分一道界線，米河以東的平地斜升，升至與阿巴雷齊安山脈之麓相連，越過山脈再向東就是臨大西洋的狹長的丘陵區和平地。米河以西是一片更廣闊的斜升的大平原，升至與洛磯山之麓相銜。這山脈北起阿拉斯加，南入墨西哥，是美國最高的山脈，有「大陸脊骨」的號稱，越山脈向西，地勢斜降，走入挨打賀，尼瓦打和亞里孫拿等州的丘陵和沙漠，以及尼天陀州的盆地。地勢從此往西繼續的斜下去，就是 *Sierra Nevada Range* 和 *Western Coastal Range* 這兩條小山脈中間夾着的是加州中部盆谷。

美國的東北區歷史最長，工業之盛甲於全美。大湖四週的平原，工業也很發達，芝加哥和底特律 *Detroit* 二城是這區工業的雙重心臟。近二十年來重要的新工業崛起於南方各州，而這次世界大戰又把重工業帶到許多西岸的重要城市裏去。所以

南方和西部都在工業化的過程中。美國種種色色的礦業，多集中於各大山區之內。大湖區域之南，是極目無際的玉米地帶。從此向南是玉米和小麥的混雜地帶。再往南是廣浩的棉花地帶。到了極南就是臨海的一條狹長的亞熱帶土地，這裏的農業是亞熱帶性質，它的種稻米和水菓，和我們南中國有點相像。在中部大平原之西的廣漠區域，多畜牧，間有灌溉的農作。極西的加省南部沿岸，農業最發達，多是菜園，菓園和混雜農作。

美國的人民——今日在上述的一塊大地上面居住和工作的一萬萬三千萬美國人，並非來自一個祖宗，他們的民族背景很複雜，一六〇七年白人初到美國原來十三州境內居留和開墾時，據各方的估計，全美境內約有印第安土人三十萬至七十五萬，分爲無數小部落，言語幾百種，有的打獵，有的耕種，文化程度參差不齊。有的說這些土人原是蒙古種，從亞洲大陸北部經阿拉斯加來美。這一說雖然有許多根據，但還待繼續考證。

英語民族初來時，是聚居東岸，在臨海的狹長地帶，落土開荒，和對印第安人作皮革貿易，逐漸建立起英國十三州殖民地。但是大西洋沿岸中區的紐約一帶，很早就雜有荷蘭人。現時的紐約市原是荷蘭國的屬地，經過一場戰鬥之後，方轉入英國手裏。法國人同時也從北面的加拿大南下，沿各大湖遷入美國中部的大平原，沿路建立村鎮和堡壘，和印第安人進行皮革貿易。西班牙人更早在一五六二年先到了美國南部的夫羅里打州，一五九八年又到了紐墨西哥州落土墾殖，從此陸續西移，至一七〇〇年間，已移進西岸的加州南部去。一八一二年俄國人大隊從北部的阿拉斯加南下，到加州的三凡市一帶居留，和印第安人貿易皮革，瑞士和瑞典人都很早就到美國。所以，美國的民族背景從它的歷史開頭時就已經很複雜。其後，法國在美國的中部，西班牙在美國的南部和西岸，都曾建立起廣大的帝國屬地。美國經過了幾度戰爭和出錢購買，這些土地才轉入美國手裏，以造成美國現在的疆域，使廣大的荒地和資源能在自由開發政策之下，大量吸收外來的移民，而美國的言語習慣和法制，也於劃定疆界的十九世紀中葉，漸趨統一。

從美國獨立時的一七七六年前後起直至一八三〇年，這半世紀之間，歐洲移來的白人共約二十五萬。這些白人多半來自英國，法國，德國和瑞典等北歐和西歐國家。這些移民在東岸登陸後，一批批的西移，初則和印第安人貿易皮革，繼而剷除森林，開闢曠野，落土墾殖。在一八五〇年前後，大批到中部去開荒耕種的，很多是德法荷蘭瑞士等國人。到了十九世紀末

期的十幾年間，南歐和東歐移民大量擁入美國，年約五十萬，他們的來源有奧，意，波，匈，斯拉夫，布希米亞，希臘，俄國和許多其他小國，從二十世紀開頭至一九一四年之間，他們入美人數激增至每年約一百萬，但此後就因上次歐戰而減少。歐戰之後，從一九二二年起，美國開始設立移民額數的制度，各國來美的移民從此就有了一定的限制。

這一段移民的故事，約略的說明了美國人的民族背景之複雜，至一九四〇年，美國人在外國出生的，共有三千四百五十萬，在全美人口中幾佔四分之一，換言之，每四個美國人中總有一個的言語和文化背景，含有一些外國味，若以原來國家背景去分類，這些外國色彩濃厚的美國人中，德國有五百二十四萬，意大利四百五十九萬，加拿大二百九十一萬，波蘭二百九十萬，俄國二百六十萬，英國一百九十七萬，瑞典一百三十萬，奧國一百二十六萬，墨西哥一百萬，其他較小的民族多到不便開列。華人入美自從一八八二年就被橫加禁止，所以美國的華人至今不過八萬至十萬而已。美國人中這些外國背景，使全美各大城市都有『小德國』，『小意大利』，和『唐人街』等外族背景的人民聚居的地方。各州又常有許多小鎮，全是德國，意大利，荷蘭及他國人民居住，美國人的民族背景之分歧，除了國籍不同之外，還有一千三百萬的黑人，佔全美人口十分之一。美國法律早於十九世紀初葉禁止運載黑奴入境，所以現時的一千三百萬黑人都是在美國生長的。

紛歧中之一致——在民族背景比一個歐洲大陸還要紛歧，國土這樣廣大，而歷史又這樣短促的美國人民，怎樣能够做成統一的民族呢？無論從那一個民族背景移居美國的人，少則十來年，多則一代之後，你如果問他是那一國的人，他的情緒和意識都叫他自認是美國人，而不是德國人或意大利人。而各民族之間在歐洲時原有的冤仇和血債，都似乎在新大陸中消失了。這是什麼原故？這問題有很多的可能性的答案。例如，美國前身的十三州早就有了英語民族帶來的一致的言語習俗和法制。到了美國獨立後，政治很快就走上安定的軌道，然而除了這歷史的源流之外，還有許多其他值得注意的因素。第一，移來美國的人，大概都抱着獨立自由，發奮向上的共同夢想。他們大半是歐洲的窮人，毅然脫離歐洲舊社會的壓迫，冒險來美，眼見一片森林曠野，資源無盡，的確是平民發奮自立的大好去處，但同時也知道自己如不團結圖強，一致的發展自由制度，則這大好河山不會久為他們所有，美國立國之初，正是歐洲列強爭着在美洲建立帝國的時候，那時美國是列強虎視眈眈的一塊肥肉，這是第一美國民族的有力原素。

其次，在尋求個人自由獨立的共同目標下，各種族互相合作，去開闢荒蕪的大陸，這裏漸漸的養成了一種容納異己的美國民族性。不錯，有色人種和剛從歐洲到美的新移民，常給一般美國人看輕，給人叫種種侮辱的名字，如中國人叫「清」，意大利人叫「波」。但美國人和這些外族人來往多了，如果沒有膚色不同的障礙，就覺得能合作相處。美國並非沒有少數民族問題，例如黑人問題還是很嚴重，歧視有色人種的態度，到處俯拾即是。但容納異己的風度是美國人的一個顯著特色，這還是不能抹煞的事實。在美國不見有如歐洲一樣的各民族間的世代深仇和不斷的流血，美國土地之廣和機會之多，叫美國人不必斤斤於自相爭鬥，這「得天獨厚」也許是養成美國人胸襟寬大的能容異己的主要原素。

美國領土向西伸張得最快以及歐洲移民大量擁入美國的十九世紀中葉，撞巧正是鐵路火車已迅速改良到能够實用的時候，那時全美朝野都捲入建築鉄路的狂潮，一年幾千以至幾萬哩的四面八方的築去，三四十年間就在這三百萬方哩的大陸上密密的結成一個鉄路網。從地圖上看去像是一籃亂麻似的電報網，也在這時期完成，緊緊的網住了美國整個幅員的每一角落，這鉄路和電報網把全美的政治經濟和社會打成一片。後來汽車出現之後，公路的興築也是一樣的神速。一踏入了二十世紀，歐洲來的移民漲到每年百萬的高潮的時候，汽車，無線電和飛機等更快捷的交通運輸工具已盛行起來，把美國的物質和心理生活，組成愈益緊湊的一個整體。

鐵路和電報網完成之後，接着就是大規模工商業之風起雲湧，越過美國境內一切地域和原來民族背景的界線，把各式各樣的人民與其經濟活動，組成關係密切的大規模合作單位。這般宏大的經濟力量是煉成美國民族的一座熔爐。大規模生產事業的另一個成果，是美國標準化的生活模型。機器造出來大量雷同的物品，一噸噸的傾入美國市場。房屋，街道，衣服，日用品，甚至音樂和戲劇，都用機器去千篇一律的大量複製。這標準化的人生儘可以由哲學家們去咒罵，但它除了提高了美國人的生活程度之外，同時把這來路紛歧的人等變成美國人。發展得這樣匆促，而社會經濟組織又是這樣複雜無情的美國，如果沒有大規模的生產事業的標準化的生活模型，各民族分子原來的經濟文化背景，恐怕很難打破。

和交通生產等力量要居同樣重要地位的，就是美國的普及教育和成人教育，跟着移民潮的高漲一同發達。今日美國的二十四萬間學校，和無數的研究會，演講會，夜學和訓練班等成人教育機關，都是美國各民族的大熔爐，不斷向各民族的男人

老少灌輸一致的人生觀和政治社會經濟制度。

美國人的組織能力，無疑地是統一民族背景的克服廣大土地面積的一枝主力軍。我們幾乎可以說，每逢三四個美國人聚在一起，就會有一個組織出現。無論大城小鎮，都有無數的營利團體，業務團體，社交和娛樂團體，宗教團體，文化團體，公益團體，政治團體，其名目的種類的繁多，包括了社會和個人生活最廣泛的部門以至最微小的角落。單是紐約市每年出版的慈善公益團體目錄，就有三四百頁之多，其他性質的無數團體還沒有放在裏面。這些團體中較為普通一點的，都有全州以至全國的總機關，系統龐大。美國人每逢想出一個新思想，總是馬上組織團體去做宣傳和實行的工作。不參加任何團體的美國人，幾乎可以說是一定被人自爲一個怪物。同時，一個孤立而不和任何團體來往的人，無論他的才能怎樣大，他在事業上的成功機會一定很狹窄。這種組織狂熱，是增加個人接觸，消滅民族界線的有力因素。

美國人雖然懷有容納異己的風度，但是美國進步的快，物質的豐富，和國力的強盛，在美國人中間養成一種強烈的民族誇大心理，無論什麼東西，美國的總是最好，最大。美國是人間無上的樂土，是全球最富強的國家。美國人這態度叫他們看不起外國人。一外國人一這名詞加在別人的身上，常常含有一些輕蔑意味。這一唯我至尊一的民族誇大心理，它的是是非非暫且慢提，但這心理所造成的風氣，確能把許多紛歧的民族變成美國人，叫一般移來美國的外人趕快模仿美國的生活模型，放棄原來文化背景，以免受人歧視。

最後，美國經濟社會生活的急激流動性，和階級壁壘的脆弱，像是把各民族分子都拋進一個搖彩的搖箱裏面，叫美國人不由自主地不斷的互相接觸，互相混雜。一聽見什麼地方有好荒地，什麼地方發現了煤油或金礦，無論什麼民族都向前擁去，交相雜處。原來國籍不同的人們，在這裏面雖然不時會發生衝突，但各民族分子互相熟識了之後，若是沒有膚色不同的問題夾在裏面，就能一致合作，去共同應付荒野生活環境。無數經濟事業的興起，倒閉和合併，以至經濟局面之不斷變動，都叫無論那一個民族的分子不能長久在某一個經濟社會地位停留，而要和其他民族接觸合作。在這社會經濟急流中的命運賭博裏面，誰中了彩，誰就成了百萬富翁。誰能浮上事業的最高峯，誰就成了衆人眼裏的英雄，他的原來國籍背景是沒有絲毫關係的。

美國人的特色——上面這些因素不獨把來路紛歧的人民變成統一的美國民族，而且叫美國人養成了與衆不同的特色。美國人是什麼樣子的一個人？在血統上真是沒法說得清，數得盡。但在個性上，美國人確是有許多顯著的特點。我們信手拈幾樣來說說：例如美國人的自信力很大。他們在百多年就開發了一個荒涼的大陸之後，就認爲天下間沒有什麼事是美國人所辦不到。這次美國參戰之後，在驚人的龐大的造械計劃和人力動員計劃之下，美國領袖們的憂慮不是怕美國人沒有完成這計劃的自信力，而是怕他們因自信力太强而陷於怠慢。

美國人不特自信力大，而且酷愛自由獨立，抱有大志。除了法律之外，他不服任何人的管束。縱使受法律管束時，他還要拿着他的『人權』，去斤斤地追究這條法律是否適用。他憎惡名門望族的特殊階級，但他希望有一天要打進這階級裏去。他的獨立自由的性格，叫他常常不管什麼成規習俗，只是照着自己的意思做去。所以美國這國度裏，最不短少的就是新奇的事物。

其實，喜歡新奇就是美國人的特性之一。他的生活環境充滿新奇巧妙的玩意兒。凡是有能節省他自己或他的太太的工夫的器具在市上出現，無論這是吸塵機或是電冰櫃，他總是傾囊去買，甯願自己再做牛馬，把錢賺回來。他一見有更新式和更有效的機器，房屋或家具，若是他有錢的話，隨時都願把舊的掉棄了或毀壞了，另換新的。他的人生觀很少理會過去，他一面活在現在，一面眼釘着將來，他的一生可說是一場建新立異的競賽。

美國人總是整天找機會，機會到了手，又要找更好的機會，他永遠在那裏冒險，他不怕失敗，失敗了再來一次，他趕着找田地，找黃金，找煤油，找鑛藏，希望一下子成功。美國的早期歷史已經是這樣。雖然有許多人空手而回，但大家還是源源不絕的擁去，希望得到較好的彩數，今天一般的美國人也許有個很不錯的職位，但如果他稍爲覺得這事和他的才力不相稱，或是覺得別的地方有較好的去處，或是和僱主吵了架，他就毫不遲疑地辭了原來的職位，掉頭他去。美國人的輕輕拋棄職業和整天在那裏改換工作，真使人覺得美國人太不會在安全和知足上面打算。但安份知足的心理，美國人大半不去理會。也許美國人的上進機會現在還是很多，用不着這種小生意經的打算。只要有新機會，無論這是那一行的事業，縱使遠在天南地北，美國人總要去，現時美國各界的領袖許多曾經在許多行的事業裏兜過圈子，最後才獲得成功。

美國人很喜歡說話。無論生人熟人，撞見了總是傾長問短，他的好奇心很大，遇了生面的外國人更要追問那個國家的大事和小事。他喜歡誇張美國人的好處。但對於美國的壞處也很爽直的談論，只要你不拿這些壞處去侮辱他，他是沒有甚麼隱諱的。他之愛說話，不只是私人方面如此，而且在大眾也是如此。大城小鎮的演講會，研究會，討論會，簡直多到數不盡，參加人數之衆，在別的國家裏面是少見的。在美國，演講已成了一種收入相當豐裕的專門職業。掏腰包去聽演講的普遍，是美國人一個特色。但美國人不是祇會吹牛的民族，因為他們說了就做，而且常常做了再說，他們匆匆的百多年之內，在荒野上建立起一個新文明的事蹟，可以作證。

美國的地大物博和機會豐富，叫美國人起了一種『好大狂』。『更大的和更好的』是美國人做事的生活的信條，僱用整個城市人民的大工廠，分支機關遍全球的商業公司，火車要走幾個鐘頭才走得完的大牧場，連綿幾百方哩的森林，發電幾百萬基羅瓦特的大水壩，都是這信條的實現。甚至美國人最愛說的笑話也以『張大其詞』作基礎。

然而這好大狂的心理，並沒有把美國人變成夜郎自大，愛擺架子的民族，因為不拘形跡是美國人的顯著特點，很拘束的人在美國不易交朋友，美國人稍爲相熟就大家叫名字，而不再叫先生。在大學裏面不時聽見學生對熟教授直叫名字；在社教裏面，年輕的人也常以名字稱呼年高德長的人。總統寫公事信件給政府要員時常祇稱呼名字而不用先生或官銜。平民和熟一點的達官要人談話，不論年序的地位，也祇是叫名。這裏不拘形跡的民主現象，外來者初次看見總免不了有點驚奇的感覺。

美國中產以下的人，在日常生活的社交中，對於金錢打算真是緊，但是對於捐助慈善公益事業和救濟別人的急需，是爽快到罕有。某工廠的一批工人，週末到會計處領工錢，忽然有一個工人把領來的支票失掉了，身旁的「位」工友就拿下帽子來，叫大家幫忙，高呼大家不能讓這個不幸的工友空手回家見太太和孩子。大家聽了這話，都掏出一元至五元的票子，拋到帽子裏去，轉眼之間，帽子裏的票子已經多過那不幸的工人應得工資。在美國工廠做工，成天都得捐小款，幫助害病的或婚嫁的工友。國內外遇到兵災水旱，美國人捐款之多，那已是著名的事實，若是一個人發了大財，捐款那更是他的事業之一部。

這拉雜的幾點，可說是一般美國人的顯著的特色。美國人自然並不是每一個都這樣，但這些性格在美國人民中是最普遍，美國還新，歷史還短，美國人還是流露着飽滿的魄力，因之美國人的性格，將來也許還有很大的變遷。

第二章 美國民治的誕生

美國和其他的美洲國家一樣，祇是白人在西半球新立的國家之一，而且當初並沒有成爲偉大民族的氣象。就面積論，美國不是美洲最大的國家，巴西和加拿大都比它大。在歷史上，美國的淵源更淺。一四九二年哥倫布發現美洲大陸的地點，並非現在的美國，而是中美洲的印第安羣島。此後百年間，歐人在西半球的拓殖和貿易中心。還是中美和南美，直至美洲發現百年後西班牙海權旁落，英語民族方有機會在北美移民墾殖。第一批英人於一六〇七年才到維爾尼亞州建立詹士頓 Jamestown，成爲美國原來十三州領土內白人落土墾殖的先聲。

美國的自由種子

在西半球起初得天似非獨厚，歷史又非悠久的美國，因何能够凌駕美洲諸國之上，突飛猛進呢？這複雜問題尚無概括的答案。但美國的民主自由風氣的制度，發動了每一個人的潛力，去盡量開發這荒蕪大陸的富藏，這無疑是問題中的一個線索。試將十七世紀美洲他處的殖民地，和美國境內的殖民地略一比較，就可以看出二者在胚胎時期就有很大的差別。

查當日西班牙和葡萄牙兩國在中美和南美的殖民政策，是「武力佔據和武力維持」。這政策的要點是在統治和剝削當地土人。在這政策下移植美洲的兩國移民絕無自治權，祇有盲目服從皇帝派來的總督的法令。他們開墾所得，大都被總督的橫征暴斂奪去了，自己飢寒窮困，終日爲統治者去流汗，辛苦得來的收穫，多不能自己享有。殖民地被印第安人或海盜襲擊時，全靠總督下的僱傭兵保護。殖民地人民沒有自衛的訓練和組織，而僱傭兵又和當地人民社會漠不相關。人民因而很少自動發奮的特性，殖民地因而日弱。不獨中美和南美情形是這樣，就是最初在法國治下的加拿大也是這樣。

至於英語民族的殖民地，其設立的動機雖然也是爲母國統治階級去搜括財富，但其建立方法可是兩樣，十六十七世紀之交，英國的航海冒險家要在美洲建立殖民地，並且要使這些英國殖民地比西葡兩國的更強盛。他們的計劃是將英人移植於美洲之後，給以相當自治權，使其自己管理一部份地方政務，和享受自己勞力的收穫。這樣的移民平時樂於勤勞，爲着自身利

益去竭盡精力，開發四週的資源。遇敵襲擊時，他們又都自願執戈抵抗，拿性命去保衛自己的家眷，和保衛自己披荆斬棘得來的田園。所以英政府授權建立的維爾近尼亞州移民，最初成立時就准許具有財產資格的人民自己選舉議員，組織議會。此後相繼建立的英政府殖民地，也都有議會之設，雖然議會之上還有英皇派來的總督。

美國殖民地，好些是由移民自動來美建立，而非盡是英皇授權所創，這種殖民地的組織更以民主自由做基本原則。麻州 Massachusetts 的普里茅茲 Plymouth 便是一例。美國第一個殖民地的詹士頓成立了不久，英國有一班受迫害的清教徒，要堅持其宗教信仰，相率移居荷蘭。在荷蘭雖得自由信教，然而地狹人稠，謀生不易，同時聞得美洲另有自由的新天地，於是集合起來，向英國商人借了一筆款，租了兩只船，於一六二〇年渡海來美。到了遙見陸地時，已是當時還沒有任何歐人政府管屬的麻州海岸，船在沿岸探索一遍，決定波斯頓附近的普里茅茲港口良好，土地肥沃，於是在此登陸，落土墾殖。

同船來的人祇有三分之一是清教徒，在船上時，已和其餘搭客起了宗教信仰上的衝突，而登岸後，荒野上又絕無現成的政府，所以為維持秩序計，搭客們同在船長室中立定約法，由船上一切成人男子簽字。這船名叫五月花，故簽訂的約法就叫『五月花約法』。這憲法僅短短的七行，規定公選任期一年的『總督』，和以公意作這小殖民地施政張本的簡單辦法。在政治理論上，這並沒有甚麼新發明，然而他們就這樣建立了美洲第一個完全民主自治的殖民地，第一年地上沒有出產，生活很艱苦，病死了不少的人。第二年新田地的出產增多，加上漁獵所得，到了秋收時，糧食豐富，可以在飽暖中渡過嚴冬，大家於是舉行宴會，在這新天地中感謝神明，和一伸終年的勞筋疲骨。這宴會就成了美國日後每年十一月舉行的謝恩節。在這自由空氣中再辛苦幾年，五月花號的移民就把債務還清。

初期的英國移民就是這樣的以百幾十人以至幾百人為一羣，參加英政府授權的移民公司，或是自動組織的移民團體，乘帆船渡大西洋，在北美洲的東選擇良岸港，初在海邊落土墾殖，人口增多了，就向內地推進。他們在海邊或內地落土之後，就在遮天蔽日的森林中斬出一塊小田，破土耕耘，並從森林河海中兼事漁獵。這樣的過了幾年，夾在大海和森林中間的小殖民地，就漸漸的富庶起來，人口增加，不特衣食能自給，且有剩餘物產賣給歐洲或中美洲的老殖民地，換取一些生活舒適品。人民既能收穫自己大部份的勞動成果，於是人人苦幹，移民日多，田疇一畝一畝的擴大，森林一步一步的後退，直至征服

了整個大陸的荒野，所以在萌芽時期，美國境內的殖民地就比美洲別處的殖民地強盛得多，和充滿朝氣。

在歐洲的舊世界中，階級權位是一個人的價值標準，平民並無尊嚴可言。一所房子或一塊良田，比一個平民的性命貴重得多。但在美國的無邊荒野中，有的是無主的土地與資源。一個人的才智縱很平凡，祇要自己肯流汗去伐木除草，就可以闢出自己的田畝，成爲獨立自尊的公民。地少人多的歐洲是人對人鬥爭的世界，但早期的美洲是人對自然界鬥爭的新世界。這裏，最寶貴的不是土地與資源，而是開發這些土地與資源所必需的人力。在技術簡單的當日，開發土地資源祇需要簡單技巧和膂力，平凡大眾都能做得到，一個人的價值不在他是否生於名門望族，而在他的個人本領有多大。個人的尊嚴與價值，自由平等的觀念，和一般的民主風氣，就在這開荒拓土的新生活中長成。

各人用自己血汗創出來的新天地中，平民們養成的態度，和威尊命賤的歐洲舊世界大異其趣，例如當日英國農民對貴族畏之如虎，但維爾近尼亞州殖民地創立不久，一個農民就當面罵Baltimore侯爵撒謊，並說要痛打他一頓。這貧賤的農夫覺得自己身份不讓公侯。麻州一位總督駕馬車下鄉，道路兩旁高積厚雪，兩個農夫也駕車迎面而來，總督以道路狹窄，叫這兩農夫移車路旁，好讓他的車子過去。但兩農夫反叫總督移車，好讓他們車子過去。總督拔劍相向，兩農夫把劍奪過來，折成兩段。美洲別國早期雖然也一樣的有荒野和資源，但究竟沒有這樣的民主自由風氣去激發人民的力量，以開發新大陸的地利。

殖民地的封建勢力

早期美國社會並不是一帆風順的演成今日的美國民主制度，在殖民地的統治階級看來，當日人民的自由風氣不過是邊野之處愛好犯上作亂的民情，並不是好現象，應當設法遏止。舉一例說，普里茅茲殖民地創立後，有一位清教徒威廉斯 Roger Williams 大胆發言，攻擊當地信教不自由，並且攻擊英國的皇帝。這小殖民地裏面的居民對他都起了反感，迫着他流亡到附近的沙林姆 Salem 殖民地，他在那裏又公開罵英皇偷將印第安人土地賣給白人。這危險言論使整個殖民地都有受英皇戰艦前來光顧的危險，因爲英皇當日久已恫嚇要調戰艦來鎮壓這犯上作亂的民情。殖民地最初是制止他濫發狂言，他靜了一會兒，又攻擊英皇如故。當地法卒把他捉來審訊，判決解回英國究治，他原是個誠實好人，法官深知他一旦解回英國，必因罵英皇

而受絞刑處死。故爲寬容計，總督就叫他自己離境，去和附近的印第安土人居住。他於是向南出發，投入荒野，築木屋而居，和印第安人成立友好的關係，他居住之處日後移民增加，成立了路德埃蘭州殖民地 Rhode Island。這是美國宗教信仰完全自由的第一個地方。

罵英皇已經是死罪，公開提倡民主政治在十七世紀中葉的上層階級看來，更如洪水猛獸。那時的歐洲保守派認爲民主是一種不可思議的危險異端邪說，是要摧毀法制，秩序與財產權利的暴亂行爲，鼓吹民治的都是激烈的暴民。縱在美洲的新世界，社會上稍有地位的人都把民主這名詞看作下賤的字眼，不敢應用，祇有不顧一切的激烈份子，如從普里茅茲逃出來的威廉斯之流，才敢大胆以民主派自稱。直至美國獨立戰爭時，即使革命份子亦祇有少數敢公開揭揚民主這字眼，去號召人民向英鬥爭，含有重大革命意義的美國獨立宣言，各州憲法和美國憲法，都未用民主這名詞，就是左派領袖和美國第三屆總統的傑弗森 Thomas Jefferson，對於民主一語，也極端避忌，從來不在公開言論和文字提起過，而祇用共和這名詞去代替，一直到了十九世紀中葉，民主這名詞才洗脫了一向的下流氣味，成爲公開的尊嚴字眼。

當日一般風氣對於民主是這樣，至於殖民地的政治結構和社會階層，封建色彩更加濃厚。美國東岸的移民與財富日增，美洲的荒地和資源的價值日顯的時候，英皇與貴族對殖民地加強統治和壓榨圖利的野心就愈大，以應付歐洲不斷戰爭的費用，和開銷皇室貴族的豪華浪費。出賣美洲荒地已成了他們一宗重要的財源。到了一七三二年，美國根基的十三州就完全創立起來。英皇直接控制各州政務與稅收，以及封賣荒地等，也日加積極，麻州各殖民地自己選舉總督的自由時代，業成過去。各州當時雖有議會之設，然而議會日益成爲富人的工具，必須有財產方有選舉權，而且議會的立法，須經英皇派來的總督認可，並須與英國國會法令沒有抵觸，乃能發生效力。

同時，殖民地社會階級的壁壘也築得日高。出身於皇室權貴的總督，對於當地的商人富戶極端鄙視，不屑對話，至於一般平民更是賤如牛馬，但商人和大地主在社會上又自有其驕貴身份，把持議會和地方政務，其衣冠居處，儀表行動，都自成一個階級，除了選舉期間外，他們不屑與其他平民握手談話。當日甚至崇尚人類平等的禮拜堂在星期日宣教時，人民入堂的先後常以財富和地位爲準，堂內的座位也依着教徒的年齡和財富身份劃分起來，然而這還是自由人中間的軛轡，十八世紀中

葉的十三州人口，大部份是在美登陸後五年內沒有個人自由的契約勞工。居契約勞工之下的，是祇有希望在天堂得自由的黑人奴隸。

和民主制度相反的現象之中，當日還有專制的家庭和文盲的普遍。父親是一家財產和生活的獨裁者，至少法律上是如此。當日殖民地的人民大部要把時間用在開荒或其他苦工上，沒有機會受教育。教育與文化於是成了上層階級的專利品。然而就是識字的人們，教育程度也是多半很淺陋。當日許多時人遺留的文件充滿白字和不通的句語，可以佐證，到美國獨立時，識字者僅佔全人口百分之二十。就是美國獨立後六十多年的一八四〇年，在美國第一次載有文盲數目的人口統計中，識字者也不過佔人口中百分之四十。

爭取自由的七年苦戰

在人民自己血汗開闢出來的新天地中，這封建的系統和落後的社會情形，並不能遏止民主自由風氣的繼續滋長。到了十八世紀中葉，美洲墾荒區域土產的民主勢力已和歐洲移來的封建勢力，發生許多正面衝突，反抗英國的宗主權，在這鬥爭中，商人和大地主等富人雖然參加，但他們爲保持自身的特殊地位計，祇求英國增加殖民地議會權力，減輕殖民地的賦稅負擔，和取消英國對殖民地工商業的箝制，例如不准美洲殖民開設英國已有的工廠一類的苛例。換言之，上層階級所取的是妥協態度，而絕不贊成脫離英國，怕因此失了自身特殊地位的保障，至若對於殖民地中日益激昂的民主潮流，更是害怕和極力遏抑。取徹底獨立自由立場的，還是多數的貧苦民衆。他們不特主張脫離英國自主，而且要在殖民地裏實行平等自由，推翻特殊階級的統治權，和提高平民的政治權益。

這主張獨立和主張妥協的兩種勢力，起了廣大的衝突。但民主自由的勢力那時已經根深蒂固，聲勢日益浩大，加以英國政府昧於殖民地的內情，一味強蠻高壓，卒以『不能忍受的法令』，和向美洲殖民地傾銷茶葉事件，引起了一七七五年的革命戰爭。殖民地的民團和英軍武力衝突之後，上層階級和革命民衆的內部鬥爭更烈。但革命獨立的大勢卒促成了一七七六年的獨立宣言，正式以『人類生而平等』和政權民授之說，去號召十三州人民爲獨立自主而奮鬥。許多上層階級份子這才半推半就的被牽到革命獨立的路上去。但一部份保守派還是頑固地親英到底，所以在革命戰爭期內被殺死或放逐的親英份子，不

下十萬人。當時十三州人口共祇三百萬（不及現在紐約市人口的半數），故這被放逐的人數不爲不大。從此可見這次戰爭的重大意義，不僅在地球上建立了一個新的獨立國家，而且是一個重大的社會革命，造成了近代第一個沒有皇帝的成功的民主國。後來的法國大革命，受美國革命鼓勵和幫忙的地方很多。

然而充滿革命呼聲的十三州，還要經過七年的艱苦戰爭，才成爲獨立自由的美國。在這血和淚的七年中，十三州人民以沒有準備的軍事組織，去對抗兵精械足和稱霸海上的英國，打仗的時候多，勝仗的時候少。士兵大半沒有鞋穿，隆冬雪地上染着將士們赤腳流出的殷殷血漬。士卒衣服破爛到露出私處，叫旁觀的婦女們不敢正視，財政支絀到司令官和軍需官要用私人信用借錢借糧，去維持部屬。海岸全被英國艦隊封鎖，而十三州又無工業可言，通貨膨脹像瘟疫一樣的毒害着全盤經濟，紙幣跌到原值千分之一。政治上可說是沒有中央政權。十三州派代表組織的大陸大會並無實權，祇頓各州自動供給餉械和壯丁。在社會秩序方面，前方將士血戰之際，後方革命民衆對於親英保守份子還要繼續鬥爭，沒收其財產，制止其活動，施以檢舉懲治或流放，以致秩序騷然。幸虧有忠勇堅毅的華盛頓去領導局面，革命組織深入民間，民衆堅持到底，法國西班牙等盟邦的外援日盛，和英國當時又有後顧之憂，革命軍這才爭得最後勝利，於一七八三年的巴黎和約，達到獨立自主。

憲政的建立

美國獨立後，七年的痛苦犧牲是了結了，但全國民治機構還未建成，貧苦民衆還繼續設法提高平民選舉和經濟利益，和向上層階級鬥爭。根據聯邦約法組織的大陸大會還是沒有直接執行法令的權力。各州各自爲政，各設稅關，各有本州獨立的法庭，社會經濟的混亂無序比戰時尤甚。貧富之爭弄到叛亂四起，一七八六年麻州有一位革命軍退伍軍官 Daniel Shays 領導貧農五千反叛，州政府經過多月的流血，才把叛亂戡平。這種局面自然不能繼續下去。解決這局面之法，平民領袖是要求繼續民主辦法，維持大陸大會的原有組織，但上層階級多不信沒有教育的民衆有自治的能力，不信公開提議討論和表決的民主制度，能在紛亂中解決國是。他們發動了軍事獨裁和帝制兩種運動。

這時華盛頓早已解甲歸田，但在農莊中不斷接到各方關於獨裁運動的報告和書信，請他出任獨裁者或皇帝，以收拾革命後的殘局。他眼見艱苦犧牲締造出來的民國，快要發生更大規模的內亂，民主制度陷入生死關頭，他於是毅然放棄退隱的清

閒生活，和其他開國元勳一致出而協助大陸大會於一七八七年召集費城大會 Philadelphia Convention，由各州派代表出席，起草憲法。這大會幸而獲得成功，一場獨裁和內戰的險惡風波，於是得以避免。

但大會起草憲法的成功，也至爲不易。到場代表五十人中，雖然幾乎一致的認定當前急務是建立堅強的中央政府，但是達到這目標的方法則各異，建議紛紜，利害和意見衝突十分劇烈，大州和小州權利之爭，南方的農業利益和北方的商業利益之爭，和許多其他煩雜問題，幾次弄到大會差一點決裂而散。幸虧到場代表都以顧全大局爲懷，到了立場相反的時候，都能讓步妥協，而不各走極端。結果，憲法含有許多折衷妥協的條文，和原來的議案相差很大。然而建立堅強的中央政府以遏止各州的割據和鬥爭，這目標是達到了。各州政府原有的許多權力，如造幣和發鈔票，抽關稅，海陸兵權，外交權等等，都被憲法取銷，統歸中央政府行使，藉以消弭各州的衝突混亂，和促進國家統一。

但是大會列席代表又怕權力這樣強大的中央政府，在民主制度之下，萬一給一黨一派把持了，難免有實行暴政的危險。他們爲箝制中央權力起見，在憲法中把中央政府組織分爲立法，行政和司法三部，每部職權各自獨立，同時又互相監視，藉使一部越權，他部就能制止。例如司掌立法的國會中，下上兩議院可以互相牽制。司掌行政的總統，握有很高的獨立權力。但這種權力要受國會的創制法令和決定政費的權力所限制。司法部的最高法院，其法官享有終身任期，能裁判總統的行政和國會的立法。但是總統有權委任最高法院的法官，國會有權彈劾和革除法官。在這各部互相監察的組織系統之下，行政官吏不復享有橫行無忌的大權，而立法行政和司法三部之中，也沒有一部能够獨攬政府。

『總統先生』還是『殿下』？

次年，一七八八年，憲法發生効力，各州一致選華盛頓做第一屆總統，首都暫定紐約。一八九年四月，華盛頓在一班國會委員和一小隊騎衛的擁簇中，和在沿街民衆喝彩歡呼裏，從紐約的私邸前往新完成的聯邦堂，踏上臨街的陽台，當衆宣誓就任美國第一屆總統。宣誓後，司儀官向街下羣衆高呼：『美國總統華盛頓萬歲！』街下人羣照樣的應聲高呼。是日全城各界舉行慶祝。（其時正是我國清代乾隆五十三年。）百五十年後昂然矗立人間的北美合衆國，就在這略帶微寒的簡單典禮中，正式登上命運的途程。

華盛頓就職總統之後，許多國會議員曾經在英法西班牙等國見過歐洲朝廷的尊嚴華貴，認為這是一國政府體面和威信所在，故主張華盛頓招待國會議員時，應立在台上，因為歐洲的君王都是這樣。但多數議員大不以爲然。他們堅持總統的身分和人民是平等的，故應在平地上和人民代表的議員相見，而不能立在比平地高一級的台上。當時又有一部份領袖以歐洲的臣民稱君王爲陛下，稱太子公侯爲殿下，故一國元首的總統至少亦應叫殿下。但議員們都說當選的官吏和選民一律是平等的，美國人，故議員或人民絕不能以殿下稱呼任何人，同時許多人已經非正式的以「總統先生 Mr. President」叫華盛頓，大家都覺得這稱呼很好，於是相沿至今，大家都叫總統先生。

到了美國獨立宣言五十週紀念時，有人在紀念會中演講，說革命時代的軍人有奪取全國政權的實力和機會，但他們不爲竊政野心所動，確值得後人的景仰與崇拜。參加起草美國憲法及和華盛頓有密切交誼的馬迪生氏 James Madison，當時還健在，並且出席那紀念會。他聽了這人的演講，就起而辯駁，說當日革命時，民主政治已成了大勢的歸趨。當時民衆之擁戴華盛頓及其屬下軍人的理由，不全在他們的革命鬥爭的武功，而且在他們的竭誠擁護民治。華盛頓固然沒有竊政的野心，但縱使他會經暗中想過做皇帝，也相信他一定做不成。

這幾段故事證明當日民主勢力的強大，和民主自由風氣之深入民間，他們雖非首創民治的哲理，然而却是近代實行民治哲理和創設民主政制的先鋒。當日環顧全球，盡是帝王專制的國家，所以他們突然創出一個沒有皇帝的國度之後，對於一個沒有先例的總統，招待議員時就不知道叫他站在什麼地方好，連稱呼都不知道怎樣稱呼他。

華盛頓的功勳

美國革命對人類歷史的一個重大貢獻，就是革命時代華盛頓雖曾兩次握有獨裁大權，但革命成功後並未產生獨裁政府。在美國革命之前，歷史上雖會有過許多民主的革命，但古代羅馬人民革命的結局，是凱撒稱皇。英國人民革命的最終，是克隆威爾 Cromwell 的獨裁，第一次法國大革命的盡頭，是拿破崙做了皇帝。繼革命而起的便是獨裁，獨裁之下又孕育革命。於是人民的命運就老在獨裁與革命之間兜圈子，而人民革命的目的老是在爲領袖的野心所犧牲。但美國的革命却打破了這革命和獨裁的循環圈子，在革命後並未走入獨裁的厄運，而能根據人民革命的初衷，創設民治政府，綿續至今，沒有中斷過。

美國在內部衝突劇烈和沒有中央政權的環境中，革命卒能成功，多賴人民革命意志的堅決，和各黨派能够互相讓步，不各走極端，然而華盛頓之奉公守法和領導得宜的功勞，也至不可磨滅。他身居領導革命以抵於成的豐功，而沒有變成一個羅馬的凱撒，一個英國的克隆威爾，一個法國的拿破崙。這些歷史巨人的竊政野心，深爲他所不取。但他並非沒有這些巨人的機會。革命期中，大陸大會曾兩次給他獨裁大權，但期限一滿，他兩次把這大權璧還大會。在戰事期間，他的部屬屢次要反叛大會，而大陸大會本身也確是多疑寡斷，迭誤戎機。但他對大會還是盡忠到底，絕不越權。他受大會譴責時，祇以冷讷熱諷的口吻回答，而不以兵權相向。

革命軍事勝利之後他就退隱田園。到了內部衝突達到危險關頭，他又拒絕一切獨裁或做皇帝的建議，放棄退隱的清閑生活，於一七八七年的酷暑中出任費城大會主席，苦幹四月，領導起草憲法。他當主席時發言很少，每次發言都是調解各代表間的衝突，在萬難中尋求一致的憲政途徑。憲法草定之後。他對許多條文深感不滿，然後接納公衆的決定，積極協助聯邦派，勸各州人民接納憲草。他就任第一屆總統之後，就兼委當時左右兩派領袖担任要職，藉以顧全雙方，叫大家都有參政機會。這兩派領袖在政府中，時常發生劇烈衝突，幾至積不相容。華盛頓總是先聽雙方的理由，然後勸雙方讓步，顧全大局。他是一個堅強的領袖，但也極善於排解各派的爭端。他深知時下有各種利害衝突的派別，並且熟知各個人和各集團的野心。他私人有些袒護保守派，但他絕不讓這袒護的心情妨害到建立憲政統一國家的目標。

到了第二任總統期滿，他決定告退。他在國會臨別贈言時，以維持法治和顧全大局諄諄勸勉國人。他說明在人類社會，利害衝突和派別分立之不可免，但不應因此破壞了國家統一。他反覆勸誡美國人民，不要以個人野心或黨派利害而犧牲大局。所說這些話，在他自己領導革命和兩任總統期中，都一一實踐過。

十三州人民本其最初的民主自由風氣，從落後的社會背景和封建壓力下，發動了革命和獨立戰爭；在尖銳的內部衝突和七年的極度艱苦中，能够維持聯合戰線。爭得最後勝利；戰後局面混亂，內爭劇烈，險象環生，又能逃了帝制或獨裁的厄運，締造出互相妥協和顧全大局的憲法，尊定發展民治的根基。在這些艱巨的歷史過程中，一步一步都以可見見華盛頓的貢獻。

第三章 美國憲法下之政治與人權

美國民主憲政的原則

華盛頓所揭開的美國民主政府歷史的第一頁，裏面不特沒有皇帝或獨裁者，而且包含着那時新奇的民主憲政。民主憲政是個複雜題目，但扼要說來，是由下面幾個原則湊成：一、一切政權的最後主人翁是人民，而不是皇帝，或任何黨派與階級；二、人民的代表用提議，討論和投票公決的辦法，決定國家政治的憲章，三、某幾種基本權力由人民自己保留，並不交託政府，藉以限制官吏的權力，四、人民直接選舉的官吏祇能在有限的期間，行使有限的政權，任期一滿就要由人民大眾審核他在任期內的政績是否滿意，投票決定他的去留；美國革命時人民出生入死，所爭的就是這幾點原則。但除了這些原則之外，他們又在憲法中爭得重要的人權保障。

在這些保障中，最重要的是，人身保護狀。在這憲法條文之下，政府機關依法捉人，必要給他公平的審判。如果濫捕人民，被捕者的親友可以到無論那一級法庭要求發給人身保護狀，拿着這張狀就能要求任何機關放人。該管機關如不肯放人，也要把他移交法庭，定期審訊，以判明他是否犯法。過期不審就要省釋，而不能無期拘禁。

憲法規定除了彈劾官吏之外，一切觸犯中央政府法律的案件要用陪審制度去審判，以免法官專橫枉法，審訊地點又須在犯罪地的州界之內。所謂陪審制度，就是遴選地方人民中素有資望的份子，充當陪審員，每次審案，由陪審員若干人輪流出庭，聽取原告和被告的理由和證據。審訊終結，陪審員就入密室，根據當地平時生活的常識，去討論案中雙方證據的強弱，最後用多數取決辦法，去判定被告人是否犯罪。若是犯罪的话，陪審員又有權建議刑罰的輕重。法官就根據這決定去放人或定刑。這制度除了減少兇官悍吏的淫威毒害，叫被告人獲得比較公平的審判之外，又叫地方人民有機會直接參加執行法律，使人民覺得政府確是人民的機關，法律確是人民的安全保障，這對於養成法治精神，貢獻很大。

被控犯法的人在憲法保護下，有權享受律師的指導和辯護。貧窮無力僱請律師者，法庭要出錢替他請律師。在憲法之下

法庭不能勒令被告人交出過高的保單。在未證明被告人確係犯罪以前，他在法律上還是一個良民，司法機關不能以犯人看待他。這樣，無辜的人就有充分機會去證明自己確係清白無辜。在憲法保護之下，縱使法庭判決他確係犯罪，也不能科以不合情理的非常刑罰。

美國憲法對危害國家罪 Treason，有嚴格的規定，說明危害國家罪僅指對政府舉兵開戰，勾結和協助敵國而言，政府且必須有證人兩名以上，或被告人在公開法庭自招罪狀，方能判處危害國家罪。這條文的來歷。是危害國家罪名原係當日歐洲人民的惡夢，因為危害國家就是危及執政者的政權，假若執政者有權隨意規定這危險罪名的界說，則人民對政府縱然微有指摘，也可以受這罪名的禍害，甚且被政府秘密拘捕和秘密審訊，沒有對着證人公開聲辯的機會。此外，美國憲法永遠禁止國會通過追認犯罪行為的刑法，和通過法令，對某個人或一派入提名逮捕，加以監禁或死刑，而不給以公開審訊。在現在看來，上述種種似乎沒有什麼革命氣味，然而在美國憲法起草時的一七八七年，歐陸國家還是迷蒙在一團專制的黑霧之中。所以起草憲法的代表們特意訂明這些條文，確立人權的保障，遮免舊世界的專制禍害再在新大陸生根發毒，此後，美國憲法還經過多次的修改，使其切合民主原則。修改憲法的手續規定得很繁雜，籍以維持憲法和政治組織的穩定，若是憲法條文能夠輕易地修改，憲政的基礎就難免隨着政海的微波和時局的幻變而不斷地更改，就不能在一切都急激變動的現世紀中維持穩定的政治，但這並非說美國憲法不能適應時代的潮流，若是某一項主張成了大多數人民的普遍要求，憲法還是能夠跟着這新要求而修改的。

一部憲法創立之後，如人民和執政者不嚴格遵守，就成了紙上蒼生。在美國政治上執政者違法的行動不是沒有，但在大體上，美國朝野百多年來都謹奉憲法為政治的張本，到了憲法某項條文不合時代需要時，祇有依法修改，而不去輕輕的破壞。美國憲政民治創立以來，經過多少險惡的風波，仍不至於中途夭折。而能綿續至今，發揚光大，主要原因在此。

在美國歷史上，憲政民治以至國家統一的最嚴重的試驗，就是一八一一至一八六五年的美國南北內戰，在那時以前，這場內戰是歷史上規模最大的戰爭之一，歷時四年，且南軍將才優異，直迫美京，林肯總統處境至難，關頭險惡，但他始終堅守憲政民治的崗位。在開戰以前，他力圖以和平方法維持統一，直至南軍舉兵啓釁，方才根據憲法中戡平叛亂的權力，實行

討伐。到了戰事爆發之後，他又力避以一時的權宜，而犧牲憲政的原則。這可從下面二事看出來。

內戰正酣之際，林肯的敵人不僅是勇悍的南方叛軍，而且有後方的反戰份子利用憲法中的人權保障，不斷搗亂，破壞林肯的政治威信，阻礙北軍的作戰。林肯的共和黨中有一派激烈的黨人就力勸他暫時擱置憲法，攫取獨裁大權，武力壓平後方一切反對派，藉以縮短戰事，減輕人民痛苦。但他不為所動，非特不解散國會，而且不清除國會中的反對派議員和政府中反對派的行政人員。他祇勸他們勉強一致合作，以維持後方和平。民間書報刊物對林肯公開責備和譏諷的更多。當時會有幾家報館因為言論太猖獗而被封禁，然而據 J. G. Randall 在 *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* 一書，林肯治下內戰時期的人民言論，比威爾遜總統治下的上次歐戰時期，還要自由，還能隨意批評當時的政治。

第二件事是四年一度的總統選舉年的到來。那是一八六四年，南軍迫近京城，北部軍民厭戰情緒也日盛。在這疑難境地中，林肯決定服從憲法，照常舉行總統大選，把自己在任四年所表現的才力德行與和戰大計，全部交由人民審核，任由人民投票公決其去留。在競選期內，反對黨以反對繼續內戰的立場，用盡字典裏的侮辱字眼，去攻擊林肯和他的政權。就是林肯自己的共和黨裏，也有不少搗亂的反對派。在這內外夾攻之下，林肯的地位起了搖動。

幸而選舉的結果，林肯勝利了。那是一八六四年十一月十日的晚上，人民圍着白宮歡呼不散。林肯匆匆的寫了一篇演說詞，在窗前燭光之下，對街上人羣宣讀。詞中要義是說，「一個政府的權力如果不太強，不強到能够壓迫人民，那末，這個政府在危急關頭中能否有力去維持自身的生存？這久已成爲嚴重的問題，在這一點，現時的叛亂已使政府陷入嚴重的難關，而按期舉行的總統選舉更使局面窘蹙，但選舉是必須舉行的。沒有選舉就等於沒有自由政府，如果廢止選舉或延期選舉，那就等於這次叛亂已經征服了我們，摧毀了我們。這次選舉引起了許多不良而又難免的內部鬥爭，但同時也產生了好果，因爲這回證明了一個人民的政府，雖在廣大的內戰中，還能够當得起全國的選舉。直至現在以前，世界還不知道這是辦得到的事」。

林肯在內戰時期的許多措施，是否全合憲法，這是歷史家和法學家還在辯論的問題，然而憲政的根本原則和國家的完整之獲得保存，這是大眾承認的事實。至現在，美國已養成了朝野一致崇奉憲法的傳統，在今日的美國政治中，每遇嚴重的問

題，各方總是拾出憲法來做自己立場的根據。誰是守憲誰是違憲的爭辯，隨時都在發生，然而凡事必斤斤以憲法為依歸的紛訟，正是一般美國人民守憲精神的表現。

不流血的革命

美國憲政民治的貢獻之一，就是在政治走入難關時，可以避免流血革命，而達到政治改革的目標，因為人權有了切實保障之後，人民就可以運用和平的選舉票去決定政治的方向，大規模的選舉，背景很複雜，但地方選舉則較為簡單，易得明瞭，下面就是一個例子。

長濱鎮是紐約市近郊星羅棋佈的小鎮之一，人口約有五千，向來按期公選市長，領導市政，但幾十年來市政黑暗，市內良民含著怒火，久待發洩，到了一九四三年十一月的地方選舉，市民就乘機起事，用選民投票的力量去改組市政府，清除腐惡。這次出來領導改組運動的，是一間玻璃公司總經理的阿君。一九四二年正月的一個星期日，他從芝加哥公幹，因倦而回，見家中水管爆裂，水淹地窖，自來水公司和公安局都不理會，鎮內的水管工人星期日例不做工，且勾結公安局官吏，使警察們見有外鎮的水管工人入鎮工作，就以擾亂公眾秩序為名，加以拘捕。

此事對阿君刺激很大。他想：人民年年納稅供養這班官吏，但水管爆裂，家宅淹沒，公安局與自來水局不負救助之責，已屬溺職，而水管工人勾結警察和政客，無理制止隣鎮工人前來工作，更是目無法紀。他雖是從來不過問政治，但這次憤慨起來，決心一查市府內幕。他略一訪尋，就知道市政府歷來被一班黑暗政客所把持，十年來如此，人民曾經屢次要設法清查市府的失政。都給政客爪牙阻止，沒法進行，在禁酒期內，匪幫頭目如披山路和希健士等，都是市政府幕後的霸王，四年前，民主黨市長愛德華斯被一個喝醉酒的警察閉槍打死。年俸七千五百元的市長職位，落在民主黨政梟安士坦之手，他原是紐約的訟棍。

阿君懷了這一腔烏氣，參加過一次納稅人民團體的大會，在席上發言要求廓清市府的黑暗，但絕無效果。後來他查出鎮內每逢成立公民團體，要去廓清市府，政客爪牙就全體加入，倚着人數衆多，把團體操縱了，使發起這團體的忠良份子失了行動自由，阿君覘此，於是起而奔走，聯合十五位有資望的鎮民，每人湊點錢，加以紐約市公民聯會的援助，組織了長濱鎮

公民聯會，開始清除腐惡工作。

這小團體第一步就依法要求省政府審計廳，派員審查長濱鎮市政府的歷年收支賬目。審計廳會計師多人奉命苦幹了幾個月之後，宣佈長濱市府賬目的糊塗，確是少見。阿君第二步工作是根據糊塗賬的事實，遍請市民簽署請願書，廢除市長制，改取市經理制度。簽名人數足額之後，送交市議會，竟給議會的政客擱置，但參加改革運動的份子續作第二次簽名請願，卒把改組市府的議案列入選舉票，由市民選舉官吏時一併圈劃可否，把改組市府事，交給全鎮選民公決。

市府政客至此，祇能挑個手續上的小錯，向法院起訴公民聯會非法運動改變市府組織。這場官司打倒上訴衙去之後，公民聯會卒告勝訴，法官宣判時說：『長濱人民早應制定完善的市憲，免像從前一樣，每年都有人民控告市政府，不斷的打官司。』到了十一月二日選舉那天，選民投票結果，多數決定了採取市經理制度，和把一班貪污政客逐出市府之外。選舉揭曉後，阿君對報界記者談話，說『我對政治從無興趣，但現在對於廉潔政府已極關懷。然我本人祇以公民一份子的地位和職責，去促成廉潔政府，而決不參加下屆市府官吏的競選。』一幕光明與黑暗的鬥爭，光明是和平地勝利了。

這次長濱鎮的事件，有兩點是值得注意的：第一，美國憲法的人權保障和公民自由，雖在腐化的地方政治中，還是繼續有效。人民假如沒有安全的保障和言論集會等自由，長濱鎮的市民對於腐化政治就祇有低頭忍受，或是流血革命，而無法從和平途徑去改革政治。第二，在憲政民治之下，長濱鎮市政的政客對於公民聯會不能武力封禁或捉捕會員，而只能以普通法人地位，依法向法院起訴，法庭對於官吏亦不袒護，祇據理判斷，故公民聯會能够勝訴。法官宣判時所說的話也值得玩味，因為從此可見美國官廳如果違法，人民隨時可以向法庭控告，人民控告政府，要求賠償損失的案件，在美國報紙幾乎每天都

可以看見。

美國地方政治像長濱一樣的腐化的並不很多，但腐化政治發生了之後，人民以自身利益攸關，早晚要運用憲法下的民權去改良糾正。至於萬目睽睽下的中央政府，如發生失職或違憲事件，更免不了國會和最高法院的檢舉。美國國會隨時都有小組委員會在檢舉中央政府各機關的失政。這些檢舉的報告，縱或牽涉到政府大員的聲譽，也常在報上公開披露，至若最高法院判決行政機關或國會的法令違反憲章，宣告其無效的事跡，在美國歷史上每一個時期都有。最近的顯著例子是美國上次經

濟大恐慌時期，羅斯福總統請求國會通過了全國工業復興案，去增加人民工作機會，和給工人以組織工會從事集體議價的法律權利，後來工商界起而反對，最高法院審核此案，卒於一九三五年宣佈政府超越了憲法權力去干涉私人商業，故判決廢止全國工業復興案，該案是否違憲，雖然還有討論的餘地，但是這例子說明了美國官吏在憲法下祇行使有限的權力，說明了國會與行政機關的服從司法機關的制裁。

方場的演說家

美國憲法保障下的人民言論自由，在書報雜誌和無線電的紛歧言論中，很易看見。這言論自由的習慣，從美國開國以來就是如此，華盛頓在第二任總統告終之後就決意退隱的一個小原因，是當日反對派的報紙對他批評得太刻薄。據他自己說，反對派以咒罵小偷兒的話拿來攻擊他。從那時起一直到直在，美國人總是用盡了憲法給他們的權力，去自由發揮對於公共問題的立場和建議，及批評政府的人物和措施。共產黨或法西斯主義者的榮銜，雖國家大員也難倖免。這些筆人舌客有時太放肆了，最多是吃一場毀壞名譽的官司。

這是視聽場面較大的現象，但在平民的小場面的生活裏，也有同類的故事。一個例子是美國城市公共場所中無數的演說家。在人衆的街頭，在平靜游憩的方場或圓場，隨處都有他們的蹤跡和聲浪。在政治或社會掀起了波瀾時，他們的影跡就更普遍。他們姓什名誰？這是無關重要，他們自己不要說出來，聽衆也無心去問，因為要緊的祇是他們所佈道的宗教，所宣傳的立場，所鼓動的情緒，甚至他們所狂叫的胡言亂語。

這現象在美國一切的大城市都看得見，但請以素稱世界十字街頭的紐約市爲例。到紐約的人，如果去看看西五十九街的哥倫布斯圓場，或是十四街的沃尼安方場，就可以看見一堆一堆的小人羣，幾十個人一堆，圍着一個中下層階級的無名演說家在那裏滔滔不絕的討論世界大勢，或社會現象，他們的立場有的是左傾到共產主義，有的是右傾到法西斯主義，以至這兩極之間的無數色差。上自羅斯福總統，下至國會議員和地方官吏，在他們懸河一樣的口裏吐出來時，或變成了完美無瑕的上帝，或變成了無惡不作的魔鬼，或變成了一半上帝一半魔鬼的凡人。祇要他們所說的話不是鼓吹武力暴動推翻政府，不論他們是什麼黨派，那就縱有警探在場，也絕不加以干涉。在一堆人羣中間演說的人，也許是讚美和擁護政府的使者，但和他相

隔幾尺另一班人羣中，常常會是一位捶胸大叫的反對派，把政府的人物和政策攻擊得體無完膚。在這些游蕩的公共場所裏，略一轉身就可以聽到種種色彩不同的呼聲，在空氣中很自由地互相激盪。

這些無名的演說家大半是教育程度粗淺的工人，有的是小鋪子的老板，有的是無業游民，有的是學生，中間也有飽受教育的專門職業者，和黨派或社團派遣出來的羣衆煽動家。從一般而論，這些無名演說家並沒有什麼特殊背景。喜歡和別人交談，是美國人的性格。他們閒暇時，到公共的方場去看看熱鬧，在綠蔭下散步，這樣就往往和身旁的人攀談起來，一吐胸中的見解，或談談即日報紙標題的國家大事或社會奇聞。口才好一點的就高談闊論起來，最初是兩三個人在一起，但片刻之間，旁人也加進來，愈聚愈衆，說話的也愈說愈響。聽衆裏面若有意見不合而又愛說話的人，聽不到順耳之處，就插嘴去駁。他如果駁得不好，叫人討厭，聽衆就叫他不要再鬧，還是起先頭的人說下去，祇愛聽不愛說的人，如果聽得不對勁，就轉身走開，蹭進旁邊的人羣，去聽另外一套。

這些無名演說家所說的話多半是很粗淺，但對於所說的問題都很認真，而這些場所也就是美國民衆的政治學校，他們所說的話和所聽的話養成了他們的政治觀念，他們的政治觀念指使他們選舉投票的方向，他們的選舉投票又決定了執政人物和政府政策。有一次，有一位美國女學生在沃尼安方場對十幾個人討論美國外交政策。解釋組織國際軍警的利益，說這樣就可以維持國際和平，避免再送下一代青年上戰場的痛苦，聽衆裏面有一個五十來歲的粗漢，從懷裏掏出鉛筆和小紙，高聲說：『你說得好，請你把姓名告訴我，我要選你做下一任的總統。』當時引得笑聲四起，提出總統候選人的手續，自然不像這位粗漢所想的那麼簡單，但他却知道一國元首的選擇和政治命運，是在像他自己一樣的老百姓的手裏，他知道他是在憲政民治裏面生活。這話不出於飽受教育的美國人，而出於一名粗漢之口，更顯得它的重要。

容納反對派的風度

在無名演說家各逞威風的方場裏，丁方幾百尺之內就什麼意見和立場都有。這就是美國民主的場面的一個縮影。試看看繁盛街頭和車站的書報攤子，從極左到極右的報紙刊物，雜然並陳，以迎合口味各異的僱客，試參加紐英倫各州小鎮的市街大會，試穿插一下各地方的政治集會，試在收音機留心一下許多『空中討論會』的廣播，就可以聽到形形色色的相反意見。

，隨意發揮。試看看各地方的議會以至國會，議席上各派思想和建議，無一不備，互相傾軋。

這樣看起來，似乎美國政治社會思想和行動，祇有混亂，沒有軌道，然而這立場各異的表面混亂，正是提議，討論和投票公決的憲政程序中的提議和討論階段。若沒有這階段，民意就無從充分的發揮和表達。但一到了投票公決之後，各派的行動就走上多數人決定的軌道，少數派服從多數，而多數派也容納少數派。這種容納反對派的態度和風氣，是美國憲政民主治成功的一個關鍵。地方議會或國會的議席上，儘可以有立場相反的議員，劇辯提案，怒目切齒，揮拳相向，譏諷對方的罵人字句，常常聽見。但一散會之後，就不時看見剛在議場上切齒對罵的議員們，同入酒排，圍桌舉杯，談笑自若。他們的政治立場儘可水火不容，但私人間還一樣的可以做朋友和一同做事。這並非美國人的偽善。這是他們容納反對派的政治風度。

關於這點，有一個很好的實例，這就是美國參戰後曾經一度出聘中國的威爾基 Wendell L. Willkie 他是一九四〇全國大選的共和黨總統候選人，競選的對手是羅斯福。在競選的演說詞中，他痛罵羅氏八年來外交內政失宜，誤國誤民；罵他這次打破美國歷史先例而作第三任總統競選，含有長期把持政權的野心；並且罵他不懂美國經濟系統的運用方法，所罵的話，淋漓盡至。競選結果，威氏失敗。選舉揭曉之後，他立刻電賀勝利者的羅斯福，同時對國民作無線電演說，大意說，「這次競選期間中，兩黨的人都說了許多平時不會說出來的憤慨話，互相詆毀攻擊。但現在，國人的向背已經大白，今後共和黨人應拿着協助政府和篤促政府的立場，團結一致，共赴國事」。而羅斯福總統得勝之後，對這位從前攻擊他毫不留情的政敵，不但沒有含恨或報復，而且在參戰之後派他充當總統代表，出聘中國蘇俄和近東國家。

美國思想的紛歧和派別的林立，恐怕並不下於許多其他歐西國家，但美國站得住的政黨祇有兩個，作政權更替的樞紐，使政局穩定，不像有些民主國家一樣，弄出名目紛歧的幾十個政黨，整天在鬧政潮和更換內閣。在國事危難或是社會經濟起了大變動的時候，美國常有組織第三黨的強烈呼聲。但總是祇聞雷響不見下雨，有力的第三黨始終沒有出現，重要原因是現時的民主與共和兩大黨，立場都相當寬大，如有第三者的政策得到多數人民的擁護，逐漸成爲民衆的普遍要求，那末兩黨之中必有一黨捷足先登，把這新主張容納下來，變成該黨的政綱之一，兩黨的立場跟着時代的需要而推進。常在呼聲中的第三黨於是失了出現的根基，而政治舞台上轉來轉去的還是民主與共和兩黨，其他幾個小黨至多能够選出幾名議員，從來沒有選

出總統的力量。這兩黨隨時容納的新政綱，常和黨中原來策略是相反的。這又可以看出美國政治傳統中能够容納異己的特色。（註：這裏有一個例外，就是一八六〇年的共和黨還是第三黨）。

官威的沒落

在憲政民治之下，民權有了保障和人民自己選拔官吏的一個結果，便是人民不怕官吏，人民知道法律是根據公理而來，官吏不過是執行法律的公僕，而法律又在官吏之上。政府或官吏的行動如果超過法律範圍，人民隨時可向法庭起訴，在公平審判中爭個是非曲直。

官吏在法律範圍內作有乖情理的舉動，也會受人民的檢舉。美軍這次在意大利作戰，有一位將軍檢閱傷兵醫院，把一個傷兵打了幾個巴掌，罵他懦弱，故意躲在病院裏，不敢上陣打仗。但後來查出這個病兵作戰本來很勇敢，受傷之後經過同袍和長官的勉強，才入院療養。這消息在報紙上傳出之後，全美輿論都鼓嘈起來，許多個人和團體都向國會呼籲，要求懲戒這位將軍，說他濫肆淫威，說他無理辱打士卒。保障士兵的尊嚴和權利的不平鳴，滿載各地報紙，風潮鬧得很大，國會也醞釀提案，進行懲辦，這位將軍迫而發出道歉的聲明。他是這次大戰中屢建奇功的名將，以勇悍著名，國會和政府因而沒有處罰他。後來陸軍部要把一批將領升級，這位將軍也在晉升之列。這升級的名單提交國會審核和批准時，國會單獨把他的案子壓起來，過了多月才准他升級。

軍隊是最重紀律和權威的地方，長官和下級的處分有時雖帶點冤枉，但是並非法外行動，這次風潮中人民和國會的行動是否合理，是另一問題，然美國人的重視人權遠過於官吏的權威和架子，於此可見。而且，這事表出了美國人之堅決維持「政權高於軍權」在美國政治舞台上，軍事領袖公開受裁判，這並非破天荒第一次。

在這法治而不是人治的國度，官吏並沒有什麼可怕的威嚴。他們知道自己也是平民出身，受平民的委託，去執行人民直接或間接決定的法令，他們自身的政治命運按期受人民直接或間接的審核。所以他們也極力以平民化，做行爲的標準，以符合民治精神。美國南方阿拉巴麻州是產棉要區，一九四三年棉花成熟的時候，正值工人大量地被吸入國防工業或軍隊裏去，因而缺乏採棉的工人，棉花拍賣在田中腐爛，轉而打擊軍用和民用原料的來源，該州政府上自省長下至僱員，都願自己打掃

樓宇和辦公室一星期，讓原來管理樓宇的工人出去幫忙農家採棉。若是官吏沒有平民化的民主風氣，尊嚴的州長掃地一星期，就成了大怪事。

一九四三年夏天，紐約報紙上登載過一段不大受人注意的小新聞，說地道車站裏一個報販深夜中正在打盹的時候，見有一個身材高瘦的婦人，單獨站在報攤子旁邊，一面看各報的大標題，一面等車。無聊得發悶的小販定眼一看，說個笑話：『太太啊，你真活像羅斯福夫人』。這婦人微笑而鎮定地答道：『我就是羅斯福夫人』。小報販吃了一驚，但還是用平等的語氣，問他喜歡不喜歡坐地道車。她說已經坐慣了，不覺得有什麼差別，這時適有一列地道車開入站內，小報販就目送這位衣服平凡的高瘦婦女，和在站上候車的幾個疏落搭客，一同登車而去。

在汽油和汽車富甲天下的美國，元首夫人爲了戰時節省汽油的原故，出外多是步行，到遠處的時候，和平民大眾一樣的坐五分錢的地道車，身邊並沒有隨從，獨自在車站中和賣報小販交談，這對於羅斯福夫人是一件尋常的事。她常常幫忙毫不相識的平民，尤其是青年男女。在通訊中或在車上交談相識之後，她就幫他們解決煩難問題，或是請他們到白宮總統府裏去喝茶或吃飯。大事或小事受過她幫忙的平民，不知道有多少。

一九四四年的年頭，她從別處坐火車回美東，並沒有專車，祇和普通搭客一樣的坐着戰時擠擁的客車。路和她和隣坐的一位青年談起來，這青年說，他這次帶着太太和出世不過幾月的小孩，到美東找差事，他的太太一路苦着臉，因爲她生平的夢想就是要到京都一遊，現在京都都快到了，可是懷中抱着的小孩需要照料，火車一到站就要上旅館，躲在房裏照顧孩子。他說完了就介紹太太和羅夫人相識。羅夫人對這一雙青年夫婦很喜歡，就對他們說：『我今天回京後，暫時沒有特別要辦的事，你們到京後可以臨時住在白宮，我替你們照顧一天孩子，你們一同出外痛快的玩一天好了』。這對青年夫婦就那樣的做了幾天白宮的賓客。

羅夫人的活動並不盡是這些瑣碎小事。事實上，羅斯福就任總統以來，她對國內的青年和婦女界的福利事業，以至戰時的婦女工作，貢獻很多。她不斷的到各地方演講和指導公共活動。美國許多報紙每天都登載她親寫的專欄：『我的一日』，討論當前問題和紀載她本人每日所做的事。她替平民幫忙許多瑣碎小事，叫老百姓更覺得官場人物和自己沒有很闊的鴻溝，

政府是人民的政府，和自己的關係很密切。這種態度叫一般美國人不特不畏官府，而且隨時使用官府。農夫或商人在業務上遇了難題，就寫信或親訪農業部商業部等機關，請求解答，而且平常必定得到快捷的答覆。人民對政府措施不滿意，就寫信或打電報到國會議員，要求糾正，而議員們因為政治命運握在人民的手裏，所以表決議案時，不能不顧到選民投函或電報中的意見。每逢有重大議案在國會提出待決時，試看一看美國的報紙，就常見各派團體的告白，和要求民衆填寫的請願書表格，號召人民向國會議員們表示意見。

寫信給官吏並非成年的選民的專利品。一九四四年一月七日，麻州的某鎮有一位十歲女孩寫信給羅斯福總統說：『因為你是總統，是美國的首腦，我很想你下令減低小狗的價錢，我們很想有一隻小狗，但現在價錢太高了，買不起。請你回封信告訴我，你能否下令減價。我的父親在海軍服役，現在調到非洲，你從此可知我們很想有一隻小狗，在寒冷的冬夜做伴侶。你如果下令減價，我是很感激的』。信頭祇簡單的稱呼『親愛的羅斯福總統』，並沒有什麼繁雜的稱呼。羅斯福總統接信後，把它交給物價統制局。那局適有一個局員正在遷離美京，想把一只小狗送給人養。這位女孩就不費一錢的償了心願。她自然沒有讀過憲法，但知道政府是她的政府，是爲着她的幸福而設，並且知道政府是跟着人民的意向去行動。

第四章 平民的建樹

政治的民主化

新大陸上一個顯著的事實，就是美國民族並非徒襲先人餘蔭的民族，而是勇於奮鬥創造的民族，故前章所述美國的政治自由，多半是平民自己起而奮鬥的成果，而非徒然享受原來憲法的賜予。美國最初的憲法不過使平民有機會在和平秩序之下起來爭取自身利益，而沒有給平民以很多的政治自由。

今日美國莫名一文的窮漢，也有權投票去決定誰人應該上台執政，這就是平民起來力爭的主要成績。美國最初的憲法並未將政權交給全體人民，祇是有財產者方能享受選舉權。從美國獨立時起，沒有財產的平民們抗爭奔走了七十多年，才於一八五〇年前後在各州以中央憲法，抹去以財產為行使選舉權的資格。白人成年男子不論有產無產，一律有選舉權，至此乃成全國通例。

美國現代政傑之一的 Alfred Smith，以紐約市貧民窟的賣魚小販出身，一躍而為紐約州的州長，且曾逐鹿於總統選舉場中，對美國政治曾經發生過重要影響。這位傑出的魚販假使生在美國立國的初期，恐怕不會有這番造就，因美國早期各州憲法，多半規定以財產和宗教為當選官吏資格。例如南加羅賴那州一七七八年的州憲，就規定至少要有家財一萬鎊，才可以當選州長。有幾州的憲法並且訂明，祇有天主教徒或新教徒，才可以當選官吏。但在平民爭取政權日益劇烈的潮流裏，當選官吏的財產和宗教資格，卒在十九世紀中葉被掃除了。

美國早期既以高額財產為當選官吏的資格，所以富人權貴長據政府要津就成了當時的流弊，到了一八二九年農工大衆把捷克遜 Andrew Jackson 擁到白宮去之後，打倒權貴包辦政府的呼聲一時遍佈全國。捷克遜順着輿情，大刀闊斧的革除政府裏面的富人權貴，把這些職位分結自己領導下的共和黨人。至一八四〇年，由勝利政黨支配主要官職的制度，就成了中央和地方政治的通例，這辦法後來發生了許多營私舞弊的缺憾，這是意料中事，然而各黨輪流執政的民主習慣是因而確立了，權

貴階級長期壟斷政權的局面也從此打破了。

每四年來一次的總統選舉大熱鬧，是美國政治的一個象徵，是美國平民直接運用政權的一個表證，然而這又是選民自己爭來的權利，而非原先憲法賜予的恩物。當初制憲的開國元勳，多數還未相信平民確有自治的能力，他們所要避免的正是選舉總統時民衆的自治狂熱，故在最初的憲法裏面，總統的選舉和一般民衆並無直接緣分，總統候選人的審核以至選舉總統的權力，是交由『總統選舉會』行使。每屆總統選舉時期，每州按其人口多寡，派出相當名額的『總統選舉員』。而這些委員的派遣辦法，最初祇有五州是由人民直接票選，其餘盡由州議會代為選派，人民無權直接過問。

但是民衆對於派代表去選舉總統這辦法，早就認為執政者越俎代庖，起而力爭。結果，從一八二八年後，除了兩州之外，其餘各州的總統選舉委員都由人民直接投票選派。平民爭得了這一步勝利之後，不久就再進一步，奪得總統的普選權，由人民直接投票選舉總統。各州派出的總統選舉委員於是名存實亡，而美國人民亦從此方能享受四年一度的總統選舉大熱鬧。按照當初憲法的規定，國會上議院的議員也是由各州的議會選派，而不是由人民直接票選。選民們經過了百年的抗爭，才於一九一三年達到修改憲法的目標，將上議院的議員改由人民直接票選。平民的直接政權至是乃再獲一度的擴張。

美國平民的另一建樹，是官吏候選人提拔方法的民主化。美國總統候選人最初是由各黨各派的國會議員，分工組織委員會，秘密商議選拔，一般平民認為這是在朝權貴包辦總統選舉的手段，因而力爭公開提拔總統候選人。至一八三〇年代以後，各政黨就相繼舉行全國代表大會，去推出總統候選人。這些黨代表大會雖然仍受政客在幕後秘密擴佈，但是比之昔日由國會議員的委員會，去秘密決定總統候選人，黨代表大會的新辦法，不能不說是公開得多。至於地方官吏和國會議員的推選，初由各地方的各黨代表大會辦理，但自二十世紀初葉以來就逐漸改用新法，各州多於每屆選舉之前，舉行所謂初選 Primary，由地方上各黨選民分別投票，從黨內推出各級官吏的候選人，使各黨賢能份子有機會向黨內的選民作直接呼籲，藉以脫離代表大會中的黨棍和政客的操縱。到了正式選舉之日，再由全體選民投票產生最當選選的官吏。

以上所說的祇是美國平民男子爭取民權的故事，並不包括國民半數的婦女。今日美國婦女的政治社會和經濟地位之獨立，是經過百多年來約奮鬥才得來的改變。朔自一八〇〇年以後，根據美國革命的自由平等精神去鼓吹女權的女界領袖日多，

女權運動逐漸成了一股新勢力。從前的美國婦女並無財產權利，女子一經出嫁，其財物的所有權就要一律轉讓丈夫。但婦女領袖的奔走抗爭，和民主潮流日益高漲的結果，一八三九以後各州政府迫而相繼宣佈已婚婦女亦得享受財產權。一八四八年美國婦女領袖舉行第一次全國女權大會，發出『情緒宣言』，仿照美國獨立宣言的口吻，要求教育，經濟，法律和選舉權利，男女一律平等。全國多數的書報輿論機關一時視為千古的大滑稽，譏笑怒罵之聲四起。國內多數有地位的男子，聽見鼓吹他們家裏的嬌妻起來獨立的呼聲，自然認為大逆不道，然而就是婦女們，有許多聽見提倡女權的論調，也覺得不耐煩。例如 Susan B. Anthony 是美國十九世紀女權運動的重要領袖，提倡婦女選舉權最力，當她沿門勸導婦女和解說女權的時候，婦女們常常把她逐出門外，說她們自身的權利有丈夫為之保護，而她所需要是個丈夫，而不是什麼女權。但是婦女界中的先知先覺者還是繼續奮鬥，逐漸伸張婦女的教育經濟和法律權利。到了一九二〇年更達到修改憲法的目標，使婦女們從此和男子一樣的平等享受選舉權。

農工運動的發展

在美國平民起而提高自身地位的十九世紀，平民奮鬥的目的不祇是爭取政治權利，而且要爭取經濟權利。在美國獨立戰爭時，農民就是支持革命的主力軍。在獨力成功之後，農民向商人債主鬥爭，幾次舉兵反叛。到了政局安定下來，農民又運用政治力量，把傑弗森和捷克遜兩位平民領袖送到白宮去，以遏抑富人權貴的勢炎，和爭得許多經濟利益。後來美國向西發展，西方廣漠的荒地成了政府公有，富人政客多倚為利藪，以奸詐手段去販賣荒地，窮苦農民於是起而抗爭，要政府把公地無代價的發給實際耕作的農民。在十九世紀中葉，『拿選舉票去領一份田地』已成了全國自耕農的一致口號。平民們運用新得的政權，積極鬥爭，卒於一八六二年在林肯總統之下，迫政府通過了『家園法案』。由政府將公地分成每段一百六十英畝約合一千〇五十六華畝，無代價的發給自願耕作的農民。於是在免費公地未分盡之前，平民的經濟安全獲得了主要的保障。凡受飢寒所迫或是不滿於現狀的人們，都可以到西方去領一份公地，實行自立。這是美國農民運動的一個重要勝利。

農民爭得自由土地之後，隨即進而展開組織運動，團結農業生產者的力量，去提高農產品的市價，改良農業，選舉代表農業利益的領袖充當國會議員，以左右政治。地方性以至全國性的農民團體，於是相繼出現，勢力遍佈全美，為着保障農利

益，向工業資本家鬥爭，曾經幾次掀起巨大政潮。這些有組織的農民力量，迫着政府勒令各地鐵路減低農產品的運價，施行水利法案，辦理農業貸款，津貼農業生產，扶助農產運銷，改良農業技術和農民生計。政府維護農民利益的工作，種類日多，規模日大。現在國會中的『農民集團』就是專門衛護農民利益的議員，在東京政治中握有舉足輕重的力量。今日美國農民雖然還有許多亟待解除的痛苦，例如佃農的日增，實物田租制度的苛刻，地力日趨貧脊等，都是當前的嚴重問題，但是過去的農民運動確已有了不少的建樹。

美國在農業時代，主要的被壓迫階級是貧苦農民，但美國在工業化的過程中，城市無產階級日益增加，然而嚴重的經濟恐慌又連續的發生。僱傭階級在經濟恐慌中，固受失業困境和工資暴落的煎熬，而縱在繁榮時期，也常遭失業和貧乏的痛苦。這是美國立憲時期所未有的問題，原來的憲法對這問題因而沒有妥為處理，工人運動因而勃興，以爭取自身利益的保障。今日美國報紙無時不載有工會罷工的消息，這並非美國新近的現象，而是已經有了百多年的來歷。

例如遠在一八〇九年，紐約市的鞋業工人就舉行罷工，要求改良待遇，工人領袖全體被捕。但是勞資糾紛在那時是個新問題，當日的法律中沒有一條是專為這糾紛而設的，所以法庭祇能勉強引用一條『串同謀害』的舊法律，指工人串同妨害僱主營業，判決工人領袖每人罰款一元，作爲了事。從此可見當日的工人並無罷工權利。工資高低和待遇條件，權在僱主，工人合則留，不合則逐，而不能以罷工來威脅。所以在這情形下，工人祇有吃『串同謀害』這條舊法律的虧。

然而飽受新大陸自由解放的情緒刺激的美國工人，絕不甘這樣吃虧下去，於是工會組織和罷工行動，與日俱增。一八三〇年代以後，工人迫着各州政府相繼取售因欠債而受監禁的苛律。一八四〇年代以後，每日工作十二三小時的制度，漸爲十小時制度所代替。工業發達的州份在這時期更開始初步的勞工立法，以保障工場環境的健康和安全。這都是美國初期勞工運動的收穫。

南北內戰之後，美國工業化的進展日急，有組織的工人力量也隨而大增，不獨地方性質的工會林立各地，而且凡是重要行業的工人都分別組織全國總機關，勢力雄厚。這時期內的勞資鬥爭情況之烈和規模之大，比起一八〇九年紐約鞋業工人的罷工，相差得太遠了。例如一八七七年因減扣工薪而爆發的鐵路大罷工，波及全國，從米西西比河直至大西洋沿岸之間的鐵

路交通，全部停頓。各鐵路公司請政府派兵到場鎮壓，而罷工工人也不示弱，以至波及提磨，必茲堡和芝加哥等大城市，都引起工人和軍警衝突混戰，每處死傷多人。幸而未有流血的城市，也發生罷工和騷動。在罷工期內，各處工業中心都有廣大的羣會集衆，情勢洶湧。勞資雙方的宣傳品如雪片紛飛，互相責罵，資方指工人挑撥暴動，企圖傾覆社會秩序，工人則指資本家剝削和屠殺飢餓羣衆，激烈的社會主義黨徒更在公共場所煽動社會革命，形勢嚴重，震動全國。

這場鐵路大罷工繼續了幾星期，卒被軍警以武力壓平，但是工人運動却從此轉入了更積極的階段，罷工成了工人要求改良待遇的經常手段，工人到處風起雲湧。一八八一年全美工業城市的罷工一共不過七十次，但此後就急激地增加。從一八八一年至一九〇五年間，全美平均每年發生罷工一千四百七十次，每年參加罷工者幾達二十七萬人。又從一九一六至一九三二年間，每年平均發生罷工一千八百七十五次，每年參加罷工者幾達九十二萬人。跟着這罷工後而起的是全國一切行業工人的大聯合，組織全國總工會。查自從一八三四年以來，就屢次有人設法組織全國總工會，不幸這些早期的團體，都不出幾年就夭折了。第一個比較長久而穩固的全國總工會，是一八八六年成立的美國勞工聯合總會。至一九三八年，又有美國產業工人大會的崛起，成爲全美工人總聯合的另一機關，和全美勞工聯合總會去爭雄長。這幾個勞工機關在一九四四年各擁會員約六百五十萬衆。美國勞工在這種大營壘領導之下，勢力更爲雄厚。

在勞工組織日益強大的新階級中，勞動階級得到了不少新勝利。一九一〇年以後，每日八小時工作制度逐漸代替了十小時制。從一九三八年後，一切州際工商業都要服從國會新通過的公平勞動標準法規，實行每日八小時及每星期四十小時工作制，若每日或每週工作超過這限度，須在原來工資之上至少加給五成的額外工資。美國工人從此不單是工作的牛馬，而且有點餘暇去學習新知識，和享受相當的文化生活。工場的衛生和安全也繼續改進。國會和各州議會並且相繼通過法令，限令僱主補恤因工作而受傷的工人。和迫着僱主出資去替工人購買意外保險。這時期勞工運動的重要成果之一，是一九三五年國會通過的全國勞工關係法案，給予工人以組織工會和集體議價的合法權利。於是工場環境以及工人待遇，已不再讓僱主獨斷獨行，而要受法律的公平標準限制。

愚昧的掃除

今日的美國是平民教育極端發達的國家，初級和中等教育不獨是完全免費，機會均等，而且學齡兒童重要受法律強迫入學。許多大城市常見『學警』到電影院和遊藝場，拿捉逃學兒童。『學警』足跡所到，男女小兒成羣的雞飛狗走，這是美國現代生活中的趣劇，是平民幾十年來鬥爭的寶貴收穫，而不是與憲法俱來的制度。美國雖然很早就有施行平民教育的法令，但僅是紙上空文，實際上，教育還是上等階級的專利品。後來，城市無產階級起而要求政府用稅收去辦理普及教育，以解除平民自身的愚昧。經過領袖們長期的提倡和大眾的奮鬥，東部各州才於一九世紀中葉相繼創設公立小學系統。西部各州因爲民主風氣熾盛，所以平民免費教育的實現，較東部爲早，但南方各州則直至一八六〇年以後，才認真的開始辦理公立教育。至於強迫教育，因爲有童工制度的阻礙，和父母不知兒童受教育的重要，所以進步遲緩。直至一九二〇年以後，全美各州才有認真執行的強迫教育法令。

免費強迫初級教育的運動，正在向前發展的時候，公立中學亦隨而增加，在美國內戰前夕的一八六二年，全美的中學僅約百間，一九〇〇年激增至六千間，一九四〇年竟達二萬九千多間。美國國富日增之際，教育經費也跟着飛躍。各級公立學校經費，在一八七一，是七千萬元，一九〇〇年就超過二萬萬元，一九四〇更跳到二十三萬萬元。同時，中等學校又逐漸趨重職業訓練，以適應農工子弟的需要。

日益衆多的公立學校和龐大的教育經費，粉碎了權貴階級壟斷教育的局面，和迅速去除文盲。一八八〇年美國文盲是百分之十七，一九〇〇年降至百分之十一弱，一九三〇年降至百分之四強。然而，普及教育的目標不祇要人人識字，而且要人能够運用知識去應付生活問題。昔日在不識不知之中使執鋤頭鎚鑿的貧苦青年，今日是盈千累萬的擁入公立學校，變成醫生，律師，教員，工程師，技術家，或運用所得知識去改良業務，以打入中產階級，甚至躍進上等階級。婦女們也極力利用同樣機會，去取知識和技能，以提高婦女地位。

黑人地位問題

美國幾國百多年來，平民無日不向上奮鬥，以爭取民權，提高平民經濟利益，和增進教育機會，所以今日的美國平民才有個人的尊嚴，才能够享受許多自由平等的權利，然而平民的新利益常與美國的黑色公民沒有絲毫緣分。美國黑人所受待遇

之違反人民與公理，是很顯明的事實。然而美國白人對這問題並非全體一樣的盲目，許多開明的美國領袖，過去曾以毀家紓難的精神，去爭取黑人的解放。爲了這問題，美國打了四年的內戰，及在內戰之後幾次修改憲法，一次是廢除奴隸制度，一次是禁止因種族膚色或從前做過奴隸，而剝奪任何人的選舉權。當北軍佔領南方時，北方白人領袖到南方，將黑人的政治和社會地位提高至與白人完全平等。然而，改變幾條法律也許很快就辦得到，但要轉移社會的風氣和制度，則非旦夕所能爲功。所以北軍撤兵不久，黑人就無力支持新得權利，轉瞬之間，南方白人就起來恢復了白人統治的舊觀。

這裏，我們並不能說黑人的地位沒有絲毫的改善。在南北內戰以前，除去英倫區和紐約州之外，全國各州一律不准黑人選舉，白人的法律並不適用於黑人。內戰之後，南方幾州還用盡種種手段，去逃避憲法，以剝奪黑人的選舉權和其他公民權利，但是北方各州則已一律准許黑人選舉，黑人和白人享受同一的法律權利。芝城前後兩次選舉黨人充當國會議員。自從一九一七年以來，許多州議會和市議會都經常的有黑人議員直接參加政治。在每次總統大選中，競選的政黨無不設法爭取黑人的選舉票。

在經濟上，黑人今日依然屈處下等地位，然而比起內戰以前則確有許多進步。內戰結束後的一八六六年，全國黑人的財產與存款共約二千萬元，但一九三六年已增至二十五萬萬元。在一九三〇年，黑人經營的工商業共有七萬處，其中包括五十間保險公司命三十家銀行，黑人專門職業界也大大增加。其中有許多科學家，教育家和作家已博得全國的聲譽。黑人的體育家和音樂家尤其七名。一般黑人的教育程度，進展更多。一八三〇年代各州大半還有法律禁止教黑人讀書識字，所以一八六〇年黑人文盲多至百分之九十七。但一九三〇年黑人文盲已減至百分之十六，同年，北部各州黑人的文盲更不足百分之五。但在南方各州的黑人教育，現在仍受嚴重的阻礙。在政治上，南方兩州的黑人更未獲得公民權。然而有希望的地方，是這各不平等的情形已引起普遍的注意，美國的開明領導都在努力尋求解決的辦法。

第五章 從粗木屋到摩天樓

從粗木屋到摩天樓

在金錢和物質上，今日的美國是富甲全球的國家。世人提起美國人，就聯想到美國人的奢華享樂。但在創基立業的時候，美國原是個貧民的樂土，而非富人的國度。歐洲人民最初移來美國時，有的是因為逃避他們本國的宗教迫害，有的是因為歐洲的飢餓和戰爭，有的是因為歐洲階級社會制度壓迫之下，難有出頭的日子。他們的種族，國籍，宗教和其他背景雖然很複雜，但大體上他們有兩個共通點；第一，早期入美的移民絕大多數是歐洲的窮人，其中許多要賣身五年充船費。其次，他們是在原來祖國一般人民中的有志氣和有出息的分，不怕坐帆船渡大海的危險，不避披荆斬棘的開荒苦役，毅然前來新大陸創立一番新事業，希望有一天能够改善境遇，出人頭地。他們懷着一個共同的夢：在廣闊的新世界中尋求平民發奮自立的機會。

這平民自由發展的夢想，像一塊吸石似的，把歐洲的窮人，飢民，被壓迫的民衆，一船船的吸到美國來，把他們變成開發廣大荒野的主力軍，把他們變成新大陸的領袖和富翁的候選人。英國人、德國人、愛爾蘭人，和無數國籍的人，像一股充滿熱力的暖流，流過大西洋，流入美國東岸的城市和村鎮，流入海岸線以西的曠野，去開闢自己的農莊，工場或商店。過了開荒的辛苦年頭，就成爲小康之家和自立的公民。

這是平凡大眾的故事，至於能力超越的個人，更可以找到更大的機會。John Jacob Astor 是一七八四年從德國坐統輪到美國的窮漢，上岸時口袋裏祇剩幾塊錢。後來他從一個微賤的工人，變成美國當時的頭名巨富，組織西北區的皮革貿易，和經營許多其他實業。一八四八年他眼目長眠的時候，遺產二十萬元，他的遺裔至今還是美國大財閥之一。他死的那年，蘇格蘭有一個紡織工人 Carnegie 的幼子，從紐約上岸，窮得可憐。但這孩子長大後，成了世界的鋼鐵大王，每年入息一千二百萬元，他一生中捐助美國和各國的慈善事業不下三萬萬五千萬元。

窮人在文化界裏顯身手的機會，也不下於發財。一八五〇年有一位愛爾蘭的政治犯 Thomas Hunter 逃來美國躲避，在紐約上岸時，不特身上莫名一文，而且舉目全無親友。他因為早年提倡教育改革沒有成就，本來誓不再執教鞭，但在紐約窮途落魄，飢寒交迫，最後不得已接受了公立學校教員的位置。自此以後，即從窮教師的身分，繼續鼓吹教育改革，卒成為改良美國公共教育的重要領袖，對於推進平民教育的貢獻極大。一八六六年他在紐約創辦紐約市第一間公立夜學。一八六九年他又創辦公立女子師範中學，為美國免費女子師範中學的前驅。至一八七〇年，該校改名紐約市立師範大學，公舉他當校長。他領導校務的發展，共三十七年，至一九〇六年才因老告退。至一九一四年紐約市教育局將這大學改名 Hunter College 以紀念這位傑出的移民。

發給 Pulitzer 文學獎金的 Joseph Pulitzer，原是從匈牙利國種大葱區域來美的移民，在美國上岸時，還是個小孩子，窮苦無親友，他在美國第一次睡眠，是睡在公園的木椅上。在苦寒的冬夜，他走入旅店的客室取暖，給侍役趕了出來。但是二十年後，他的事業已飛皇騰達，出了六十三萬五千元巨款，把這間旅館買下來，以一吐冬夜被逐的這口烏氣。不久，他又出巨資買了紐約市的世界報，從此成為美國報業之王。他又親自設計，畫成『世界大樓』的藍圖，這就是紐約城第一所的摩天樓。所以他特是一位成功的出版家，而且是第一個摩天樓的建築家。

以微賤移民出身的文化事業領袖，還有一個顯著的例子，就是 Edward William Bok。一八七〇年他從荷蘭來美，年紀幼稚，貧困萬狀，十三歲就因家貧而離開公立學校，在電報局當小差。但他在工作時，抽空閱讀當代偉人傳記，激發他的雄心，於是給當時的名人寫信，請為文字交。不久，和他通信的朋友中間，竟有希斯總統，詩人 Emerson 和 Longfellow 等當代豪傑。後來他在紐約市布碌克林區的『鷹報』充當記者的微小職務。他的事業從此扶搖直上，至一八八九年，擢升婦女家庭雜誌總編輯，把這雜誌的銷路擴充成二百萬份，蔚為美國最大雜誌之一。

荒涼大陸的開發

新大陸豐富的荒地和資源，和平民自由發展的機會，不獨激動了歐洲來美的移民潮，就是美國城市村鎮的居民，也因此不斷的發出遷移熱，湧向西南的荒野，尋覓更肥沃的田畝，更豐富的機會。白人移植美國之後，一連三百年來，就是這樣的

向荒野邊區移動。

這些荒野邊區社會的發展，通常是經過三個階段：第一是開荒者和冒險家首先跑到森林荒野中，伐木除草，闢幾畝小田，起間粗木屋，一面耕種，一面漁獵，更或以貨物和印第安土人交換皮革，做點皮革買賣。但跟着到來的人漸多，這些愛好曠荒的開荒者就覺得有人滿之患，偏促不安，於是再向荒野西移，重演披荊斬棘的故事，建立新的開荒區。第二階段是隨後到來的人們，繼續耕耘這半開發的熟地，擴大田畝，建立起商店學校和教堂，一個新村鎮的規模於是略具。第三階段是這新村鎮的人口激增，成了『舊地方』，許多居民又向西移，另找機會。這些邊區社會中，生活很貧苦，很孤寂，屋守粗陋，地方污穢，印第安土人是好戰的民族，酷愛自由，至死不做奴隸。所以斬樹木，蓋房屋，種農作，和生活必需的一切工役，都得用自己兩隻手去做。在這種情形下，美國人就養成了崇尚膂力和技巧，及尊重勞工的風氣，誰的膂力和毅力多一點，誰就給人看得起。在砍樹翻泥的生活中，文弱的人沒有地位。誰都知道林肯總統原是邊區社會中腿力過人的劈木能手。美國人之不愛慕斯文生活，是有原因的。這在大家同是靠着一雙手去創造自己事業的邊區社會區裏，人民自然崇尚自由平等，憎惡階級壁壘。所以邊區社會就成了美國民主風氣的發祥地。

這樣，貧困勞苦的開荒者一步步的把邊區界線從東岸西移，用牛或馬牽引的篷車，一隊隊的流向西面的無邊荒野，不時全隊覆沒於印第安土人襲擊之下，其中幸而安抵目的地的，就馬上要開始流汗，從林木和污垢中建起田園房舍。新闢的一塊小空地逐漸擴大，不久就吞滅了大森林，蓋過無涯的荒蕪大陸，而日後燦爛繁華的美國，就在這斧斤聲中和坭污汗臭裏長成。今日美國許多地方，還遺留着開荒者自建的粗陋木屋，但是木屋的週圍已崛起了新文明，代替了木屋的是物質設備很舒服的新房子。

華盛頓就任第一屆總統的一七八九年，所謂美國不過是東岸的十三州，人口三百萬。但從那時起，不過三十多年，西面已勃興了九個新州，東岸也增加了兩州，美國人口激增了兩倍平。此後的三十年間，西面有好荒地和新資源的消息，還是不斷地向東傳，移民潮也跟着一陣陣的西湧，陸續把邊區界線向西推。到了一八五〇年，西岸的加利福尼亞州加人美國聯邦，於是奠定了橫跨太平洋兩洋的美國疆土。在短短的六十年間，隔處東岸十二州的美國，就征服了一個洪荒大陸。然而這不

是說，全美荒地到這時就已開墾完畢。在一八六二年國會通過家園法案，將荒地免費發給農民耕種時，政府的公地還有十萬萬英畝，約等於全美地畝之半。但此後再過廿多年，這些剩餘的可耕地，也給不斷找尋新出路的移民潮淹沒了。最後一段免費荒地，是在一八八九年開放給人民自由墾殖。

這廿幾年間，就是所謂搶地 Land Rush 時期。政府每次開放一段荒地，成千累萬的人就向西移，像螞蟻一樣的預先擁集荒地界線之前，等到放地官的號槍一響，大眾就爭先恐後，騎馬，乘車或跑步，齊向前衝。看見合意的土地就捷足先登，把它佔下，再向政府註冊認領。一次，有一架馬車走得太快了，車後面顛脫了一籬雞，隨後又顛出了一個驚叫的女人，但那馬車還是照樣的只管向前衝，讓那墜車的女人慢慢的走來好了，佔地要緊。她走到時也許就看見自己的新家園。

我們在中國時一定已見過韋氏大辭典。辭典原來的編者韋氏 Noah Webster 原是美國早期領袖之一，他一生的奮鬥事蹟，極為動人。他除了參加獨立戰爭之外，並竭盡畢生之力，去編纂字典和改良教育，藉以開通民智。他的一生親見東岸十三州變成獨立國家，親見這扁小的美國向西伸張，越過阿里堅尼斯山脈，越過米西西比河，爬上洛磯山，一直伸張到太平洋的岸邊，成為橫越兩洋的大國。他聽見向西推進的移民達到加州時，他的老眼流出熱淚，因為他在一生的短促時間中，親見美國的長成。

城市的勃興

伴着移民潮而來的，便是各地轉瞬間就興起來的城市。一個驚人之例子就是 Oklahoma 州的 Guthrie 鎮。一八八九年立鎮那一天正午，那地方還是一片沒有人烟的草原。正午荒地開放，墾民擁入之後，下午三點鐘就劃好了市鎮街道的方格子，四點鐘就選出了市政委員會。那天晚上，閃閃的星光照耀着八千人，各自在自己的新宅地露宿營幕。一天之內儼從天上飛來的新城市，從此就逐步發展，成為今日人口逾萬的工商重鎮。

多數西方城鎮的興起，並非都是來得那樣突兀。而且許多突然跳起來的城鎮，在經濟上並沒有生根，建立之後不久就慢慢枯死，或至今還是百幾十人的荒涼小鎮。現時美國各地還可以看見許多「鬼鎮」Ghost Town，祇見頹敗的空房子，和野草沒徑的街道，不見人跡。但那時期的西方城鎮，如雨後春筍似的在森林曠野勃興，每一個新村鎮都夢想着有一天要成為工

商雲集的大城。一八三〇年和華盛頓就職第一屆總統的時候相去才四十年，而米河各大支流的沿岸就出現了無數蓬蓬勃勃的市鎮和村落，每處有居民千幾百人以至幾萬人。現在美國許多名城如 Cincinnati、Cleveland 和芝加哥等，那時都像土中伸出來的嫩芽，和無數同時興起的新村鎮一樣的充滿希望，眼睛釘着週圍人烟日密的荒野，自料必成將來的大都會。

這遠大的抱負常常是實現了。一八三〇年芝加哥還是個渺小村鎮，三十年後就成了居民十萬朝氣蓬勃的城市，再過四十年，它的人口已逾百萬，迅速地成爲全國鐵路中心，此後更繼續發展，成爲今日人口三百四十萬的大都會。現時人口幾十萬的大城市如 Milwaukee、St. Paul、如 Omaha、如 Denver、如 Portland、如 Seattle 等，在一八六〇年（清季咸豐末年）都不過是荒涼小鎮。美國人從東岸西遷的狂潮，不祇把百萬方哩的森林荒野，迅速地變成了良田，而且在這廣大的曠野上建起了繁華的都會文化。

黃金與煤油

在美國，一個新時代的到臨，快得好似突從天上飛來，但轉瞬之間也許又消逝了。一個美國人的一生中，往往有幾個偉大的時代在他眼前閃過。加州的『搶金潮』Gold rush 便是個好例子。一八四九年美西加州發現了金礦。那裏『黃金遍地』的消息一經傳播，全美舉國若狂。那時美東還沒有公路或火車直達加州，但是交通的障隔並不能阻止青年，老人，商人，牧師，農民，工人和各式人等，齊起狂熱，有的走陸路，有的走巴拿馬運河，有的甚且遠繞南美洲漢角的水道，一齊爭向加州撲去。就是隔着一個太平洋的華工，聽見美國加州有『金山』可掘，也爭坐帆船來趁熱鬧，不肯後人。一年之間，幾乎荒無人跡的加州就積聚了九萬二千人。四年之內，新成立的太平洋郵船公司從加州運至紐約的黃金，已達一萬萬二千二百萬元。到加州的船隻，常常有來無往，因爲船抵岸後，船員都逃到岸上掘金想發大財，不肯回船航海，所以三凡市海灣一時堆滿了僵死的船隻，無法出海。礦區物價高到難以想像。普通的礦工每日工資二三十元，幸運的洗金沙工人更每天可得百元以至千元。但舖中捉老鼠的貓兒每隻也漲至五十元至一百元。在十年之後，加州人口增至三十八萬時，『搶金』的狂熱時期也就過去了。

一八五九年本雪凡尼亞州的 Venango 縣發現了煤油。以前三塊錢一英畝的土地，發油之後，一口井就每日噴油一萬元。

油田的試探，煤油的開採，製煉，運輸和推銷事業，在短短十年之間，就從零點直升至廣及全美的新興偉業。從現代工業上說，這十年之間就劃分了一個新紀元。從生財之道說，煤油事業更是異軍突起。羅加非洛氏從小店員出身，每星期入息祇三塊錢，但他有先見之明，預知煤油業的重要，捷足先登，且能利用其非常的組織能力，迅速地建起他的煤油帝國，成爲舉世知名的煤油大王。他一生中，祇算他捐助教育和慈善事業的款項，就有七萬萬元。『搶油』Oil Race 獲利之大，叫加州的『搶金』望塵莫及。

『中國飛剪』

美國經濟發展之神速，並不限於爭相趕取土地和資源，就是其他事業也是一樣的如火如荼，以快捷爲成敗的標準。請以交通事業爲例。太平洋大戰以前，汎美航空公司飛行太平洋東西兩岸的飛機叫『中國飛剪』，這名字是有歷史的來源的。鴉片戰爭前後的一八四〇年間，美國東北沿岸的造船業忽然大盛，造出一種最快的帆船，去和英國當時的粗陋的汽船競爭着海上運輸，尤其是競爭對華貿易。這些美國快船叫做『剪』Clipper，這英文字の根源，是荷蘭字 Schleper，是快馬的意思。這些帆船多從中國運茶葉和其他貨物到英美，所以叫『中國剪』。

這些『中國剪』式帆船的速度，壓倒了一切英國的船隻，屢次和英船賽快，都獲勝利。有一次，一隻『中國剪』式帆船和一隻英船同時從福建福州出海，開往倫敦，在海上比賽，經過八十九日的航行，卒比英船先到。按茶葉等物在船艙中易於腐爛，船隻速度很關重要，美船既比英船快，所以英船普通載貨到倫敦，每噸運費不過三磅，但最快的美國的『中國剪』式帆船可得六鎊。建造和經營剪式帆船驟成當時的生財大道，於是剪式帆船事業突然大盛，美國人爭相投資加入。從一八四〇年起，不到十年，剪式帆船即稱霸世界海洋，在海上行駛的不下千艘。許多美國人藉此發了大財。『中國剪』這名詞於是成了美國歷史中一個特別時代的名稱。但是短短的二十年後，到了一八六〇年，汽船大爲改良，這勃然而興的『中國剪』時代就迅速地隱沒到人們的記憶裏去了。

美國內地交通的發展，也來得一樣的快捷。亞里根尼斯山脈以西的移民大增之後，肥沃的新土地出產了大量的剩餘糧食，價錢廉賤，但運費太高，不能大量的運往美東和歐洲市場。一八一〇年間有人想出仿效荷蘭建築運河的辦法，用廉價的水

運把西方的新農產運到東方。最初幾條運河築成之後，農產從美西至美東的運費減低了五六倍。於是幾年之間，全美各地紛紛起來籌築運河。一八二五年，運河通航以後，西部農產可以廉價的從大湖區域經 Hudson 河運至美東和歐洲。全美各州從此起了一陣運河熱，爭相競賽，十年之內築了二千四百哩的運河，運河公司獲利豐厚，到處都是一片興築運河聲，稍有積蓄的人都把餘資投入運河公司的股票。但約三十五年之後，速度更高和運費更廉的鐵路，勃然興起，運河熱於是逐漸冷卻。那時四十多歲的美國人眼見全國走入運河時代，但忽然又離開運河，而跳入火車鐵路時代裏去了。

全美動脈的建設

請再看看陸路交通發展的過程。現在從紐約市坐火車到費城祇要一個多鐘頭，到波斯頓也不過五個鐘頭，中英鴉片戰爭前十年的一八三〇年間，火車雖已出世，但還是很粗陋，全國鐵路祇有廿三哩。那時美國的主要交通工具還是堯深沒脛的公路，和新興不久的長途馬車。從紐約市坐長途馬車至費城最快要兩天，到波斯頓要六天，而且當初祇有富人才坐得起馬車。到一八三六年間，來往各城鎮的長途馬車公司把車票分成三等：頭等客一直坐到目的地；二等客到了道路坳濽太深或上斜坡的時候，要下車步行，以減輕馬車的重量；三等客除了下車之外，還要幫忙推車。現在看來，這辦法真有點滑稽，但在那時的人民看來，已經覺得是最便利和最快捷。長途馬車時常在路上和新出世的火車比賽，引起雙方乘客的喝采。

這場比賽，馬車最後是輸了。驚着馬，輾死狗，和引起人民公憤的火車，卒證明是最快和最廉的陸路交通工具，而且證明這是極有利的投資事業。不到十年，美國人趕快的狂熱，就移到鐵路事業上來，改良機車和客貨車輛，敷設路軌等等，無一不是拚命趕急去幹。一八三〇年全美祇有廿三哩的試驗性質的鐵路，但三十年後，全美鐵路已伸長至三萬哩。發展國內交通是那時的急務，因為美國當日的領袖恐怕發展迅速而又山重水隔的大西方，或會成為獨立的國家，與東部各州脫離關係。國會於是撥贈巨額荒地，資助各處鐵路公司築路，美國的鐵路時代於是全部揭幕。一八六〇年以後，每年築成新路的哩數開始飛躍。東西橫貫美國大陸的鐵路於一八六九年接軌通車。同年，全美鐵路已增至十六萬七千哩，織成了美國經濟的大動脈，農產品因之能够廉價地大量集中城市，使幾百萬人口的大城市生活能够維持。同時，密如蛛網的鐵路系統，能使國家一處有事，中央可以迅速應付，一處的經濟活動可是調劑他處的盈虛。這樣子的現代國家，直至一八九〇年以後才在美國出現，

規模粗具。至一九四〇年，按時行車的美國鐵路軌道共廿三萬三千哩，停車軌道和岔軌共十一萬五千哩。

一八五〇年火車改良到了相當程度，獲得了人民的信用，鐵路哩數也開始大量的增加，從那時起算，鐵路交通的全盛時代前後不過約五十年。現在鐵路雖仍是陸路交通的骨幹，但一轉入十九世紀，汽車和公路時代就如異軍突起，在短程的運輸上和鐵路作有力的競爭，使美國鐵路在一九一六年以後減少了二萬多哩。

說到汽車，其發明遠在一八八五年，以後的十多年還是在試驗中。這部怪機器初出世時，聲音太響，在街上行走，鬧得犬馬皆驚，行人辟易，而且機件不斷地損壞。試用的多是發明人或製造者，不獨未能大量賣出去，而且許多城鎮簡直禁止這些『無馬』車在市面行走。在二十世紀開頭時，慣見新奇事物的紐約城也認爲這是危險物，市政府下令把汽車和火車頭一樣看待，若在市內行駛，車前須有一人手執紅旗領導。在第一次中日戰爭的一八九五年，汽車還在美國各地的大馬戲班陳列和表演，供衆參觀，可見當時汽車還是一件新奇怪誕的東西。到了一九〇二年，日後成了汽車大王之福特氏造成了一架大加改良的汽車，在速度比賽中爭得冠軍，每分鐘能走一哩。從此之後，許多卓見的人士已知道這東西並不祇是一件玩意兒，而是具有宏遠的前途。福特氏於一九〇三年設廠製車之後不久，就引起全國的注意。幾年間，美國人趕快抓住機會的狂熱就開如向汽車製造業奔流，資本和人材都向那裏擁擠。製造汽車的小廠在各地紛紛出現，一時多至百多家。

但汽車的機件常常損壞，尤以初期爲甚，小廠無力在全國各地設站代顧客修理壞車和出賣零件，於是資本雄厚的大廠代之而興，當初的百多家小廠被迅速淘汰，現時只剩下幾家大廠。中華民國元年前後還是小規模製造的汽車事業，不到十年之間，就成了規模宏偉的大量生產事業。汽車零件不用人工製造而改用機械自動製造，零件的製造漸趨標準化，和汽車的大量生產，使美國汽車的數目向前飛躍，價錢日廉，叫多半的普通人都買得起。一九一〇前後，一架汽車要一萬幾千元，至一九一〇年間，七百至九百元就可以買一架新車，其質地比起從前一萬幾千元的好得多多。一九〇〇年美國的汽車不到八千架，一九一〇年也不到五十萬架，但到了一九二二年就突破一十萬架的紀錄。初出時奇異得可怕的『無馬』車，在匆匆的二十年內就把美國牽到一個新時代裏去。至一九四二年，美國的汽車已超過三千三百萬架。試看美國每州的汽車牌照的數字，常是五六個位。紐約一城的汽車就超過一百萬架。較小城鎮的汽車數目，也多得驚人。

伴着汽車的盛興而來的，就是舊公路的改良和新公路的興築。汽車的改良和生產費用減低，迅速把馬車擠出路外。從此全美視線就集中到公路來，築路的狂熱在短時間內就遍播全美，一如以前趕築運河和鐵道。一九〇〇年美國共有碎石面公路十四萬哩，祇能供輕而慢的馬車之用，而當不起汽車的高速度和重量。但十年之後，硬面公路就增至廿七萬哩，到了一九四一年，美國的公路和寬闊的城市馬路共達三百三十萬哩，其中一百六十萬哩是三合土或柏油鋪築的硬面路，密密的網住全國的村鎮和城市，上面奔流着不斷的車潮，使全國經濟組織更緊湊靈活，使人民的社會接觸範圍更爲廣闊，精神和物質生活更豐富。福特氏一生之內眼見汽車從萌芽進而爲大盛時期，改變了美國整個生活方式。飛機和航空線在兩次世界大戰中間的時期內，從啓蒙的時期變成偉大事業，其進步也如汽車一樣地神速。這幾種交通事業的例子，雖然很零碎，但已能够表出美國技術發展時代的短促，以及每一個新時代躍進的快得驚人。

從農業國進到工業國

縱觀百五十年來的事實，美國之成了近代工業國家，爲時並不很久。一八六一年美國工業資本雖已超過農業資本，那年之後，差不多每年都有重要的技術發明，然而當時的工業比起現在還是很粗陋，規模很小。若以城市人口去測量美國工業化的程度，則一八六〇年居住城市的美國人口不足百分之二十，就是三十年後的一八九〇年，城市人口也不過百分之三十五。直至一九二〇年城市人口約佔百分之五十一強，超過全國人口之半數。故足與目前工業規模相比擬的美國，還是上次歐戰結束以後才出現的事實。若以百萬富翁人數作大規模實業數量的標尺，則一八六一年全美家資百萬以上的富翁祇有三人，一八九七年也不過三十八人，但一九一九年就激增至四萬二千五百五十四人。

現在九十歲的美國人就會於一生中跨過幾個大時代。他們幼時聽父母敘述親歷美國獨立戰爭的苦楚情形。半是森林荒野的美國，也就在他們的眼庭和手上變成了機器，電力，化學和大城市的新天地。他們眼見歐洲的窮人一船船的渡大西洋，擁入美國，懷着創業自立的野心，出盡個人的精力，削平了森林，開闢了曠野，發掘了礦藏，築成了鐵路和公路的動脈，建起了大工廠和大城市，幸運的更發了大財。當初用來節省人工的機器，後來做出了人工所做不到的事。這每一件都是一生之內就完成的事功，並不坐等後代兒孫慢慢去做。

今日的美國城市隨處都有『拆屋公司』的招牌。在別的國家，改建房屋時的拆屋工作，通常是建築公司事業的一部份，然在美國，拆屋竟成一種專門職業，因為美國樓宇不斷在改建，每地方拆屋的工作都很多，若用專門的機器和技巧，工作迅速而價廉，而這些專門用來拆屋的機器和技巧都非承辦建築公司所有。拆屋於是成了一種專門職業。拆屋公司招牌的普遍，是美國城市不斷改變面目的一個象徵。

工業的戰時動員

今日美國物質的進步，不特沒有因以前的成功而慢下來，而且愈走愈快。這次大戰，美國迅速地吧宏大的平時工業改成軍械工業的事實，就說明了這一點。美國的經濟，自從一九二九年的大恐慌之後，到了歐戰爆發的一九三九年又爬上繁榮的高峯，生產旺盛，然而當日幾無軍械工業可言。國內零星的軍械業，產量極為有限。一九四一年三月國會通過租借法案之後，羅斯福總統對世界宣佈『美國要變成民主國家的兵工廠，』並下令設生產管理局，羅致工業界重要領袖去工作，以減少民用消費品的生產，和增加軍械產量。然而是在年大體上，軍械生產還是蹣跚不前，祇有汽車業和鐵路機車等幾種重工業，開始兼製飛機坦克車等武器。一九四一年美國生產的民用物品還包括汽車和載重汽車五百餘萬架，電冰箱三百七十萬具，洗衣機二百萬具，無線電收音機一千三百萬具，煤氣爐煤爐電爐等四百七十萬具，吸塵機二百萬具，電熨斗五百五十萬個，電鑽五百四十萬個，和無數其他東西。那一年所出的軍械幾乎不能和民用品作比較。

但一九四一年十二月七日珍珠港事變以後，情形就立刻全部改變。一九四二年元月六日，羅斯福總統對國人宣佈全國大舉造械的目標，同時加強生產管理機關。是年二月就完全停製民用汽車，四月停造無線電收音機，留聲機，電冰箱，吸塵機，娛樂和賣物機器，五月停造洗衣機，熨斗，電爐等金屬用品和電器，七月停造縫衣機，腳踏車和許多其他金屬器具。是年五月已有五百多種民用貨物禁用金屬製造。至十月就有二百零五種工業奉令減製或停製民用品，而改製軍械，此後再過幾個月，祇有農具和生活上絕對必需的東西，才准用金屬和『緊急原料。』

規模大而擁有大批設計工程師的工廠，停造民用品後，就直接向政府接納合同，製造軍械。但一九四〇年全美工廠十八萬四千家之中，有十六萬八千八百家是工人不足百名的小廠，不能生產現代的複雜武器。政府管理生產的機關於是在各地開

展覽會和設法宣傳，解釋軍械製造方法，和怎樣領取軍械生產合同。各地小廠從此紛紛參加，其中不能製造整件武器的，就向大廠領取分支合同，製小零件，送回大廠配製。

現代複雜武器中之所謂零件，往往是許多小件配成，常非一家小廠所能獨製。例如某種坦克車的車輪吊帶，是由五十四種小件配成的。美國中部有一家製煖爐的小廠不能獨製這五十四種小件，但廠主把鄰近小廠七十家聯合起來，分製這些小件，再把他自己的工場改變一下，專事裝配工作，把這些小件裝成車輪吊帶。又如夫羅里打州的一個小鎮的小工廠，於一九四二年正月全體聯合起來，租定馬戲班的大訓練場，把各小廠機器盡移場內，共同製造飛機降落輪，一年之內出品值百萬元。全美的大小工業，就是這樣的在一年之內，大規模的組織起來，成了系統，從民用工業改爲軍用工業，於是軍械像一條河似的流入世界戰場。

利用平時工業去生產大量軍械，要改換大部分的機器，和要另設裝配帶，所以開首很慢，耗費很大。另建新廠常常比較經濟而快捷。但改裝舊廠或另建新廠一經完成，其大量生產方法出貨之快，就千百倍於小規模工業。美國這回造械，並非全賴改裝舊廠，而且另建許多新廠，和擴充舊廠的工場和機器。一九三五年全美工廠的總值，約七百至八百萬萬元，開戰以後至一九四四年首，新建的工廠和擴充的工場與設備，已共值一百四十萬萬元。換言之。美國的工業在兩年的光景就增加了百分之二十。美國一九四二年的軍費，約等於全國貨物與工役總值的百分之四十，一九四三年增至百分之六十。但美國工業除了担负大量的造械和軍事工作之外，一九四三年所造的民用品比一九三九年仍增加百分之三十。美國戰時人民入息大增，購買力向上飛躍的時候，仍能避免惡性通貨膨脹，其中重要原因之一就是美國工業生產力之宏大，在戰時不獨未見萎縮，而且向上增加。

美國文化在成熟中

到美國大城市的人，初見街上行人都是脚步急急的跑，公私機關內的辦事人衝來撞去，或是十個指頭在打字機或計算機上亂飛，我們有時難免要問問，美國人都是這樣的汲汲不可終日，到底在那裏忙甚麼？這樣匆忙的人生到底有什麼價值？匆忙的人生似是資本主義機械文明的一種特性，它的真價值還是個謎語，但美國人的匆忙，却是另有一番背景。他們百幾十年

內，在森林和蔓草間建起了繁華富麗的文明，又在短短兩年之中，把龐大複雜到難以想像的全國工業改成軍械工業，以支持世界戰場對獨裁惡魔的鬥爭。美國人怎樣能够不忙？而且百幾十年來，歐洲的窮人擁到美國來，雖然遍地都是機會，但誰趕快一點，誰多努力一些，誰就捷足先登。趕築運河，趕造鐵路，趕爭荒地，趕掘黃金，趕採煤油，趕做發明，趕開工廠，每一個時代都在那裏趕，都要在最短時間之內達到目的。機會是遲來不候的。所以美國的歷史就是一部匆忙的歷史。

世人談到美國，總是說美國人粗野不文，太重實用，沒有高尚文化的淘養。這種論調雖有些微道理，但也自有其來源。上面曾經說過美國原本不是富人的國度，而是窮人的國度，許多來美開荒的窮人，現在還活着，他們一代的生活環境與傳統，對於美國的風氣有深切的影響。他們在開荒和創立實業的辛苦工作當中過了一生，自然沒有很多餘暇去發展「高尚文化」，沒有心情去講求舉止溫文。整個荒蕪的大陸正等待着開闢的時候，誰有工夫在小院子裏種草栽花？

在百業勃興，機會豐富的環境裏，當前急務是解決實際問題，把事功快快的完成，所以美國人是個做了再說的民族，誰有工夫去講求飄渺的理論？他們以一生的血汗去創立一盤事業，精力都聚在實際事業和工作上。一次，有一位美國鐵路事業巨富，偕同友人到夫羅里打州的海邊風景區遊玩，他的友人對他說：「這天地真美，不知天堂有沒有比這風景更美的去處？這位富人的回答是『天堂如果沒有鐵路可築，我是不會喜歡天堂的。』這位富人，和大半的鐵路事業巨子一樣，是從鐵路工人出身，一身精力都耗在建築鐵路的實際專業上，欣賞美麗光風的韻事，對於他是外行，所以美國人之粗野不文，着重實際，是固有淵源的。

但要說美國目前還是祇有物質，沒有文化的國度，那是不符事實，因為二十世紀的美國已迅速地長成自己的文化。不錯，十九世紀的美國人一談到文化，就嚮往歐洲。美國那時的音樂家，科學家，和哲學家，都以留學歐洲爲榮。歐洲的時裝，歐洲貴族階級的豪華的社交生活，還是美國暴發戶的繁華夢，和爭相攀效的模型。百萬富翁的兒女都覺得自己「富而不貴」，於是競以和歐洲各國的貴族通婚爲「致貴」的途徑。十九世紀美國城市的重要建築物，許多還是模仿歐洲古典式。突然開發起來的美國，在文化方面還是醉心歐洲。

然而二十世紀的美國可不同了。在科學，在技術，在教育，美國都已有了名震全球的學府，比起歐洲來不特毫無愧色，

而且要趕過前頭。林肯是最後一個從樹林木屋出身的總統，此後一直到羅斯福，每屆元首都是受過大學教育的。這次大戰中，德國攻佔法國之後，法國一位青年女學生逃來美國，入大學繼續讀書，別人問他對美國的感情，她說：『歐洲太落後了，而且暮氣沉沉。全法國只有大學十七間，比起朝氣蓬勃，有大學一千七百多間的美國，相差得太遠了，叫人覺得踏入了一個新的文化世界。』她的比擬不很公平，因為美國比法國大得多，學校自然也較多，然而美國的人口和土地，並沒有像大學數目一樣，比法國多一百倍。

美國的文學進步很快，造詣日宏，路易斯·辛克萊的『屠場』，烏甫頓·辛克萊的『屠場』等當代著名，都已譯成中文為中國讀者所熟知。他如 John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway, Dos Passos 等當代作家，也是以深入的筆鋒描寫社會現實而出名，十九世紀中葉，Harriet Beecher Stowe 寫了一本『黑奴籲天錄』，喚起美國人的正義與人道的情緒，為解放黑奴而鬥爭。從此以後，每一代的美國人都會產生有力的社會文學傑作，喚起人民的注意，向社會問題進攻，在詩和其他文學，美國亦會產出舉世傾慕的明星。

美國的音樂和美術雖還幼稚，但也在迅速地長成。美國的舞台和音樂會從前多數祇用歐洲樂譜，現在已當用美國土產的音樂。『爵士』樂不特在美國人的生活中佔有重要地位，而且成了現代交響樂的豐富材料。二十世紀寵兒的電影藝術，美國是世界的首都，美國的博物館和收藏家從前祇是收買歐洲名師的作品，但現在則購藏美國藝術家描寫美國景物的作品日多。許多出名的藝術中心逐漸在美國各地出現。歐洲古典式的新建築在美國已屬稀罕，白人最初以二十四元從印第安土人買來的紐約市 Manhattan 荒島，現在已被美國人自己創造出來的摩天樓所統治，這功能派的建築，已成了現代世界建築的共同趨向。遠望參差不齊，背天而立的一列摩天樓，不特給遊客們畫出了紐約市的輪廓，而且畫出了美國土產文明的線影。

巴黎淪陷以後，世界時裝的首都已移至紐約。紐約的時裝界正在努力於戰後保持這地位。許多觀察者都認為全球婦女中，以美國女人的裝束最入時。一部份的原因也許是美國金錢作祟，但美國人的文化趣味，則確已迎頭趕上了歐洲。從前為美國人所攀慕嚮往的歐洲貴族，在兩次世界大戰中都有許多流亡到美國來，在工廠和商店裏操執賤役，前幾年有一個奧國貴族家庭全家逃來美國。夫婦兒女昔日很有音樂的淘養，在家中歌唱自娛，到美之後無以為生，於是全家到處給富人的宴席和集

會唱歌，以謀一飽。歐洲在兵燹浩劫當中，歐洲貴族在美國各大城市幾乎俯拾即是，於是歐洲貴族的貴氣，在二十四紀中葉的美國人眼裏已烟消雲散。歐洲貴族的社交生活已不復是美國人的繁華夢。總之，在文化上，美國正在迅速地進入成年期中，脫離了歐洲的羈絆和撫育，起而獨立發展。



第六章 美國民治與工業文明的問題

美國民治的發展和經濟的建設，雖然是劃時代的現象，但這不是說美國在百多年的短促歷史中，就把理想社會帶到人間，美國每次跳入一個新時代，就帶來了許多繁複的新問題。一八九〇年前，美國還有免費荒地足供開墾的時代中，一個人如果覺得境遇不痛快，儘可以檢起行李，到邊區去領地開荒，耕種自立，無求於人，但自從荒地墾盡之後，這條自立的出路就斷絕了。在新出現的工業社會裏，沒有錢而又立志向上的人雖然還可以經營獨立的小事業。但是大部分都要受僱於人，要在無情的工業社會中掙扎奮鬥，一八六〇前的農業時代裏，每五個美國人中總有四個是自己擁有土地或工商業的經濟獨立者，可是今日每五個美國人中却有四個是受僱於人的勞工或職員。

巨擘魁雄與平凡大眾

美國平民經濟地位正在遷移之際，美國的工商業組織起了重大的變動，南北內戰結束後，三十多年之間，美國人發覺了大規模實業組織比起獨立經營的小事業，其效率高得多，發財的機會大得多。於是大規模的實業風起雲湧，許多小生意給大公司收買吞併，或迫而倒盤。一八九〇年國會通過反托辣斯法案的時候，全美煤油業已經幾乎盡入羅基非洛氏的標準油公司的掌中。國內大小製糖廠五千家都給美國煉糖公司一家吞併了。到了一九〇〇年，烟草，火柴，餅干，和其他許多日用必需品的工業，有百分之五十至九十都被大公司吞併操縱，這些大公司的活動範圍遍及全國。

自從反托辣斯法案切實執行之後，政府對於標準煤油公司一類的宏大組織，迫他們分家，一面使其變成幾個互相競爭的獨立公司，一面嚴禁大公司運用不公平的競爭手段，去吞併小生意或操縱市場。然而大規模實業組織具有優勝的經濟條件，已成大勢所趨，其勢力不特沒有減削，而且日益增強，不過在反托辣斯法律壓力之下，這些大公司都暗中活動，以致它們的數目與力量無從得到正確的估計。

跟着大規模組織而起的就是以總行和支店聯結而成的「連環商店」Chain Stores。這些商店利用科學化的管理方法和大

量購買的利益，從一個中央組織去經營幾間以至幾千間的商店，廉價出售物品，叫獨立經營的小商店出路日窄，倒閉日多，現時美國的大城小鎮，無處不見這些連環商店的齊整的門面和美觀的色櫃，多半同類的獨立商店和它相比，都覺得自新彰織！

大規模實業組織，帶來了效率最高超而又最經濟的管理系統，帶來了廉價的汽車，電話，衣服，無數靈巧和便利的日用品，甚至可以說帶來了全球最高的美國生活程度。在另一方面，獨立經營的小事業的成功機會也因之大為減削，個人的經濟獨立自由也跟着大事業的伸張而縮小。在這情景之下，個人的出路已不復是領地開荒，而是投身於複雜無情的大規模事業中，充當僱員，成了這些龐大機構中的渺小零件，否則就要經營不利條件日多的小規模獨立事業。本領特別大的人，在這些龐大的機構中，自然還有上進的機會。美國各大公司的幹員和領袖，很多是從工人或小職員出身，例如鐵路事業中的領袖，出身於名門望族的，就居極少數。可是在這複雜的經濟組織中，平民大眾怎樣能夠維持通常的個人自由，和爭取應有的地位與利益；怎樣能夠一面保存和發揮大規模組織的效能，而同時又不使平凡大眾變成機械的牛馬，不剝奪其個人充分發展的機會；荒地罄盡以來，美國從人對自然鬥爭的世界，轉入了人對人鬥爭的世界之後，怎樣能夠根據民主的傳統精神，去繼續發展個人的自由與機會；這些都是嶄新的美國工業文明所帶來的問題。

技術文明成果的享受問題

第二次世界大戰爆發以前，羅斯福總統會說，美國人民有三分之一的衣食住，都够不上健康標準，只見美國城市的繁華商店，壯麗街道，和郊野上的寬敞平滑公路的人們，也許不覺得羅氏這句話有什麼事實的根據。但假若我們有一天迷了路，誤入下層階級的住宅區，或是走入工廠週圍的工人住宅區，就馬上可以看見大不相同的景色了。那裏，一列一列的樓房都是破舊而污穢，街上大羣孩子追逐嬉戲，都是衣服破爛，面目骯髒。若問他們住在什麼地方，他們就指一指路旁破屋樓上蒙了一層灰土的窗牖。你如果再要尋根究底，進這些房子裏看看，就見裏面黑沉沉，地板和樓梯走起來嚶嚶作響，每層樓住上幾家人。若是跑進一家去看看，就可以見到裏面兩三間房間，放着幾張床，幾張椅子，一兩張桌子，一個煤爐，一個洗碗槽，一個洗衣盆，零亂的衣服掛在床頭和椅背。這兩三所房間放上五六張床，住上十個八個甚至十二三個人，夫婦和長兒幼女都

堆在一起。一張床睡上四五個小孩子，是常見的事。廁所往往是戶外的旱廁。

這是美國繁華世界的另一極端，和我們習見的美國中等人家以上的住宅，小花園和綠草地，餐廳，客室，睡房，比飯桌還乾淨的水廁，電燈，電話，吸塵機，洗衣機，和無數精靈奇巧的器具，相差得太遠了。像上面一段所說的情形，或不能代表全美美國工人的生活環境，但瑟縮於現代物質文明陰影下的人們，也委實不少。表面陶醉於狂歌熱舞，衣香鬢影中的紐約市，在巍峨的摩天樓的陰影下，就有四分之一的市民（約一百七十萬人）住在『舊律』公寓中。所謂舊律公寓，就是一九一〇年以前的舊法律還准許出租的公寓。但是同年市政府已通過了新法律，認定這種樓宇不合最低限度的衛生標準，舊的准其免拆，新的不許再建。一九三七年費城和聖路易兩個大城市，各有一萬個戶外旱廁。同年，民尼阿波里斯城有八千所房子不獨沒有自來水，就連手搖的抽水筒都沒有。城市是這樣，農村就更甚。在電力時代的美國，點煤油燈的農家還隨處可見。

紐約時報一九三五年十一月十四日載稱，紐約市內營養不足的兒童（至少有十三萬五千人。一九三〇年在白宮召集的）健康及保護會議，曾宣佈美國營養不足的兒童不下六百萬，作者還記得一九三七年在密西根州，由一位鄉村小學教師帶着參觀美國農家。第一日，在一位貧農家中吃晚飯，昏暗的煤油燈下的桌面擺着的，盡是瓜菜和麵包，沒有一片肉。第二天，在一位中農的家裏吃午餐，大家未動手前，桌上一大盤滿滿的牛肉和其他豐富菜色，叫人看着流涎。我很感謝這位教員，因為他給我一個機會去觀摩美國機械文明的兩面。

在豪華富裕的美國，窮人到底有多少？這問題不易有準確的回答。但我們可以看看一九二九年美國的最繁榮的時代裏美國人每年入息多寡的數字：那年全家入息在一千元以下的有五百八十九萬九千家，一千至二千元的一千零廿五萬家，二千至三千元的五百十九萬二千家，三千至五千元的三千六百七十二萬家，五千元以上的二百二十五萬六千家。據同年美國勞工統計局的調查，維持一家人的健全生活，每年需要最低限度入息，在美東紐約市是一千九百元，在美中西芝加哥是二千一百元，在美西三凡市是二千三百元。照這標準看，未能達到健全生活的最低限度的美國人當在六百萬至一千萬家左右，由此看來，未能充分享受科學和工業文明成果的美國人，數目還是很龐大，怎樣使大眾享受社會經濟進步的成果？這是美國新時代帶來的新問題。

經濟不安全問題

以上所說的是一九二九年的統計，而一九二九年又是美國工商業爬上繁榮的最高峯的一年，若在經濟不景氣的年頭，感受經濟困迫者的人數還要多得多。在美國的經濟制度裏面，商業不景氣像是發冷病一樣的按時準到。試檢討一下美國的歷史。一八三七，一八五七，一八七三，一八九三，一九一三，一九二九年，幾乎每隔二十年就來一次不景氣。在農業時代的美國，人民多半有自己土地的出產，可以倚爲一家生活之資，遇上不景氣的年頭，雖然難免受點金錢虧折，許多生活舒適品都要減去，但大體上總還有得吃。但在工業時代的美國，大部分人靠着工商業機關的僱傭去糊口，一到了不景氣的年頭，工商業大批的倒閉，或縮小業務而致大量的裁員減薪，大部份的人民生計就發生極大的危險。在銀行事業發達的美國，縱使生平刻苦節儉的人，也常會眼巴巴的看着終身積蓄存摺，和倒閉的銀行同歸於盡，於是平時對絕對勞謹慎的人，也時常難免無辜的被經濟不景氣推入飢餓貧乏的深淵。人民經濟生活的不安全，又是美國進步中日益嚴重的煩惱。（按美國中央存款保險公司，現已成立多年，如遇銀行倒閉，就負責賠償存戶的損失，以資補救，保險費用係由銀行負擔。這是一個重要的補救辦法。）

在這複雜無情的現代經濟社會中，來一回經濟不景氣，決不是開玩笑的等閒小事。美國一九二九年開始降臨的經濟大恐慌，像是閻王把地獄突然帶到人間似的，弄到遍地悲劇。這裏面有紐約市的百萬富翁從摩天樓縱身躍下，自己粉身碎骨；有被飢寒驅策的硬漢子把妻兒殺死，然後吞槍自盡；有一千六百萬的失業工人，有一千一百萬每星期祇能做工一天至三天的半失業者；有故意遺棄兒女於道旁，迫使當局收容到孤兒院去，庶免其餓死的父母；有離散而寄食父母家的夫妻；有街頭賣藥的無數工人，商人，甚至大學教授；有二十萬的失業教員；有因欠租而被房東逐出而露宿街邊的老人和婦孺；有公園裏面和公路旁邊用碎板和廢洋鐵片架搭而成的一堆堆的棚寮，像是一座座的乞丐營；有小巷裏從垃圾桶中翻檢餘餐的餓客；有空肚子捱不住，厚着面皮去救濟局領公糧的各色人等，在街遇見熟朋友都沒臉招呼，然而在這大悲劇裏面，却有人去火焚一噸噸的馬鈴薯和小麥，籍以維持市價，不使其繼續暴落。這是豐裕中的貧乏，是人造的飢荒，然而這裏的飢荒是比喻的說法，因爲美國政府的大量救濟和工賑政策很有效，真正因爲不景氣而餓死的人數很少。但是美國平凡大眾之未獲得經濟安全，已

從這些事實中充分表現出來。

失業

經濟不安全的來源，不祇是按期一定光臨的不景氣，而且是社會上的經常失業現象。美國祇有戰時壯丁大量動員的時期，後方乃感人力短少，其餘的時候縱使是榮繁時代，失業的人數也總在百萬以上。在不景氣的時候，失業者更衆。紐約市一九三五年每有一百個職位空缺，平均就有三千八百三十三個人去請求。失業的原因自然很複雜，除了不景氣的因素之外，兩個比較重要而普遍的原因，就是美國經濟組織的急激變遷，和所謂技術失業。

在現代經濟的急流中，較小的工商業常常倒閉，和其他公司合併，因而裁減原有的一部分員工，被裁的人就流爲失業者。其次，工商業機關裏面每逢安設一部新機器，以節省人力，就把一部分原有的工人排擠出去。舊飯碗被新機器打破了的工人，如果年精力壯，還可以學習新機器的技術，或是改行另尋職業，但不幸年老力弱，因爲經濟組織改變或是技術進步而失業，要想再起來振作，就不容易，機會日益狹窄，假若生平有點積蓄，還可賴以渡過餘年，或冒險經營一點小生意。但如果積蓄不多，尤其是家庭負擔很大，而必須向外找工作，那就真是一齣悲劇。效率很高的大規模實業，常常定有政策，不僱五十甚至四十歲以上的人做工，縱使僱用一部分，也把他們放在不重要的職位，叫他們從一生中練來的技巧，歸於無用武之地，在社會方面，這是荒廢人力和技能，在個人方面，這是暮年的悲哀苦楚，在科學和技術都極端進步的社會裏，一個人盡了一生的力量去工作，理應能够享受晚年的幸福。但在競爭劇烈的美國經濟急流中，失業之多和老人的苦境，確是嚴重的問題，暮年的痛苦和美國個人主義的家庭制度，雖有很大的關係，然而經濟制度之不善，不能不謂爲重要的因素。

上面所說新機器排擠人力的『技術失業』，是相對而非絕對的問題，因爲新技術不斷的產生新事業，新事業又能容納大量的新工人，我們若是參觀一家最新式的鋼鐵廠，眼見寬敞的大工場裏面祇有三五個工人在那裏操縱機器，用碩大無比的自動鋼勺，從熊熊的熔爐裏取出幾噸金光四射的液體鋼，倒入模型裏去。看到這裏，我們難免想起這一步工作從前要幾百人才做得到的，現在三五個人就把它做妥了，這真是技術失業的好例。但我們如再看看工廠的實驗場，幾十以至幾百名科學家和技术師在那裏埋頭研究，則又難免令人想到這些實驗工作中，偶然有一種得到成功，那說不定將會建立起一種完全新穎的工業

，最後要用上幾萬乃至幾十萬新工人。這新技術創造出來的新職業機會，就是技術失業問題的反面。所以美國技術失業問題的出路，絕不是說要開倒車，停止應用新機器，而是計劃有秩序的人力支配方法，和積極協助被機器排出來的工作人過渡到新職業裏去。

生產能力和消除貧乏

一部分人的貧窮與失業，有時像是人類社會不可避免的現象。在經濟落後人口衆多的社會裏，這也許是真的，因為手工業生產方法很慢，出品有限而消費者衆，所謂粥少僧多，一部份人的貧困於是勢所難免。然而機器生產方法發達之後，已經把從前貨物不足的問題變成了貨物剩餘的問題。到了社會上最嚴重的問題不是生產不足，而是生產太多無從處置的時候，貧乏就有消除至最低限度的希望。羅斯福總統所提出的四大自由之一，就是剷除貧乏。在經濟仍是落後的國家，這口號似乎是妙想天開，但在生產技術進步的美國，這真有實現的可能性。

據Brooking Institute 所刊發的 *America's Capacity to Produce* 一書所說，美國在經濟繁榮時代的一九二五至一九二九年間，其生產成績離最高的實際限度還差百分之二十。換言之，如果運用美國全部的機器和生產工具去生產的話，還可以多出產百分之二十的貨物，若拿實際數字來說，還可以多生產一百五十萬萬元的貨物，若把這批貨物分給一九二九年入息二千元以下的家庭，可使這些家庭的每年入息都提高到二千元的水準，這就是說，祇用美國剩餘未用的生產能力，就可以剷除貧乏。又一九三四年美國中央政府的人民工作局舉行全美潛在生產力調查，刊發了一本 *Chart of Plenty*，這小冊裏面說，美國的原料，機器與人力，如果全部用來盡量生產，其生產的貨物可使全國每家每年的平均入息提高到四千三百七十元。當然，這數目是假設的平均數，因每個人的才能和力量都有差別，故每家的入息也不能這樣的一致。然而從此可見美國確有剷除貧乏的能力，同時可見一個現代國家縱使擁有最新的機器和技術以及最高效率的生產組織，其社會人民的安全與幸福問題，並非就能迎刃而解。

民主政治的改進問題

在政治上，美國的民主制度隨着時代而推進，美國開國以來，貧苦民衆的要求，常能從憲法的機構中，藉其衆多的選舉

票表現出來。美國民衆在憲法成立後不久，就迫着政府在憲法中增訂人權和自由的保障，繼而把傑弗森，捷克遜和林肯等代表平民利益的領袖送到白宮去，迫着州政府施行普選制度，把總統和上議院議員從間接選舉變成直接選舉。選舉投票方法自從一八八〇年以來，就日趨慎重和公平，一八八三年實行官吏考試制度以來，政客分贓的流毒也大爲減制。白人的人權保障，大體上都認真執行。但這並不是說美國的民主政治已到了完美的地步。南方許多州還濫用人頭稅和種種不公平的限制，去剝奪黑人的選舉權；白人虐殺黑人的暴動，還未見中央政府通過法律去禁止；放棄公權而不去參加選舉的選民，數目還很大；大城市興起之後，所謂『政治老板』和『政法機器』勃興，操縱選舉，和弄出不少腐化的地方政治；強有力的財閥左右政治，控制輿論，和強姦民意，這不過是略舉數端，以通俗眼光去指陳美國民治缺陷的例子。

補救的措施

這些經濟，社會和政治的問題，不獨外人看得出來，就是美國人自己也知道，人民和政府無日不在公開的討論研究，而且不斷的設法改善。一八八〇年代以來的顯著趨勢，就是美國朝野日益注重社會問題，以積極維持個人的機會平等，和促進社會幸福。一九二九年經濟大恐慌的教訓，更產生了羅斯福總統任內許多重要的社會立法。

所以半世紀以來，美國的經濟社會和政治的缺憾，已產生了許多對策。例如反托辣斯法案是要限制大資本家的活動，和保護小規模事業發展的自由，重稅富人的累進所得稅法，是要將社會政治的經濟負擔，按各人的入息多寡去平均攤派。按一九四三年的美國所得稅法，個人每年純入息如果是二千元，要納所得稅四百元，但如入息是一百萬元，就要納稅八十萬元！證券股票市場的買賣，要受嚴格的限制，使人們不能亂用證券投機作賭博，庶免再蹈一九二九年的覆轍，搖動整個金融和經濟組織。經濟大恐慌時期的中央政府的大規模救濟工作，使無數絕望的人得以維持生活。一九三五年國會通過的社會安全法案裏面，包括由政府資助，辦理強迫的失業保險，叫失業工人在另尋職業的期間內，得領保險的臨時入息。社會安全法案更包括老年保險，使人們得在經濟安全中渡過晚年；包括老年恤金，由中央政府資助地方政府去維持貧苦無告的老人的生活；包括資助盲人，孤兒，產婦，兒女過多的家庭，貧苦或有殘疾的兒童，和缺乏醫藥費用的病人。政府的工賑辦法，由政府暫時雇用失業工人，去建設有關公益的工程和事業，等到商場景況有起色時，再使這些工人轉就私人職業。中央農作保險公司

是由中央政府資助，使農事失敗的時候農民還可以獲得補償。此外還有許多關於農業的中央法律，使農民得到借款和補助，中央住宅法案是由中央政府幫助人民去借款，以建築合衛生的新式住宅。許多大城市的市政府更出資興建大規模新式平民公寓，以代替殘破污穢的貧民樓宇。地方政府以至私人機關興辦的平民福利事業，多到不勝枚舉，禁止州政府徵收人頭稅以及嚴懲聚眾殺害黑人的暴民等法案，前會迭次在國會論辯，而且現在還繼續醞釀，以推廣民治和保障人權。

如果要將美國政府的社會立法都列舉出來，那真是連篇累牘。至於這些法律能否徹底清除資本主義的社會經濟病根，也還有爭論的餘地。然而無數的美國人民已受到這些政府措施的澤惠。國會並且正在研究美國戰後的社會經濟計劃，其總目標是用政府的力量，去保障每一個公民『從搖籃到墳墓』的經濟安全。這些措施都表示美國人對自身的缺憾，不獨已經有了自覺，並且進而積極設法補救。

此外，美國最有希望的地方，就是它的言論自由和憲政民治，在言論自由的保障之下，美國的領袖和人民都在公開討論任何問題，公開檢討任何缺憾，公開建議任何補救方案。美國書報中表揚出來種種色彩的輿論和意見，叫人覺得美國人不會坐視初生的隱疾暗潛滋長，任它成爲不起的死病。同時，在憲政民治之下，多數人民的要求總有機會藉着選舉票去變成政府的政策。教育程度的提高，能使美國平民瞭解自身和公衆利害之所在，而美國平民教育程度的提高，又是日益彰明的事實。

在這些因素之上，加以科學技術的進步，生產力量的宏大，人民魄力的飽滿活躍，自信力的強大，率直快捷的質氣，和注重實際的民族性，都叫人覺得美國確是個充滿希望而值得仔細觀摩的友邦。美國之繁榮進步和富甲全球的事實，太過顯明了，誰都從表面看得見，所以我們要把光明背後的陰影指出來。一個時代的長成，一個文明的成熟，常要經過一千幾百年。機械文明的歷史還短，現代科學和機器所噴發的宏大力量還是太新，人類還沒有締造出和諧適當的社會組織去好好的利用它，而這樣的社會組織又不是一步就能跳出來的，因爲它的複雜程度要超過人類前此的任何經驗。美國還是一個青年的民族，它的缺憾像是小孩子的紅疹病一樣，將不致阻礙它的繼續發展和走上無限的前程。

Foreword

This book is the story of the experience of a young Chinese student who spent 10 years in the United States, during which time he was graduated from the University of Michigan. He received a Doctor of Philosophy degree at that institution in 1939 and afterward became a successful newspaper editor and a teacher at the University of Washington. Dr. Yang wrote his story originally for the benefit of Chinese students going to the United States to continue their education there. Believing that Dr. Yang's description of the United States scene would be of interest to many other Chinese as well, the United States Information Service in China has reprinted in this edition six chapters of the original publication, leaving out portions applicable only to students going to the U.S. Retained in this edition are the more general observations which constitute a searching analysis of American civilization and culture as seen by a Chinese writer.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

A NEW NATION

WHAT IS MOST characteristic of the United States?

There might be a hundred answers to this question; one of them is that America is new, appallingly new. The newness of America can be seen from historical chronology, but more obviously from personal experience. The prominent American historian, James Truslow Adams, who is now sixty-six years old, relates that when he was twenty he frequently visited his great-grandmother. At that time the old lady was ninety-six, but she still remembered that when she was twenty-five years old, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died on the same day. These two men, of course, were among the creators of the Republic, drafters of the Declaration of Independence. The lifetime of this old lady had bridged two periods of American history: the period of men who created the United States, and the period of those who are still shaping it.

In fact, a hundred cities and a thousand towns that now stand proudly in many parts of the country were carved out of forests and wilderness by the fathers or grandfathers of living Americans, or by living Americans themselves. Many a gray-beard can still point to the crowded city sections and say to you, "Here were once woods where we played." Many an old farmer can point to a corner of his field and say, "Once we dug out a big stump here in order to transform a trackless

wood into a fertile field." Even many old Chinese and old people from other parts of the world now living in this country, may still picture for you their memories of the New York of forty or fifty years ago when electric wires and gas pipes crisscrossed in a messy fashion under the ceiling; when the "self-coming" water system was an expensive novelty at which one could only stare admiringly; when many stores were kept open Sundays with no chance of rest for the workers; when hawkers pushed meat carts from door to door while flies gathered around.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

This new country is a vast oblong piece of land, with an area slightly exceeding 3,000,000 square miles, which touches Canada on the north and Mexico on the south. On the east is the Atlantic, on the west the Pacific, and to the south is the broad Gulf of Mexico. From the east to the west coast is about 3,000 miles, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, about 1,500 miles.

America's topography may be described briefly as follows: Near the coasts in the East and West are two great mountain ranges, the Appalachians and the Rockies, both leading from north to south. Between them lies a bowl-shaped plain. Northeast of this plain are the Great Lakes. In the middle flows the mighty Mississippi which carries the water of its eight great branches and numerous smaller streams southward into the Gulf of Mexico. The area drained by the Mississippi river system is the greatest fertile plain on earth. Economically and in the matter of navigation it is the American Yangtze. This great river bisects the eastern one third of America from the western two thirds. Eastward from the Mississippi and the Great Lakes an in-

clined plain rises until it meets the slopes of the Appalachian Mountains. Farther east, along the Atlantic coast, is a narrow strip of flat land and rolling hills. Westward from the Mississippi another great sloping plain rises until it reaches the Rocky Mountains. The Rockies extend from Alaska in the North to Mexico in the South. They are known as the backbone of the continent. West of the Rockies the land slopes down, running into the hills and deserts of Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona. Continuing the downward slope westward, we find two minor ranges, the Sierra Nevada Range and the Western Coastal Range, and between these lies the Central Valley of California.

The Northeast is the oldest and most highly industrialized region. The plains' section around the Great Lakes, with Detroit and Chicago as its twin hearts beating strongly, has also attained a well-established industrial position. Important new industries have grown up in the South in the past two decades, and the war has brought heavy industry to the great cities of the west coast. Thus both the South and the West are developing into industrial regions. In the great mountain ranges, of course, we find the concentration of mining enterprises. The bread basket of America is in her central plains. On the fertile plains directly south of the Great Lakes is the endless corn belt. South of this lies a long belt of corn and wheat and, farther south, the great cotton belt. In the extreme south, a narrow strip of coastal land of subtropical agriculture yields such products as rice and fruit. West of the great central plain we find a vast region of grazing land and of irrigated crops, and on the southern California coast, a most highly developed agricultural region devoted to truck gardening, fruit, and mixed agriculture.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The 135,000,000 Americans who inhabit and develop the land described above do not come from one ancestral origin, but from a great diversity of nationalities and cultures. Various sources have estimated that when the white man first settled in the original thirteen colonies of the United States in 1607, there were about 300,000 to three-quarters of a million Indians, divided into numerous tribes and hundreds of language groups. Some of them hunted and some farmed, and their cultural levels differed greatly. Some people believe that the Indians are of Mongolian blood, and came from the Asiatic mainland through Alaska, but this view awaits further proof.

When the English-speaking people first came to this country they settled along the east coast, cultivating the land and trading fur with the Indians. Here they built their thirteen little colonies. The Dutch also settled in what we now know as New York, which went under English rule only as a result of war. Meanwhile the French came down from Canada along the Great Lakes to the central plains, building villages and fortresses on the way. Some settled down and cultivated the land, but most of them traded fur with the Indians. The Spanish had settled in Florida in 1565, and in what is now New Mexico in 1598. By about 1700 they had commenced to move northwestward into southern California. In 1812 the main group of Russians came down from Alaska to California where they settled and took up fur-trading with the Indians. The Swiss and Swedes also emigrated to the United States at a very early time. The French in the Middle West and the Spanish in the South and on the West coast pushed ahead, building up their own empires. It is obvious that the origin of the

The Land and People of the United States

Americans was a blended one even in the early period. Only through wars and by purchase did these vast lands pass into American hands. After the present American borders were established in the middle of the nineteenth century, America's language, laws, and customs gradually became unified.

From the year of the Declaration of Independence (1776) until 1820, the Europeans who migrated to the United States—exclusive of imported slaves—totaled 250,000. These Europeans came mostly from England, France, Germany, and other western European countries. After landing they moved westward, first engaging in fur trade with the Indians, then clearing forests and settling down to farming. About 1850, Germans, Dutch, and Swedes went to the Middle West in large numbers to clear the land and to farm. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, multitudes of southern and eastern Europeans flowed into the country, totaling about half a million annually. Their national backgrounds included Austrian, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Bohemian, Greek, Russian, and many others from smaller countries. From the turn of the century to 1914, the number gushing into the United States swelled to the average of about a million annually. After this they decreased, due to the World War, and in 1921, the United States set up a quota system, putting definite limits on immigration.

This account illustrates the complexity of the American people. In 1940 those who were born outside of the United States or born of alien parents numbered 34,500,000—more than a quarter of the American population. In other words, one out of every four Americans possesses something of a foreign cultural background. Classified according to their own country of origin

or that of their parents, we find the following figures: 5,240,000 Germans; 4,519,000 Italians; 2,911,000 Canadians; 2,900,000 Poles; 2,611,000 Russians; 2,411,000 Irish; 1,917,000 English; 1,300,000 Swedes; 1,216,000 Austrians; 1,000,000 Mexicans. Immigration of Chinese laborers into this country has been stopped since 1882 so they now total only about 80,000 to 100,000. We find in great American cities, sections called Little Germany, Little Italy and Chinatown. In some states practically an entire village or town is inhabited by Germans, Italians, or Dutch. Besides these diverse nationalities are 13,000,000 Negroes, comprising almost one tenth of the total population. Since the importation of Negro slaves was prohibited by law early in the nineteenth century, practically all of the present Negro population has been born and raised in this country.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

How can a united nation arise in a country which is larger than the European continent exclusive of Russia, with a people of such diverse background and a history so short? If you ask an immigrant of any European origin after he has spent ten years or at most after one generation in this country, what his nationality is, both fact and sentiment will lead him to answer that he is an American, not a German or an Italian. And the age-old blood feuds, long plaguing the diverse peoples of Europe, seem to melt away among them here. Why is it? There are numerous possible answers. For instance: early in the colonial period the English brought to this country a unified language, law and custom, and American politics became stabilized soon after Independence. But there are many other factors besides historical ones that deserve our attention. First, those who migrated to the United

States were possessed by a dream of independence, freedom, and an ambition to get ahead. They were mostly poor Europeans who left behind them the oppressive class system and risked everything to come to America. They found here endless forests and prairies and boundless resources, and they recognized this as a land where the common man might build his own career. But they also knew that if they did not unite and struggle together to secure freedom, this great opportunity might not long remain theirs. In the early years of the United States, all the European powers had their eyes on the American continent as splendid material for empires, and a realization of this danger was a powerful force impelling the diverse races to become a united nation.

Next, while numerous races were cooperating to open up a wild continent—all with the common dream of personal freedom and independence—tolerance gradually became an American characteristic. It is true that when colored races and new immigrants from Europe first arrived in this country they were frequently slighted and were called Chinks, Wops and many other uncomplimentary names. But once the older American mingled with them, except when there was a question of color, they learned to live and cooperate with these seemingly foreign peoples. However, America is not without her minority problem. Racial prejudice can be encountered almost anywhere in the country. The Negro problem is still a very serious one. But, in general, tolerance of differences is characteristic of Americans and you do not find here the bloody feuds of generations which exist in Europe. The vastness of America's land and the richness of her opportunities have taught the American that it is not necessary to kill one another for a "place in the sun." This is another factor contributing to the broad-mindedness and tolerance of Americans.

The middle of the nineteenth century, when America's territory was expanding rapidly and when huge masses of immigrants began to flood in, also saw vast improvement in the railway system. The whole country was carried away by great enthusiasm for railway building. In three or four decades this huge area of 3,000,000 square miles was covered by a dense net of railroads. A heavy network of telegraph lines was also erected throughout this vast land, binding together its every corner. These railway and telegraph nets also bound together the political, economic, and social life of the country. The advent of the automobile brought a similarly rapid expansion of the highway system. Early in the twentieth century, when the tide of European immigration rose to the high mark of about one million a year, the motor car, airplane, and radio and other modern means of fast transportation and communication also made their appearance, knitting together the physical and psychological life of America. Upon the completion of the railway and telegraph nets there followed closely the record development of large-scale commercial and industrial organizations penetrating all barriers of space and race within the country, and organizing peoples and economic activities of every description into huge closely cooperating units.

Another result of America's large-scale production is the standardization of American life. Identical articles multiplied by machines by the tons, pour into the American market. Whether houses, streets, clothes, articles for use in daily life or in music and art, all come under the yoke of mechanical duplication. The philosophers may deprecate this standardized life, but besides raising America's standard of living, this peculiar institution of standardization has the effect of turning people of a great diversity of national origins into standardized Americans. In America where developments came so fast, where

social organization is so complex and impersonal, the original economic and cultural differences of these diverse peoples would undoubtedly be very hard to break down without the pattern of standardized living which ensues from mass production.

Probably of equal importance to the forces generated by the new means of transportation and production, is America's universal and adult education whose development coincided in time with the rising tide of immigration. What constitutes the real "melting pot" of the Americans are the 240,000 schools together with the numerous study groups, lecture gatherings, night schools, and training classes. These institutions continuously pour into the minds of the people of varied backgrounds a unified point of view on life and a common conception of political, social, and economic matters.

The organizing ability of the Americans is undoubtedly an important force in unifying their diverse nationality background and vast area. We might almost say that whenever three or four Americans are found together they will establish an organization. Whether in a big city or a humble town, we are bound to find numerous organizations—business, professional, religious, cultural, civic, and political. Their variety covers the entire length and breadth of social and economic life from its broadest aspects to its most obscure corners. The annual directory of New York's charitable and social organizations alone consists of three hundred to four hundred pages, and untold numbers of organizations in other fields have not been included. The more common ones unite into state and even national systems. Whenever an American thinks of a new idea, he will immediately launch an organization for its promotion and realization. One who does not join an organization will find himself considered odd and will probably find it very

difficult to get ahead in his own profession, however great his talent. This organizing mania is a powerful force in increasing the individual's contacts and in breaking down racial barriers.

In spite of his tolerance of differences, the rapid progress and national strength of his country have given the American a strong national egocentricity. He thinks America is the biggest and best country; that America is an unsurpassed paradise, the richest and strongest nation on earth. This attitude frequently makes Americans speak of the foreigner in their midst with an uncomplimentary note. We will not discuss here the right and wrong of this psychology but it has created an atmosphere in which any foreign people will be rapidly absorbed in America's main current. It forces the foreign immigrant to forsake his own cultural background and to imitate the American mode of life with all the speed he can summon.

Finally, the rapid economic changes, together with weak class barriers, served as a cocktail shaker in which the Americans constantly came into contact and mixed with each other. Whenever news came that somewhere there was good land, gold or oil available, people of all backgrounds rushed forward and mingled with each other in the real or imagined spot of fortune. There might frequently be friction between nationalities in such places but once the members of various nationalities came to know each other, if the question of color was not involved, they would unite and cooperate in facing life in the wilderness. The rise and fall or the combining of numerous business enterprises, and the constantly changing economic situation—all force the members of various races to change their places of employment and to mix and cooperate with each other. In the drama of fate, whoever gets the lucky number

will become a millionaire floating to the top, receiving hero worship from the multitudes, and his national origin does not make a particle of difference.

AMERICAN CHARACTERISTICS

The forces mentioned above have not only unified the people of numerous origins but have also produced an American with distinct characteristics. How does an American look? In physical feature, you can never describe him distinctly but you can recognize him by his individuality.* Let us take a few instances at random. The American is boundlessly self-confident. After opening up a wide continent in a little over a century, the American thinks there is nothing in the world he cannot do. After America's entrance into World War II, her leaders did not worry about lack of sufficient confidence on the part of the people to carry out the gigantic plans of armament production and man-power mobilization, but that over-confidence might lead them into a false sense of security. Lack of confidence never handicapped the Americans in the war.

The American is not merely confident but is ambitious and loves freedom and independence. He does not submit to control by anyone except under the law. Even when he is censured by the law he still waves his civil liberty in his hand, meticulously questioning the applicability of the law in his case. He hates a privileged class, but hopes one day to "crash" into it. His conception of freedom makes him disregard convention and follow his own inclination. That is one of the reasons we find strange things of every description in this country.

In fact, the love of new and strange things is a characteristic of the American. He is surrounded by gadgets

* Many ideas in this section are from James Truslow Adams' *The American*, N. Y. 1943.

Meet the United States

and ever-new toys. He will spend his last penny for anything that will save his own or his wife's labor, be it a vacuum cleaner or a refrigerator. Whenever he sees a new machine, a new house, or new furniture, if he can afford it, he will scrap his old ones without hesitation. He has little serious care for the past in spite of the fact that he spends a great deal of money to buy antiques. In a sense his life may be described as an unceasing competition against his fellow men for newness.

The American ever seeks bigger and better opportunities. He is ever adventuring. He has little fear of failure. If he fails, he will pick himself up and try again. He rushes for land, for gold, for oil, for mines, hoping to "hit it rich" at one stroke. That is typical of the first American settler. Many people may return from such adventures empty-handed but this does not daunt others who hope for better luck. Today an American may have a very good job, but if he thinks it is beneath his ability, that there are better places elsewhere or if he quarrels with his boss, he will lightly cast it aside. The casual way in which an American throws away a job appalls a foreign observer. It makes others feel that Americans neglect too much the factor of safety and contentment, but this constant job-changing is all in the order of the day. For tranquillity he cares little. Perhaps there is still a vast abundance of opportunity in American life and there is little use for such small storekeeper calculations. Wherever there is new opportunity, whether in the arctic wastes or on top of the Himalaya Mountains, there you will find an American. In many cases he will not be doing the work to which he is accustomed at home. Many a prominent American leader has tried a great number of jobs before finally "making the grade."

The American loves to talk. When he meets someone, whether an old acquaintance or a total stranger, he will ask questions on any subject. He has limitless curiosity, especially regarding someone from a strange land. He loves to brag about his country. But he is astonishingly frank about America's weaknesses, and as long as you do not point out those weaknesses in such a way as to hurt his pride, he will not try to hide them from you. His love of talking is not limited to private life but extends to public activities. In big cities and small towns we find countless numbers of lecture gatherings, study and discussion groups, and other group activities where there is a great deal of public speaking. The number of participants is larger than we usually find in other countries. In America, lecturing—the proper term for talking in public—has become quite a lucrative specialized profession. Digging into one's purse in order to listen to someone talk is an American custom. But we cannot characterize him as one who can only bluff, because he is serious in putting his recommendations into practice. That Americans have built a new civilization on an empty continent in so short a time is an evidence of this.

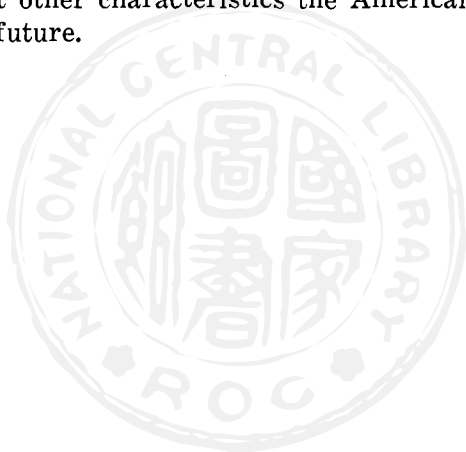
The vastness of America's territory and the richness of her opportunities have given the American a megalomania. "Bigger and better" is the American's credo in work and in life. A factory hiring the entire population of a city, a business company extending its tentacles into every corner of the globe, a ranch which requires hours to cover by train, a forest that sprawls over hundreds of square miles, a dam that generates electricity by millions of kilowatts—all this represents the reality of this credo. Even American jokes tend to be overstatements.

But this megalomania has not made the individual American consider himself exclusively as superior and everybody else in the world as inferior. In fact the American is an amazingly good mixer in crowds. He is very informal and has a healthy respect for others. This informality may be seen in the fact that everybody calls everybody else by his first name, dropping the "mister" after knowing someone for a short time. We may be quite amazed to hear college students occasionally calling their teacher by his first name. In social life a young person frequently addresses a much older person in this way. When the President of the United States writes to an important political leader, he not infrequently addresses him by his first name. The common people, in addressing an important official whom they know well, often call him by his first name regardless of his age or position. Such informality is an American trait quite astonishing to many foreign observers.

Americans, from the middle class down, are very strict about money matters in daily life or in social activities, but are always ready to hand out pennies, dimes or dollars to charity—a readiness seldom found outside the American border. This generosity is illustrated in the following incident: One Friday when a group of workers gathered in front of the office of a factory for their weekly pay, one of them lost his check. A fellow worker immediately took off his hat and passed it around, yelling that this unfortunate man could not be permitted to go home to his wife and children empty-handed. Hands dug into pockets and one dollar and five dollar bills showered into the hat. At the blink of an eye the hat held far more bills than the lost pay check. If you work in an American factory you may expect someone to come to you every day or so for a contribution for a fellow worker's illness or for his wedding. We are already

familiar with the big American contributions to feed war or famine refugees wherever they are found. When someone has made a fortune, giving contributions becomes part of his business.

These are a few prominent characteristics of the Americans. We cannot expect every American to conform to these standards; nevertheless they are the qualities we will find most commonly among the American people. America is still new, her history short; the American is still vibrant with energy. We do not yet know what other characteristics the Americans will take on in the future.



CHAPTER TWO

THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Like other countries in the Western Hemisphere, the United States is a new state, created by Europeans. In its early history the United States showed no particular promise of becoming a great nation. Even now it is not the largest country in this part of the world; both Canada and Brazil are larger. Its historical background is quite short compared with many others. When Columbus discovered America in 1492, he did not discover what is now the United States but the Indies in Central America. Even a hundred years later the center of European settlement, exploitation and trade was still in Central and South America. It was not until a century after the discovery of America, when the sea power of Spain had fallen, that the English-speaking people had an opportunity to establish their colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Only in 1607 did the first European settlement, Jamestown, come into being within the borders of the original thirteen colonies.

THE SEED OF FREEDOM

How did the United States forge ahead of other American countries and become the great power she is now? There is no categorical answer to this complex question. But one of the leads undoubtedly lies in the fact that the atmosphere of freedom released the potential energy of every individual to open up the rich resources of this wild continent. Let us examine briefly the embryonic differences between colonies in the United States and those in other countries of the Western Hemisphere in the seventeenth century.

The colonial policy of Spain and Portugal at that time was "to occupy and to hold by force." The main objective was to rule and to exploit the native population. The people who migrated to American colonies under this policy had no freedom to govern themselves, but were under the governor who was sent by the King. What they got from their labor was largely taxed away by the governor. They constantly struggled in poverty, sweating for the rulers, unable to enjoy the fruits of their own labor. When the colony was attacked by Indians or pirates they relied largely upon the mercenaries under the governor for protection. The people had no training or organization for their own protection and the mercenaries were quite detached from the local community life. The people therefore had little initiative or incentive, and the colonies naturally grew weak. The French colonies in Canada did not differ greatly from those in Central and South America.

But the English-speaking colonies, though established with the same motive of creating wealth for the ruling class in the mother country, are another story. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, British sea-adventurers wanted to establish colonies in America which would be more prosperous and stronger than the Spanish and Portuguese settlements. Their plan was to bring British immigrants here, give them a degree of self-government and freedom, and an opportunity to enjoy a considerable portion of the fruits of their own labor. Such people in peace time would be glad to work hard to exploit the boundless land around them. When attacked by enemies, they would protect with their lives their families and the farms built by their own hands. So when the first colony, Virginia, was established, the people with property qualifications were given the right

to elect an assembly. All other colonies established subsequently had assemblies, although above the assembly was the governor, sent by the King.

Some of the colonies were not established by the British government but by voluntary groups. In colonies of this type, for example, Plymouth, the people enjoyed a greater degree of democracy and freedom. Shortly after the establishment of Jamestown, a group of Pilgrims in England migrated to Holland to escape religious persecution. Here they enjoyed freedom of worship but found it very difficult to earn a livelihood, and especially difficult to secure proper education for their children. So when the Pilgrims learned of a free new world in America, they gathered together, borrowed money from British merchants, and chartered two ships. One of the ships proved unseaworthy and was discarded before the voyage. They started out from England for America in 1620. On the ship which brought them over, only one third of the passengers were Puritans and trouble developed in regard to religious worship even before they landed. In order to maintain order and carry on group life in a new land they met in the captain's cabin and drew up a compact, which was signed by all the males on board. As the name of the ship was the *Mayflower*, the document was called the *Mayflower Compact*. It consisted of only seven lines, briefly giving the procedure for electing a governor annually and for conducting public affairs in the tiny colony according to the will of the people. This was not new in political theory but it established the first completely democratic settlement in America.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth on the Massachusetts coast, they found no form of white man's government. During their first year in this new land, the people were unable to produce enough food for sub-

sistence; life was extremely hard, and many became sick and died. In the second year, the small patches of land produced some crops. When these were harvested and food stocked up for the cruel winter ahead, the colonists gathered for a big feast to thank God and to relax their tired bodies. This feast is still observed annually as Thanksgiving Day. The people labored hard in the free air of the new continent and within several years they repaid every pence they had borrowed to come over.

Later, groups of a hundred or more people migrated to this country in the same way. They crossed the Atlantic in sailing vessels, picked out a good harbor on the east coast in which to land, settled first along the shore, and expanded inland when their population increased. Once settled on the shore, they would carve a small clearing in the thick woods and would begin farming. They supplemented their food by hunting and fishing. In several years a small settlement, sandwiched between the forest and the sea, would gradually grow in population and wealth. It did not merely supply its own subsistence but had some surplus to exchange for the small luxuries of life from Europe and with older settlements in the West Indies. As the people knew they could enjoy the greater part of the fruits of their own labor, everyone was glad to work hard. The number of immigrants increased; cleared land expanded, and the forests retreated. An entire continent was conquered in this way. So, settlements in this country, in its embryonic stage, were strong, prosperous and full of morning-air as compared with colonies elsewhere in the hemisphere.

In the old world of Europe, a person's value was measured by his class or social position, and the common man had little dignity as an individual. A house or a good piece of land was valued more highly than the life of an individual. But in the limitless wilderness of

America where land and resources were plentiful, no matter how common a man's background, if he was willing to sweat it out, clearing the trees and carving out his own field, he could become a respected citizen. Thickly populated Europe was a world in which man struggled against man, but early America was a world in which man struggled against nature. What was most precious here was not land or resources but man to develop them. In the early days when techniques were simple, when only muscles and honest labor were needed to develop the land and resources, a man's value did not depend upon his birth but upon his ability. The dignity of labor, the concept of freedom and equality, and a general democratic atmosphere were thus born in the frontier life.

In this new world, created by the sweat and blood of the common man, people's attitudes differed greatly from those in the old world. James Truslow Adams relates that in England in those days the nobility was an object of awe to the farmers. Tradition reports two incidents which illustrate the contrasting attitude in this country. Shortly after the establishment of Virginia, one of the farmers called Lord Baltimore a liar to his face and threatened to knock him down. One winter day the Governor of Massachusetts was driving down a road flanked with high drifts of snow, when he met two farmers in their wagon coming from the opposite direction. The Governor ordered them to turn out and let his carriage pass. The farmers in turn told him to drive to one side and let them pass. When the Governor unsheathed his sword, it was seized and broken in two by the farmers.

Other countries in this hemisphere also had empty land and frontiers but they did not have this atmosphere of freedom, stimulating the latent energy of the people to develop the new continent.

FEUDALISTIC INFLUENCES IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The foregoing does not mean that America's present system of democracy developed smoothly and unimpeded in this free atmosphere. From the point of view of the ruling class in the colonies at that time, such incidents as those described above were only expressions of the unruliness of the frontiersmen—expressions not to be encouraged. For example, shortly after the establishment of Plymouth, a Puritan by the name of Roger Williams spoke out boldly against religious intolerance in the colony and even criticized the English King. The adverse atmosphere in which he found himself as a result, soon caused him to leave Plymouth, and he wandered into nearby Salem. There he continued his attack against religious intolerance and, in addition, denounced the King for stealing land from the Indians and selling it to the white men. Such utterances, it was feared in the colony, might bring on a long-threatened visit from His Majesty's warships. He was finally arrested, tried in Court, and sentenced to be sent back to England for punishment. As Williams was a good and respected man, the lenient judge, instead of sending him back to England to be hanged for his utterances against the King, banished him from the colony. Thus Roger Williams wandered southward into the wilderness, where he built a log cabin and established friendly relations with the Indians. Immigrants soon joined his settlement and it eventually became Rhode Island, the first American colony allowing complete freedom of worship.

Since at that time denouncing the King might bring the death penalty, it is understandable that openly advocating democracy was anathema to the upper class. Conservatives in Europe felt that democracy would bring about total destruction to law, order, property, and cul-

ture, and regarded advocates of democracy as ruffians. Even in the New World, anyone in a slightly favored position considered democracy as a low-class term, to be avoided in one's own speech. Only such reckless elements as Roger Williams dared to call themselves democrats. Even at the time of the Revolution, few in the ranks were bold enough openly to advocate democracy as a slogan to arouse the people to fight for independence from England. Neither the revolutionary Declaration of Independence nor the state or national constitutions contained the term democracy. Even the leftist leader, Thomas Jefferson, avoided the word democracy in his public addresses or documents, using it only occasionally in private conversation. When it was needed, he used *republican* in its stead. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did democracy wash off its low-class connotation and become a word commanding respect and dignity.

In addition to the antipathy to democracy, the political and social structure of the colonies at that time was coated with the color of feudalism. With the growth of population and wealth on the east coast, the value of America's empty land became more evident and the English Crown and nobility became more interested in the exploitation of the colonies. Selling American land became an important source of income to defray the expenses of Europe's incessant wars and those incurred in the wasteful social life of the nobility. By the time the thirteen American colonies had been established, British control of their finances had increased and vast tracts of land on the new continent had been enclosed. The days had passed when the colonists in Massachusetts could elect their own governors. It is true that the colonies continued to have assemblies, but these assemblies had become more and more a tool of the upper

classes. The electorate was limited by property qualifications. Moreover all assembly legislation became effective only with the approval of the governor, who was sent by the King, and when it did not come into conflict with any of the laws passed by the British Parliament.

Meanwhile class barriers in the colonial community grew higher and higher. The governor, who had to be a nobleman, was arrogant and would not speak even to the rich merchants of the town, much less to the common people. The merchants and plantation owners also had their own social status. Their clothes and lives were luxurious. Many Boston merchants owned indentured servants. The only time when they would stop to shake hands and talk with the common people was just before election. Class barriers even invaded the sanctity of the church, which advocates universal brotherhood, and people entered it on Sunday in the order of their wealth and social standing. The seats in many churches were classified according to the age, wealth, and social position of its members. All these, however, were troubles among free men. In the middle of the eighteenth century the majority of the colonial population were indentured servants whose ranks were constantly being filled by newcomers as soon as the old ones bought their freedom. And below these indentured servants were the Negro slaves whose day of freedom lay only in heaven.

Other conditions adverse to democracy which existed in those days were the despotic patriarchal families, in which the father was legally dictator of the family wealth, and illiteracy. Since the common people had to spend practically all their time clearing the land and in other frontier tasks, they had little opportunity to seek education. Even those who were literate had only a very limited education, as we can see from the misspelled words and ungrammatical sentences in the written records

handed down from that time. According to the estimate of Charles Beard, at the time of the Revolution only about twenty per cent of the population was literate. Even more than sixty years after Independence, when the first census was taken in 1840, only forty per cent of the total population was found to be literate.

SEVEN YEARS OF HARDSHIP AND WAR FOR FREEDOM

These feudalistic influences and backward conditions could not, however, prevent the growth of democracy and freedom bred in the frontier life. By the middle of the eighteenth century, native-born democratic forces had come into direct conflict with the feudalistic influences transplanted from Europe. The struggle first took the form of an anti-British movement. Although the merchants and plantation owners participated in this movement, they had to take into account British protection, upon which they depended for their prestige and privileged position. They demanded only increased power for the colonial assemblies, reduction of financial burdens, abolition of British control over colonial commerce and manufacturing, and other remedial measures. In other words, they supported a compromise program but were strongly against independence from the mother country. For the growing democratic currents among the common people in the colonies, which threatened directly to overthrow the ruling class, they had nothing but abhorrence. The wholehearted stand for complete independence and democratic freedom came from the common people. They demanded not merely independence from England but freedom and equality in the colonies, abolition of rule by the privileged class, and an increase of the people's influence in the government.

These two forces soon came into wide conflict. The

influence of democracy had become deeply rooted and widespread, and the British government was entirely ignorant of the internal situation in the colonies. Its strong-arm methods eventually led to the Intolerable Acts and then to the Boston Tea Party in 1775, precipitating the Revolutionary War. But even after armed conflict had broken out between the British forces and the militia, the upper class and the revolutionary elements within the colonies continued their fight over internal policies. The general trend finally led, in 1776, to the Declaration of Independence, which raised the battle cry, "all men are created equal," based on the political theory that the government derives its power from the people. The die was cast. Not until then did the upper class come over to the revolutionary camp—only half willingly—and many of them continued to fight against independence from the mother country. This resulted in the persecution and exile of no less than 100,000 high Tories—a considerable proportion in view of the fact that there were only some three million people in the thirteen colonies.

But the colonies, shaken by revolutionary crises, faced seven years of hardship and war before gaining their independence and freedom. In those years of tears and bloodshed, the thirteen colonies, with practically no military preparation, fought an England which had attained the status of the mistress of the seas, an England with a well-organized and well-supplied army. During the greater part of the war, the colonials were chased around by the British forces. The American army was almost shoeless; blood from the bare feet of the soldiers stained the snow on their long treks. Their clothes were worn to a degree that made the onlooking ladies blush. Finances were so limited that the officers had to borrow money on their personal credit in order

to maintain the subsistence of their forces. The coast was under complete blockade by the British men-of-war, and there was little manufacturing industry in the colonies. Inflation plagued the entire land; the Continental Notes fell to one-thousandth of their original value. There was practically no central government. The Continental Congress, organized by representatives of the thirteen states, had no direct power to tax or to draft men. Within the country, the common people were still fighting the loyalists, confiscating their property, controlling their activities, and persecuting and exiling the die-hards. But final victory was eventually won under the determined leadership of Washington. It was won through the persistence of the people and widespread revolutionary organizations, with increasing aid from France, Spain, and other friendly European powers, and also because of England's necessity to defend her other stakes. In the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the United States was formally awarded its independence.

The American War of Independence created not merely a new nation but the first successful kingless democratic state on the globe. It was, moreover, an important social revolution, and its success greatly encouraged the French Revolution which came shortly afterwards.

DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION

Final independence ended seven years of suffering and sacrifice but did not end the internal chaos. The common people were still carrying on their fight with the upper class for a larger share of political, social, and economic power. The Continental Congress still had no direct power to enforce law. The thirteen states were like thirteen independent countries, each with its own

revenue customs, law courts, and governmental structure. With the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, the social and political chaos was even worse than during the war. In 1786 a retired officer of the Revolutionary Army, Daniel Shays, led five thousand poor farmers in Massachusetts in armed rebellion against the privileged class—a rebellion which was suppressed only after months of bloodshed. Such conditions could not go on. The common people demanded the continuance of democracy, with the Continental Congress as it was. The upper class, on the other hand, did not believe that the uneducated masses could govern themselves by the democratic procedures of proposal, discussion, and decision by vote. Some of them according to reports even cooked up schemes for a military dictatorship or monarchy.

By this time Washington had retired to a quiet life on his farm. But he received an increasing number of reports on the movement to establish a military dictatorship, and letters urging him to become dictator or king. Realizing the necessity of a strong central government to end internal strife and the danger of civil war, which would threaten the very existence of the new-born Republic, he gave up his retired life. Together with other creators of the Republic, Washington convened the Continental Congress, and in 1787 the Philadelphia Convention met. Washington worked four months during the sweltering summer as Chairman of the Convention. In this capacity he seldom spoke; when he did, it was to attempt to bring the conflicting parties together in a common agreement. When the Constitution was finally drafted, although Washington was dissatisfied with many of its articles, he nevertheless accepted the common decision and urged its adoption by the various states.

The success of the Philadelphia Convention blew away the dark clouds of military dictatorship and civil war. That success, however, had not come with ease. Although most of the fifty-five delegates met on a common ground with the aim of building a strong central government, their means of attaining this end were widely divergent. Numerous proposals came up from the floor; clashes of opinions and interests were sharp. Conflicts of rights and privileges between the big states and the small states, between the Southern agricultural interests and the Northern commercial interests, and many others, almost broke up the Convention more than once. Fortunately most of the delegates realized the importance of maintaining unity and when conflicts arose were willing to compromise. Hence the Constitution contained many compromises widely differing from the original proposals. The primary objective of the Constitution was to create a strong central government and put an end to internal strife among the autonomous states. The Constitution gave to the central government many powers formerly belonging to the states, such as the power to coin money, issue paper currency, levy tariffs, maintain troops and warships, and conduct foreign affairs.

Having constituted a powerful central government, the delegates feared it might become despotic if it fell into the hands of unscrupulous parties. To prevent this they devised the check-and-balance system, enabling the legislative, administrative, and judiciary branches to watch each other. Thus within Congress, the Senate and the House can check each other in legislation. The President possesses great independent power within the executive branch, but this power is limited by Congress which can enact laws and appropriate money. Members of the federal court enjoy life tenure, with power to determine the legality of the action of the President and Congress.

These judiciary members are appointed by the President but they may be impeached and removed by Congress. Thus the executive officials could no longer exercise unlimited power according to their personal will, and no one person in the executive, legislative, or judiciary branches could seize the entire power of the government. The Constitution was finally ratified by the necessary majority of states, after a terrific struggle by the farmers who regarded it as too favorable to the upper class.

MR. PRESIDENT OR HIS HIGHNESS?

In 1788, the Constitution went into effect and the states unanimously elected George Washington as the first President of the United States. At that time the Capital was in New York City and in April of the following year, accompanied by a group of representatives from Congress and a small cavalry detachment, Washington rode from his residence in the city to the newly completed Federal Hall amidst the cheers of the street crowds. On the steps facing the street he took the oath as the first President. After the oath, the master of ceremonies shouted to the street crowds below, "Long live Washington, the President of the United States." The crowds echoed the cry and the rest of the day in town was spent in celebration. Thus the United States of North America, which a century and a half later stands proudly among mankind, stepped out on the high road of destiny amidst a comparatively humble ceremony.

Looking all around the world in those days, one could see only monarchial and despotic states. So when a country without a king was created, the people did not know where to place the president or how to address him. Many members of Congress recalled the luxurious and dignified courts in England, France, and Spain, and felt that

luxury and dignity were necessary in the government of a state. They thought that when Washington received Congress, he should stand on an elevated platform as did the emperors and kings in Europe. Most congressional members disagreed, maintaining the equality of the President and the people, and that they should meet on the same physical level. As to the title of the head of state, some leaders thought that since in Europe the King was called "His Majesty" and the Prince, "His Royal Highness," he should be addressed at least as "His Highness." The general opinion among the Congressmen, however, was that the officials and the people were Americans alike, and it was not necessary to call anyone "His Highness." Meanwhile people had started to address Washington as "Mr. President," and this title has been used generally ever since.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, a speech was made to the effect that during the Revolution the army had the complete political power of the nation within its grasp but had not used it—a fact deserving great admiration and respect. Among those at the celebration was James Madison, who had participated in the drafting of the Constitution and had been in intimate touch with Washington. After the address, Madison rose and said that the inevitable trend toward democracy had existed even in the Revolutionary days, and that Washington and his aides had won the respect of the people for their loyalty to democracy as well as for their military achievements. So strong was the democratic trend that Madison believed Washington could not have secured the crown even if he had secretly sighed for it.

The strength of the democratic forces in this country in those days is shown above. The American Revolution did not create the philosophy of democracy, but it

did create the first modern state in which democracy could be put into practice, with a machinery provided by the Constitution.

WASHINGTON'S ACHIEVEMENTS

One of the important contributions of the American Revolution to mankind was the fact that it was not followed by a dictatorial government. Although there have been many people's revolutions in history, the Roman Revolution produced a Caesar; the British Revolution, a Cromwell; the French Revolution, a Napoleon. Following revolution was dictatorship, and dictatorship in turn bred revolution. The people were chained in a vicious circle of revolution and dictatorship, and their aims were sacrificed to the ambitions of their leaders. The American Revolution broke this vicious circle. After it, America escaped the ugly fate of dictatorship and created a democratic government that has continued and developed down to this day.

The success of the Revolution, in spite of sharp internal conflicts and in the absence of a strong central government, may be ascribed to the determination and persistence of the people and the willingness of conflicting forces to compromise. But it was primarily due to Washington's leadership and devotion to the law. After the Revolution he did not become a Caesar, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon. The ambition of these historic giants to usurp power was distasteful to him, although he did not lack opportunities similar to theirs. During the Revolution, Washington twice received dictatorial power from the Continental Congress, but twice he returned it unimpaired. Many of his aides wanted to rebel against Congress, and indeed

it was frequently seriously at fault in regard to handling the military situation, but he remained loyal to Congress and made no attempt to exceed his own legal power. When he was scolded by Congress, he merely replied in satirical tones.

When Washington took office as the first President he appointed Hamilton and Jefferson, leaders of two enemy factions, to important posts in order to enable both to have a voice in the affairs of the state. These two leaders very frequently came into bitter conflict. Washington first listened to the arguments of both sides and then urged them to reconcile their differences to avoid a crisis. Washington was a firm ruler but he was also an honorable compromiser. He knew well the conflicting interests of that time and was well acquainted with the greed and ambitions of various individuals and groups. His personal leaning may have been toward the conservative faction but he never let his private sentiments interfere with the primary aim of building a constitutional government and a unified nation.

Washington decided to retire at the end of his second term as President. In his Farewell Address, he urged Congress to maintain government by law and in national unity. He said that in human society conflicting interests were inevitable, as were parties and factions, but that the American people should avoid extremes and violence which might break up the nation's unity. He repeatedly warned against sacrificing national welfare to the ambitions of individuals or parties. These principles, Washington had practiced while he was leading the Revolution and during his two terms as President.

Thus in spite of early feudalistic influence and backward conditions, the democratic forces among the

American people in the thirteen colonies had initiated the Revolutionary War. During seven long years of suffering they had maintained a united front amidst sharp internal conflicts until final victory had been won. In the postwar years, despite dangerous internal frictions, America was able to escape the evils of dictatorship or monarchy, and created the Constitution which laid the foundation for the development of democracy. In all these great historic processes we can see clearly the contribution of Washington.



CHAPTER THREE

THE RIGHTS OF MAN UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

When Washington opened up the first page of America's national government, he found not merely the absence of king or dictator but a strange new system of democratic constitutional government. We may say that, in brief, American constitutional government involves the following principles: 1) The final power of the government lies in the people, not in a king or any party or class; 2) the people decide the supreme law of the land through a procedure of proposal, discussion, and decision by representatives of their own choice; 3) they reserve certain fundamental rights, not entrusting them to the government; 4) elected officials exercise limited power within a limited time, at the end of which time their record must be reviewed by the people who decide at the polls whether the officials shall go or stay; 5) the people exercise their right to vote on the basis of equality, each person having only one vote. These are the principles for which Americans fought and gave their lives during the Revolution. But in addition to establishing these principles of government, they also forced into the Constitution important guarantees of the rights of men.

Foremost among these guarantees is the writ of habeas corpus. Under this, when any governmental agency legally arrests a law violator, the latter must receive a fair trial promptly. If the defendant is illegally held without a trial, he or his interested friends or

The Rights of Man Under the Constitution

relatives can obtain a writ of habeas corpus from any court, and with this writ demand his release or prompt trial. The illegal arrest and detainment of innocent citizens has been a nightmare to people living under despotic government.

According to the Constitution, except in the case of the impeachment of an official, anyone accused of violating a federal law must be given a trial by jury, which must take place in the state where the crime was committed. Under the jury system citizens of good reputation and sound character are selected from local communities to serve on the jury. In the trial of each case, a certain number of these selected citizens sit in the jury box to hear the arguments and evidence from both sides. At the end of the trial, the jurors retire to the jury room to discuss the evidence presented by both sides, interpreting it in the light of conditions existing in their local life. They arrive at a verdict by vote, and also have the right to recommend the degree of punishment. The judge will, according to their decision, either release the innocent or administer the bitter medicine. This system does away with many frightening injustices doled out by excited and violent judges, and gives the defendant a fairer trial. It also gives the people an opportunity to participate directly in the execution of the law, making them feel that theirs is a people's government and the law is truly an instrument for their protection.

The Constitution gives a defendant the right to counsel. If he is too poor to hire a lawyer, the court must provide legal counseling for him. Moreover the Constitution prohibits excessive bail. Until he is proven guilty, the defendant is considered innocent and is not subject to treatment as a criminal. Thus an innocent person will have full opportunity to prove his innocence.

Even if he is proven guilty of violating the law, the Constitution prohibits the imposition of unusual punishment.

The definition of the crime of treason is strictly interpreted under the American Constitution, being limited to an act of war upon the government or assisting the nation's enemy. A further requirement is at least two witnesses or a confession in open court before the verdict of treason can be imposed. At the time the Constitution was being drafted, the word treason was worse than a nightmare to the people of Europe because treason meant an offense against the power of the ruler. If the government were allowed to define treason any way it wished, then the slightest criticism of the government could be considered an act of treason and the victim could be secretly arrested and tried without an opportunity to face his accuser.

Furthermore, the Constitution forbids Congress to pass any attainder or any post facto law. At the present time these guarantees may not appear very revolutionary. But in 1787 when the Constitution was being cast, the Old World of Europe was wrapped in a black mist of despotic government and the practices of despotism, which were ruled out by the Constitution, were still vivid in the eyes of the delegates attending the Philadelphia Convention. They included these guarantees so that these age-old evils would not take root and generate their ancient poison in the New World. Since then, there have been many amendments to the Constitution to make it more democratic.

However good a constitution may be, if it is not observed strictly by the leaders and people, it is only magnificence on paper. While we do find unconstitutional acts in the history of the United States, it is generally true that in the past century and a half, the Constitution has been respected by American leaders and

The Rights of Man Under the Constitution

people alike, as the fundamental rule in the game of politics. When certain aspects of the Constitution no longer meet a new situation in a new age, they take steps to revise it; they do not carelessly violate it. This is the chief reason why constitutional government still stands solidly in this country after many dangerous and crucial moments.

The most critical test of America's constitutional government as well as of her national unity was the Civil War of 1861—1865. The scale of this war was one of the largest in history up to that time, and it raged for four long tortuous years. The South had the initial advantage of brilliant generalship, as well as other advantages. But even amidst his greatest difficulties, President Lincoln clung tenaciously to his constitutional position, and until armed conflict broke out he tried every peaceful means to maintain unity. Not until the Southern troops fired on the government garrison did he use his constitutional authority to suppress the rebellion by force. Even during the conflict he did his utmost to avoid sacrificing constitutional government for the sake of expediency.

While the war was raging, Lincoln had to deal not only with the Southern troops but with the dissenting elements who utilized their constitutional rights to undermine his political position and hamper the military operations of the North. In Lincoln's own Republican party there was a radical faction which accused him of unnecessarily lengthening the war. They urged him strongly, for the sake of more efficient prosecution of the war, to nullify the Constitution temporarily and suppress all dissension in the rear. In fact there was considerable pressure on Lincoln to seize dictatorial power. But he stood unmoved. He did not dismiss Congress nor did he

try to purge it of opponents. He even tolerated important members in the government who tried openly to undermine his prestige and position, as long as they served the public with ability. He merely urged these dissenting elements to cooperate, in spite of difficulty, to maintain peace and unity in the rear. The dissenting press attacked Lincoln with great ferocity and several newspapers were suppressed by the government. However, according to J. G. Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*, the people and the press were more free to criticize the government under Lincoln than under Wilson during the first World War.

The second incident which shows Lincoln's fidelity to constitutional procedures was the election of 1864. That election year arrived in the midst of Lincoln's greatest difficulties, with the Southern troops approaching the Capital and war weariness growing in the North. Whether or not to hold the regular election with all the concomitant internal rivalries was a choice that would test the judgment of the greatest statesman in any nation. Lincoln took the constitutional road and held the election, letting the people pass judgment on his ability and policy during the previous four trying years. In the course of the election race, the Democrats openly advocated an anti-war plank, accused Lincoln of using war as an instrument to restore national unity—an experiment that "failed"—and attacked him with all the vicious words they could find in the dictionary. Even within the Republican party there were powerful elements who demanded the discard of Lincoln. Attacked from without and bored from within, his political position was seriously endangered.

Fortunately, the election resulted in success for Lincoln, and on the night of November 10, 1864, a crowd

gathered in front of the White House to serenade him. He hastily wrote a short speech which he read by the light of a candle held for him by John Hay. In it Lincoln said:

"It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our republic to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in regular course during the rebellion, added not a little to the strain.

"If the loyal people united were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fail when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. . . . But the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now, it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

Whether every deed of Lincoln's during the Civil War was absolutely constitutional is for historians and students of jurisprudence to decide, but it is generally agreed that his magnificent performance preserved the principles of constitutional government as well as national unity. Today the tradition of basing every act on the Constitution has been firmly established among the American leaders and people. In present-day politics

whenever any serious question arises, everyone tries to justify his action on constitutional grounds. The incessant argument which results is an evidence of American respect for the Constitution.

One advantage of constitutional rule is that, in a political crisis, it permits a change of government without a bloody revolution, allowing the people to decide the fate of a government peacefully at the polls.

When corruption appears in local affairs, the people sooner or later exercise their constitutional rights to put their government into right shape again. When an act of misrule occurs in the central government, which is under the surveillance of a million eyes throughout the nation, the people, the Congress, and the Supreme Court move into action. There are subcommittees in Congress constantly probing into the inefficient workings of the government. The reports of such investigations are frequently published in the newspapers with all candidness. That this might injure the prestige of some high personality in the government does not make a particle of difference. In every period of American history we find famous cases in which the Supreme Court has declared some government act unconstitutional. A recent case occurred during the last depression when President Roosevelt and Congress enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act in order to increase employment. Business interests took the matter to the Supreme Court, which eventually declared the NIRA unconstitutional and ordered its annulment on the ground that the Constitution did not give the government the power to interfere with private business operations. It may be a question whether the Court's action was correct, but it shows that the American government under the Constitution exercises only limited power, and that the law is above the government.

PUBLIC SQUARE ORATORS

The American right and practice of free speech under the Constitution can be seen from the great diversity of opinions expressed in the press and radio. This has been true in the United States since the days of its creation. One reason for Washington's decision to retire at the end of his second term was because of the sharp tongues of hostile newspapers. He complained of being assailed "in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." From that time on Americans have fully exercised their constitutional right of free speech to express any opinion on public issues and to criticize government personalities and policies. Even top rank officials cannot avoid the "honor" of being called a communist or a fascist. The "pay off" for such sharp tongues is at most a libel suit; it is not brutal force from the government.

The use of freedom of the press presents a picture of national scope, but in the smaller spheres of the people's lives we find the same pattern. The numerous orators shouting in public places in American cities are one example. They post themselves on street corners, in public squares and circles. In times of social or political upheaval, their vibrant voices are heard everywhere. What is the orator's name? That is of no importance; neither he nor the audience seems to care. People are absorbed only in the religion he is preaching, the opinion he is expounding, the sentiment he is fomenting, even the nonsense he is yelling.

You see these orators in every American city, but let us take New York, the crossroads of the world, as an example. If you visit Columbus Circle on 59th Street or Union Square on 14th Street, you will see the

inevitable little crowds scattered about, each encircling an unknown orator who is straining his vocal cords on questions ranging from the world's fate to some strange social phenomenon. Their stand may be communist leftist or fascist rightist or any shade between these two extremes. No one is safe from their scathing or praising tongues. Their continuous magic breath will transfigure the President or an inconsequential local official into a god, a devil or just a half-god half-devil common man. As long as their torrent of words does not advocate violence to overthrow the government or incite rebellion, they will be left alone to express their happy thoughts, even if there are policemen or detectives among them. In this crowd you may find a staunch supporter of the present government; in that, a chest-pounding opponent, tearing to shreds every inch of the government's policy. In the free air of such a public square you will hear voices of every political tone pounding against each other like the waves of the sea.

These unknown orators are mostly humble working men; some are small storekeepers, some are students, some are just plain hobos. Some may be sent out by organizations of various kinds, but most are just "free lancing." It is easy to launch the sociable American into conversation with others. When one comes to a public square to see the crowds or saunter under the shady trees, he frequently just talks to a fellow man next to him about today's headlines in the papers—about anything. An articulate one will pour forth words and ideas. He may start with only two or three souls beside a public bench, but as he talks louder and louder, the crowd grows larger and larger. If someone in the gathering is equally handy with words and doesn't like what the orator is saying, he will raise questions and a

beautiful piece of oratory will degenerate into a debate. If the audience doesn't like this newcomer's views they will shout him down and let the first fellow go on. If an inarticulate common man objects to what one orator says he can simply leave and wedge himself into another crowd where he may find an orator more congenial to his own moral climate.

These unknown orators may be quite unpolished and untutored in their speeches, but they are earnest in what they try to put across. Such public square bull sessions are really a form of the people's social and political school where some form their opinions on various public issues by talking and listening. These opinions will guide them to choose their rulers and government policies at the polls, and the people know the eventual weight of their words and opinions. One warm spring evening in Union Square an American girl was talking to a handful of listeners about America's foreign policy, explaining that the way to avoid sending the next generation of youth to the world's battlefields was to establish an international police force. An unkempt middle-aged worker pulled out a pencil and a piece of soiled paper and said, "What is your name? I want to nominate you for the next president of the United States." The worker may not have known the complicated machinery of nominating a president, but he did know that he was living in a democracy and that the choice of the chief of state rests in the hands of people like himself. That these were not the flowery words of an educated American heightens the significance of the scene.

TOLERANCE OF OPPOSITION

The fact that you can take a few steps in a public square and hear opinions of all shades, gives an ab-

breviated picture of America. On any newsstand you will see, lying side by side, papers and magazines of every political hue, catering to customers of varied tastes. Visit a town meeting in New England, or a public political meeting in any community, dial your radio to one of the many forums-of-the-air, and you will hear divergent views being aired freely. Walk into the legislature of the central government or of any state or city, and you will hear members expounding their theories on a variety of matters such as the desirability of national management of a certain industry (a radical stand in America), the need of lowering taxation on business, the necessity of leaving private business alone. On the surface, the co-existence of such diversity of opinion is chaos, but this superficial chaos is an important stage in the procedure of government by proposal, discussion, and vote. Without this stage, public opinion would not be able to develop. Once the vote is counted, however, and the majority has spoken, order will emerge. Minority will follow majority, and majority will tolerate minority. This tradition of tolerance of opposition is the key to the success of American democracy. On the floor of the legislature opponents may be shaking angry fists at each other and even "slinging mud," but you frequently see them later seated together in a bar over a glass of beer. Their political opinions may be as incompatible as fire and water but they can still be friends and do business together. This is not hypocrisy but a valuable American asset—tolerance of the opposition.

The following incident illustrates this tolerance. Wendell L. Willkie ran for president against Roosevelt in 1940. In his campaign speeches, he violently attacked Roosevelt's administration as eight years of misgovernment, attacked him for breaking historical precedent by

running for a third term, attacked him as ignorant of the operation of the American economic system. He left no stone unturned in criticizing the President. However, when the nation had spoken, he immediately sent the customary telegram of greetings to Roosevelt. In a speech to his own party Willkie said that during the heat of the election both sides had used a lot of angry words that would not have been used in ordinary times. But since the nation had spoken, he urged the Republicans to do all in their power to maintain national unity and assist the government. At the same time he urged them to continue to criticize the government's shortcomings as that was the privilege and duty of a minority party. Sometime later at a benefit boxing show he comforted a losing contestant against Joe Louis in a short speech, saying "I too picked on a champion." After the war broke out, the victorious Roosevelt sent Willkie on a goodwill mission as his personal representative to China, Russia, and other countries, apparently forgetting Willkie's attacks against him during the previous campaign.

The diversity of American political opinions and factions is no less than that of any European country but in the United States there are only two parties of nationwide strength. This gives America political stability, preventing the confusion of political parties such as is found, for example, in France. A strong voice advocating a third party frequently arises in critical moments, but the effective third party is ever in the perennial laboring stage, it is never born. One reason may be that whenever a new demand arises in the nation and gains strong following, one of the "big two" usually adopts it, leaving the third party without the soil in which to take root. Down to this day no third party has elected a president; at

most it has elected a few lonely members of Congress. The moral is that it takes tolerance for either of the big two to adopt the voice of a third party movement, since that voice is frequently quite contrary to the traditional policy of the major parties.

LACK OF OFFICIAL ARROGANCE

One result of constitutional protection of the people's rights and of their choosing their own rulers is that the people do not fear the officials. The people know that their opinion makes the law, that the officials are but public servants to carry out the law, and that the law is above the official. If an action of the government or of an official exceeds the power given by law, the people can always demand a court hearing. Even if an unreasonable action of an official is within the bounds of law, he can still be censured by the people. During World War II a famous general, while visiting a hospital near the front in Europe, slapped a sick soldier and scolded him for being a coward. It was found later that the soldier had really been wounded at the front and had been sent to the rear for hospitalization only upon the insistence of his immediate superior. When this incident became known to the American public through the newspapers, a storm of protest arose from individuals and organizations, and an investigation brewed in Congress to consider disciplining the general. Demands for the protection of the dignity of a private soldier were widely aired in the press. The general hurried to make a formal apology. Since he had exhibited unusual ability in conducting the war and victory depended greatly upon him, Congress did not proceed to discipline him. Later, however, when

* One exception was the Republican Party which in 1860 was still a "third" party.

a list of military leaders was presented to Congress for approval for promotion, the general's promotion was intentionally held up for months before the approval was finally granted.

The army is an autocratic organization where the disciplining of a subordinate, even if somewhat unreasonable on occasions, is allowable by law. Whether popular sentiment and the Congressional action in this case was correct may be a question, but it shows unmistakably the democratic temper of the American people who value the dignity of the individual far above the authority of an official. It further shows the determination of the Americans to retain their civilian control over the military. This is only one of many incidents in America's political scene in which a military leader has been publicly censured by the civilian authority.

In a land governed by law rather than by the individual, the official is not cloaked with awe-inspiring dignity. He knows his authority comes from the people, that he is entrusted to enforce the law which is directly or indirectly decided by them, and that his own political fate rests on the people's periodical review of his record at the polls. This has produced in the officials of the United States government an amazingly democratic pattern of behavior. The war year of 1943 saw the State of Alabama seriously short of pickers when the cotton crop was ripening. Since cotton was important for both military and civilian use, it could not be allowed to rot in the field. To prevent this, members of the entire State government including the Governor, cleaned their own office buildings for a week, releasing the building workers to help pick the cotton. Only in America could you see the dignified governor of a state clean his own office.

In the summer of 1943 the following news item appeared in an inconspicuous corner of the New York papers: The owner of a subway newsstand while dozing at midnight the previous night had seen a tall, lanky woman glancing at the headlines of his newspapers. To relieve his own loneliness he said jokingly to the woman, "Hey, lady, you could play the part of Mrs. Roosevelt, for you look it." "I am Mrs. Roosevelt," replied the woman calmly with a smile. Somewhat startled, the man tried to talk to her on equal terms, asking how she liked to ride on the subway. She replied that she was used to it. Shortly a train pulled into the station and he saw the lanky woman enter it with a few lonely passengers who were also waiting.

In a land of unmatched wealth in automobiles and gasoline, the First Lady conserved gasoline by doing a lot of plain walking and by taking a five-cent subway like everyone else, when going to a distant point. She went alone, without servants or guards, enjoying a chat with a lowly newsboy, in plain style without fanfare. To Mrs. Roosevelt this was ordinary routine. She often helped unknown persons, especially young men and women. Sometimes she invited a street-car acquaintance or a correspondence friend to the White House for tea or even for dinner.

Though these little things are interesting and significant they by no means encompass the whole scope of Mrs. Roosevelt's public activities. She has done a tremendous amount of work for the welfare of American women in peace and in war. She has made important contributions to youth work, and is constantly making speeches, and helping to direct group activities all over the country and even on far-flung battle fronts. Her column, "My Day," is enjoyed by millions of people every

The Rights of Man Under the Constitution

day. But the little things she has done for individual citizens have further bridged the distance between the people and the officials, making the people feel more intimately that the government is their own. In such an atmosphere, the people have no fear of the officials and even make personal use of the government whenever they can. A puzzled merchant or a troubled farmer will not hesitate to write to the respective governmental agencies for advice and help, and will get a reply. Whenever someone feels dissatisfied with a government measure, he writes or wires his congressional representative to protest, and a member of Congress has to heed these letters and telegrams from his constituents, whose votes decide his political career. If you glance at the newspapers and periodicals when important legislation is pending in Congress, you will see strange advertisements by various groups, urging the people to fill out a form pro or con a certain issue and send it to their Congressmen to show where they stand.

Petitioning an official is not a monopoly of adult voters. In January of 1944, a ten-year-old girl in Massachusetts wrote to the President:

Dear Presedent Rozevelt:

My name is Ann Gilcreast. . . . and I am ten years old and in the sixth grade. Since you are Presedent and head of the United Stats, I would like it very much if you would reduce the prices of Cocker Spanyal puppies. We would like one vedy much but with prices the way they are now we cannot afford one. Will you please write me a letter back and tell me if you are going to reduce the prices. My father is in the Navy and is in Africa. So you see we would like a puppy very much to keep us company these cold winter nights. I would thank you very much if you would reduce the prices.

P.S. Don't forget to write to me and tell if you are going to reduce the price of Cocker Spanyal puppies.

ANN.

The President referred the letter to the Office of Price Administration, which in turn discovered a federal employee about to leave Washington who was trying to dispose of a cocker spaniel puppy. The OPA moved into action and Ann had her "spanyal"—and without cost. Ann had certainly never read the Constitution but she knew that the government existed for her welfare and to carry out the will of the people.

All this does not mean that there are no instances of infraction of the Constitution and of civil liberties in the United States—there are quite a number of them. But the total of such infraction is negligible compared with the overwhelming number of incidents of the nature described above.

CHAPTER FOUR

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE COMMON MAN

THE FIGHT FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT

A noteworthy characteristic of the American people is their tradition not to inherit but to create. Many of the political freedoms described in the foregoing chapter are the result of the struggle of the common man; they are not an inheritance from the original Constitution. The Constitution gave the people only an opportunity to fight for their privileges and interests in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Today a man without a penny in his pocket can go to the polls to vote on who shall govern him. This is one of the achievements resulting from the struggle of the common man, since the original Constitution did not entrust political power to all the people, and the right to vote was the privilege of the propertied class. Men without property rose and fought for this privilege for three-quarters of a century after Independence. Not until the middle of the last century was the property qualification of franchise wiped out and white manhood suffrage established throughout the country.

Alfred Smith was a spectacular political personality, who rose from a fishmonger in the slums of New York City to the dazzling position of Governor of New York State, and exerted great influence upon modern American politics. Had he lived at the time of Independence, however, his spectacular rise would have been more difficult since state constitutions then had property and even religious requirements for government offices. In 1778

under the Constitution of North Carolina, the governorship was out of reach of anyone without property valued at ten thousand pounds. Several state constitutions even required the candidate to be of a specified religion. By the middle of the last century, however, these property and religious qualifications for office, like the property requirement for franchise, were submerged in the roaring tide of the common man's struggle for political equality.

The high property requirement for office resulted in control of the government by the wealthy aristocracy, a condition which the rising masses would not long tolerate. When the common people sent Andrew Jackson to the White House in 1829, their determination to end government control by the aristocracy had become widespread. Acting as a representative of the people, Jackson summarily dismissed a large number of aristocratic elements and gave the offices to his own loyal Republican followers. By 1840, it had become common practice in local and federal politics to distribute major offices among members of the victorious party. With this practice came that of rotation of office and the end of government monopoly by the aristocracy.

Today the great drama of presidential election, which occurs once every four years, stands as a symbol of American democracy and an evidence of the political power exercised directly by the common people. But this, again, is the fruit of their struggle rather than a blessing bestowed by the original Constitution. Most of the Fathers of the Constitution did not believe the common people could govern themselves and were anxious to avoid heated election campaigns such as we see today. Under the original Constitution, the people did not participate directly in the presidential election. The power to examine candidates and eventually elect the president was

Achievements of the Common Man

delegated to a group of præsidential electors. These electors were sent by state legislatures, with the exception of five states where they were elected directly by the people. After a long period of dissatisfaction with this system, they rose to fight for popular election of the president. By 1828 the presidential electors in all but two states were elected directly by the people. The common people then reduced the electors to dummies, and finally achieved their objective of popular election of the president. Not until this had been done did Americans enjoy the present quadrennial drama of presidential elections. Under the original Constitution, senators were appointed by state legislatures instead of being elected directly by the people. Only after a century of vociferous demands and stiff struggles was the Constitution finally amended, in 1913, to provide for popular election of senators. This also greatly increased the direct political power of the people.

-Another achievement of the common man was the adoption of democratic methods of selecting candidates for government offices. Presidential candidates were originally selected in secrecy by caucuses, that is, committees formed by congressional members of various parties. Since the people had long looked upon this system as a means for those in power to monopolize the election of the president, they initiated a fight for the open selection of candidates. After the 1830's it became customary for both political parties to hold national conventions to select candidates for the offices of president and vice-president. While it is true that politicians still "pull strings" behind the scenes of these national conventions, this system is undoubtedly more open than the secret dealings in the caucuses. In the early days, local conventions of political parties undertook the selection of

candidates for offices in Congress and in the local government. But since the opening of the twentieth century, this method has been superseded in most states by "primaries." A "primary" is held some time before election in order to permit the voters in each party to select candidates for local and federal offices. This gives the able elements an opportunity to appeal directly to voters within their party and avoid the controlling hands of party bosses. Later, in the final election, the general voters elect their officials from among these candidates.

The foregoing story tells only of the struggle of men for popular government; it does not include that of the other half of the American nation, women. The political, social, and economic freedom enjoyed by the American women of today is the fruit of a protracted struggle, which lasted more than a century. Since 1800 the number of women leaders has increased and the movement for women's rights gradually emerged as an impressive force. Before that time, when a woman was married she had to transfer all her property rights to her husband. After 1839 the upsurge of democratic forces compelled one state after another to grant property rights to married women. When the women leaders held their first national convention for women's rights in 1848, they issued the Declaration of Sentiments, demanding equal rights with men in education, economic opportunities, law, and franchise. This Declaration was hailed with jeers and rage from the press. Leading men in the nation shuddered to hear the advocacy of such "destructive" changes in the status of loved and cherished wives. Even some women were irritated by such ideas of women's rights. When Susan B. Anthony, the leading woman suffragist of the past century, went around to advocate her ideas to other women, the door was often slammed in her face.

She was told by women that they had husbands to protect their rights and that what she needed was a husband. But leaders of the movement continued their efforts and gradually pushed forward the frontiers of women's privileges. In 1920 they achieved their objective of amending the Constitution and began to enjoy complete equality with men in suffrage.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRARIAN AND LABOR MOVEMENTS

In the rise of the common man during the nineteenth century, the objective was not merely to secure political privilege but also economic advantages for the underdog, namely, the farmers and laborers. During the War for Independence, the farmers had furnished the main force of the revolution. When independence had been won, they carried on their struggle against merchants and creditors, a struggle that resulted more than once in armed rebellion. After the gradual stabilization of the political situation, the farmers exercised their political power, sending Thomas Jefferson and, later, Andrew Jackson, to the White House to continue the fight against the privileged class. Later, when the territory of the United States sprawled westward, huge tracts of land became public domain. The rich and the politicians saw in this another source of profit and began pilfering from the immense public domain. The poor farmers naturally rose to fight, demanding that the government give the land free only to those who would actually cultivate it. "Vote yourself a farm" had become a slogan among freehold farmers by the middle of the nineteenth century. To realize this aim the common people fought with all their strength and finally, in 1862, under President Lincoln, forced the passage of the Homestead Act. Under this

Act, the public domain was divided into tracts of 160 acres each, which were given free only to those who actually cultivated the land. From then until all the public land had been granted to settlers, the common people enjoyed an important source of economic security. The poor and discontented could always go west to find their niche and build an independent life on a tract of free land. This was an important victory for America's agrarian movement.

Soon after the farmers had won their free land, they organized a widespread movement to raise the price of their produce and improve farming methods. They sought to elect representatives of their own interests to Congress in order to swing governmental policies in their favor. Local and national agrarian organizations mushroomed all over the country. With nation-wide influence, these organizations used every available instrument to protect agrarian interests and to fight against industrial capitalism, more than once causing great political upheavals. With their power organized, the farmers forced the government to regulate rail rates in favor of agricultural products, to pass the Irrigation Act, to make agricultural loans to subsidize farming, to assist in the marketing of their products, and to improve agricultural technique and the livelihood of the farmer. Government action in the interest of the farmers increased in variety and scale. Today the "farm bloc" in Congress consists of representatives of agrarian interests and wields a power that can tip the scale in many a political struggle. The American farmer still faces many serious problems, such as increasing tenancy, sharecroppers, and soil erosion, but the agrarian movement in the past has done much to improve his lot.

Achievements of the Common Man

During the period when America was predominantly an agricultural nation, the poor farmers formed the major under-privileged class. But with the progress of industrialization came the growth of an urban proletariat, and an increase in the intensity and frequency of economic depressions. The wage earners suffered unemployment and wage reductions during these depressions. Even in times of prosperity there was a constant problem of unemployment and poverty. Since these problems had not existed when the original Constitution was framed, that great document did not provide for their solution. It was up to the American workers to rise and fight for their own interests and security. This they have done for more than a century, and scarcely a day passes now without news of some sort of strike or labor disturbance.

Back in 1809, the shoemakers in New York City went on strike, demanding improved working conditions. The strike was a new phenomenon at that time and no law existed to settle it. Although all the strike leaders were arrested, the court could only prosecute them under an old common law of "conspiracy," accusing them of preventing their employers from doing business by forcible interference. The case was settled by imposing a light fine of one dollar on each leader. This case pictures vividly the condition of the American worker of that time. The employer had the sole right to determine wages and working conditions; the worker could take them or leave them; he had no legal right to strike.

However, in the new atmosphere of freedom and emancipation, the workers had no intention of continuing under such conditions. The number of labor unions and strikes increased with time. During the 1830's one state government after another was forced to abolish imprisonment for debt, and in the next decade the 10-hour working

day gradually superseded the 12- or 13-hour day. The more important industrial states were forced to initiate labor legislation to insure the health and security of the urban worker. These are some of the victories won by the early American labor movement.

After the Civil War, as America's industrialization was accelerated, the organized power of the wage earners increased tremendously. Local trade unions dotted every part of the country, and workers, in all the important trades organized separately into powerful national unions. The intensity and scale of the workingmen's struggle in this period dwarfed anything that had occurred previously. It was a far cry from the shoemakers' strike of 1809. After repeated wage cuts by the railroad companies, the great railway strike exploded in 1877, affecting the whole nation and immobilizing all railway traffic between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. The companies succeeded in persuading the government to send armed forces to the strike centers, but the strikers showed no compromise. In Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Chicago, pitched battles developed between troops and strikers, causing many deaths and casualties. Cities fortunate enough to escape bloodshed had to face riots and demonstrations by workers. During the strike huge mass meetings were held in a threatening atmosphere of popular revolt in industrial centers, especially in the East. An avalanche of propaganda deluged the public from both camps. Capital accused workers of inciting riots and plotting to overthrow the existing social order; labor accused capital of starving and slaughtering the workers. Radical socialists seized the opportunity to foment social revolution in the streets and the critical situation threatened to shake the nation to its foundations.

Achievements of the Common Man

The railway strike continued for two weeks and was finally forcibly broken by armed troops. After that, America's labor movement entered an even more active stage. Strikes had become the accepted instrument of the workers in demanding improvements, and labor disturbances rose like a torrent overrunning every part of the land. In 1881 strikes in the United States totaled 70; from 1881 to 1905, the yearly average of strikes was 1,470, involving approximately 270,000 strikers; in the period 1916-1932 the annual average increased to 1,875 strikes with some 912,000 strikers. With this irresistible trend came the renewed movement for national labor unions. From 1834'on, there had been repeated attempts to unite all the workers of the country into organized national unions, but these early attempts were short-lived. The first real success in this direction was the organization in 1886 of the American Federation of Labor. Another national body of organized labor arose in 1938 in the Congress of Industrial Organizations, rivaling the American Federation of Labor in membership and strength. Each of these two great organizations had an approximate membership of six and a half million in 1944. The power of the American working man was enhanced tremendously under their dual leadership.

This stage of the American labor movement won many new victories. From 1910 on, the eight-hour day gradually replaced the ten-hour day. The Fair Labor Standards Act passed by Congress in 1938, required all inter-state business to observe the Act, which called for an eight-hour day and forty-hour week. The employer must pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ overtime wage if the work exceeds eight hours a day or 40 hours a week. The American worker is no longer merely a working animal; he has leisure for self-improvement and enjoyment of cultural advantages.

There has been a continuous improvement in the health of the worker and in his safety in his working environment. Congress and state legislatures have passed laws requiring employers to pay compensation to workers injured at work, and in many cases requiring the employer to buy accident insurance for his workers. Finally, a major victory was the passage by Congress in 1935 of the National Labor Relations Act, giving the workers legal right to organize unions and to carry on collective bargaining. Working conditions and the treatment of workers is no longer determined solely by the employer but must conform to legal standards.

ABOLITION OF IGNORANCE

Present-day America is a land of universal education where education is not merely free but is also compulsory. In large cities one frequently sees truant officers trying to catch school children in movie theaters and places of recreation. The appearance of these officers starts headlong flights of boys and girls through various exits, just as the approach of a dog scares away the animals and birds in the woods. This is one of the melodramas of modern American life. Compulsory education, however, is the harvest of a century of struggle rather than a product of the original Constitution. Although in its early days the United States had laws to provide education for the common people, these laws were mere words on paper, and education was largely monopolized by the upper class. With the rise of the urban proletariat, it was the poor who raised the cry for universal education supported by public revenue, in order to abolish the ignorance of the common people. After decades of agitation and struggle, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Eastern states began to establish public

elementary school systems. Progress was rapid in the Western states where the democratic spirit was high; but in the South, dominated by plantation owners, no great progress in public education was made until after 1860. Compulsory education was handicapped by child labor and by the ignorance of parents as to the importance of education for their children. It was not until after 1920 that all states in the union had compulsory education laws which were efficiently enforced.

As the movement for free and compulsory education plowed forward, the number of public high schools increased by leaps and bounds. There were only about 100 high schools in the country on the eve of the Civil War; in 1900 there were 6,000; and by 1940 their number exceeded 29,000. Keeping pace with America's growing national wealth were the lengthening figures of public revenue devoted to education. The total expenditure for all grades of public schools in the United States was about \$70,000,000 in 1871; it had exceeded \$200,000,000 by 1900; and had leaped to \$2,130,000,000 by 1930. During this time, the high schools were placing increased emphasis on vocational training to meet the needs of the children of farmers and workers.

The growing number of public schools and the increased public revenue devoted to education have shattered the monopoly of education by the upper class, and have rapidly reduced illiteracy. Illiteracy in the United States was 17 per cent in 1880; less than 11 per cent in 1900; and only 4.3 per cent in 1930. But America's aim in developing its educational system is not merely to wipe out illiteracy, it is rather to teach the people to use their knowledge in meeting life's problems. In the past, youth had lived in ignorance, by the plow and hammer and chisel; they now rush to the public schools by the tens

of thousands. By applying their education in business or professions they squeezed into the ranks of the middle or even upper class, becoming engineers, technicians, lawyers, and teachers. Women also utilized fully their new educational opportunities to acquire knowledge and skill, and to raise their own status.

THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO

In the century and a half since the United States won its independence, there has been a continuous struggle by the common man for equality in political rights, for a fair share of economic benefits, and for better educational opportunities. This struggle has enabled the present-day American to enjoy dignity and respect as an individual as well as many blessings of democratic freedom. However, in many places these blessings are still beyond the reach of black citizens of the country. Although it is all too obvious that the American Negro is still condemned to many injustices, it is not correct to say that the problem has been completely ignored by the white citizen. Many liberal leaders have made great sacrifices in the cause of the emancipation of the Negroes. For this cause, a bloody civil war was fought for four years. In this cause, the Constitution has been thrice amended: once to abolish slavery throughout the union, once to guarantee civil rights, and once to forbid the denial of franchise to anyone on the ground of race, color, or previous servitude. When the Northern armies occupied the South, white leaders went along also to forcibly raise the social and political status of the Negroes to full equality with the white citizen. But while a law may be changed by the sweep of a pen, social attitudes and institutions cannot be changed overnight. Soon after the withdrawal of the Northern troops from the

Achievements of the Common Man

South, the Negroes found it hard to maintain their new gains, and white supremacy was rapidly and ruthlessly restored.

Progress in the status of the Negroes, however, cannot be gainsaid. Before the Civil War, with the exception of New York and New England, Negroes could nowhere vote and enjoy the legal privileges of the white men. After the Civil War, in many southern states Negroes were still denied many political rights, including the right to vote. In all the northern states the Negroes now vote and live under the same law as white men. Chicago has twice sent a Negro to Congress, and since 1917 many states have had Negro members in their legislatures. The Negro vote is coveted by both major parties in every presidential election.

The Negroes' economic status, although still very low, has been considerably improved since pre-Civil War days. Savings and property of Negroes in 1866 amounted to \$20,000,000; by 1936 their value had risen to \$2,500,000,000. In 1930, there were 70,000 Negro business enterprises, including fifty insurance companies and thirty banks, and the number of Negro professional workers had also greatly increased. The advancement in Negro education was even greater. In the 1830's, many states in the Union had laws forbidding the teaching of Negroes to read. Illiteracy among the Negroes throughout the whole country was 97 per cent in 1860, by 1930 it had been reduced to 16 per cent for the entire country, and 5 per cent in the northern states. Negro education in the South is still at a great disadvantage. Large numbers of individual Negroes have achieved high distinction, especially in the field of athletics and entertainment.

Meet the United States

Serious discrimination in social and economic life confronts the American Negro today, and his full status as a citizen is still to be attained in the South. A hopeful sign is that this condition is recognized, and that liberal leaders throughout the country are bending their efforts toward a solution.



CHAPTER FIVE

FROM LOG CABIN TO SKYSCRAPER

When we think of Americans, who top the world in financial and material progress, we usually think of them in terms of luxuries and enjoyment. But in the period when the United States was being founded, it was a paradise for the poor rather than the rich. The Europeans who migrated to this country came for various reasons—to avoid religious persecution; to escape famine and war; to leave behind the oppressive class systems of Europe, which offered little chance to get ahead. There was, indeed, a great diversity in their nationality, religion, and other backgrounds. They had, however, two important characteristics in common: The vast majority were the poor and oppressed people of Europe; and they were progressive and ambitious, willing to face the danger and hardship of crossing the ocean to start life anew. They had one common dream: opportunity for the individual to develop freely in a new and unpopulated land.

This dream acted as a magnet to draw shipload after shipload of Europe's poor, hungry, and oppressed. In the New World, it turned them into frontiersmen, political leaders, educators, scientists and millionaires. English, Irish, Germans, and many other nationalities, like a warm current latent with heat and energy, flowed across the Atlantic, flowed into the cities and towns of the East and into the wilderness of the West, to open their own factories and stores or to carve out their own farms. Once the years of hard frontier labor were over, they became solid independent citizens.

Men of more than average ability could, of course, take advantage of the bigger opportunities. John Jacob Astor came to America in the steerage in 1784, landing with only a few dollars in his pocket. He rose rapidly from a poor laborer to become the richest American of his time. He organized the fur trade in the Northwest and developed many other great enterprises. On his death in 1848, he left a fortune of twenty million dollars and a heritage of unlimited ambition to his family. In the same year in which Astor died, Andrew Carnegie, the son of a poverty-stricken Scotch weaver, landed in New York. This poor boy grew up to be the steel king of the world—with an annual income of twelve million dollars. During his lifetime Carnegie contributed 350 million dollars to charitable causes in America and other countries.

Cultural fields offered equally rich soil for development. Thomas Hunter arrived in New York in 1850 as a penniless and friendless political fugitive from Ireland. After many a hungry day, he started his career teaching in a public school and rose to become a prominent reformer in public education. In 1866, he opened the first free evening high school in New York City. Three years later, he founded the Normal and High School for the higher education of women, the first free institution of its kind in this country. The following year the name of the institution was changed to the Normal College of the City of New York and Thomas Hunter became its President, a position he held for thirty-seven years. The Board of Education later (1914) changed the name to Hunter College of the City of New York, as a memorial to this distinguished immigrant.

The famed Joseph Pulitzer came as a boy from a garlic-growing town in Hungary. He was so poor that

his first bed in America was a bench in the park. One cold winter night he tried to warm himself in a hotel lobby and was thrown out. Twenty years later he bought the same hotel for \$635,000. Pulitzer was not only a remarkably successful publisher but also one of the first to build a skyscraper. He purchased the newspaper, *The World* and, with his own hand, traced the blueprints for the first New York skyscraper, the World Building.

Edward William Bok also came to this country as a poor boy, in 1870. At the age of thirteen, he had to leave public school and take a job as office boy in a telegraph company. In his spare moments he pored over the biographies of the successful men of his time and started writing to them. Soon his correspondence friends included such notables as President Hayes, Emerson, and Longfellow. Pushing his way up from a humble reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, he became the editor-in-chief of the *Ladies Home Journal* in 1889. When he retired from that position thirty years later, he had built up the magazine's circulation to two million copies, one of the largest in the country. Stories of this type could be multiplied almost endlessly.

CLEARING A CONTINENT

The abundance of land and resources, together with the opportunity for free development, first drew floods of immigrants from Europe, and later shifted the population from the East to the West. The people of the well-settled towns on the East coast were constantly swept by waves of enthusiasm to migrate into the western wilderness, looking for bigger and better opportunities. This movement westward to the frontier continued for three hundred years after the arrival of the first white man.

The frontier communities usually went through three stages of development: In the first stage, the frontiersmen ventured into wild plains and forests, chopping down trees and clearing the land, carving out a few acres on which to build a crude log cabin. Here they farmed, hunted, and traded fur with the Indians. With the arrival of more and more people, these frontiersmen felt crowded and again moved westward. In the second stage, the people who remained in the settlement continued to develop the half-cleared land, enlarged the fields, built churches, schools, and stores until a rudimentary village or town appeared. In the third stage, this new town gradually grew in population and became an old settlement. Here, again, the people caught the fever to migrate further west.

In these frontier communities, with their crude houses and dirty streets, life was hard, lonely, and poverty stricken. The war-like Indians could not be enslaved and the white men had to chop the wood, build their houses, do the farming, and all the work necessary to make life possible. Under these conditions, the American came to respect brawn, physical prowess, and practical skills. Manual labor attained a respected position. Whoever excelled in strength and persistence was looked up to by his fellow men. Before becoming President, Lincoln was a champion rail splitter. In such a civilization there was no place for the cultured or the weak. Meanwhile, in a community where everyone carved out his career and fortune by his own two hands, a highly democratic spirit and a hatred for class distinction naturally developed.

In this way, the poor hard-laboring frontiersman continued to push the frontier westward. Train after train of covered wagons, drawn by horses or oxen, poured

From Log Cabin to Skyscraper

into the forests and prairies of the West. They were frequently attacked by Indians on their way. Those who did not perish in such attacks had to begin sweating immediately upon arrival at their destination. From trees and mud arose houses and fields. Little, scattered patches of clearings soon swallowed up forests and a limitless wild continent. What is now a rich and strong America grew from the clinking sounds of axes, from mud, and from the smell of sweat. Some of the early crude log cabins still remain but around them has appeared a new civilized world. These log cabins have been superseded by comfortable houses.

When Washington became President in 1789 there were only thirteen small states, all located in the East. In less than thirty years, nine states were added in the West and two new ones in New England. Population had almost tripled. During the following thirty years, rumors of rich land and resources continued to knock at the door of the East, and wave after wave of migrants again took to the road, flooding the western frontiers. By 1850, California had joined the Union and America had become a vast country, spanning two great oceans. In this brief period of sixty years, a wild continent had been conquered, although there were still large areas of uncultivated land. In 1862 when Congress passed the Homestead Act, the government possessed an immense area of unclaimed land—approximately half the area of the United States. In another twenty years most of this empty land was submerged by the flood of migrants.

These two decades are known as the period of the land rush. Whenever the government declared a stretch of land open for development, thousands of people would rush westward, gathering like ants to await the officer's gun as the signal for the "free-for-all". When the signal

gun was sounded, everyone rushed forward—on horseback, in carriages, or on foot—to drive his stake in the land he had selected. A cage of chickens was suddenly shaken out of the wagon, followed by a screaming woman, but there was no stopping the wagon. The woman might walk to the piece of land which her husband had selected to call their new home.

Among the many interesting life stories of early Americans, a moving one is that of Noah Webster, famous for his work in improving American education and, primarily, for editing dictionaries. Webster had fought in the War for Independence. He had seen the borders of the little country, then composed of thirteen states, creep across the Alleghenies, across the Mississippi, up the Rockies, straight to the shore washed by the Pacific. When he heard that the westward movement had reached California, warm tears flowed from his old eyes.

THE RISE OF CITIES

Cities and towns mushroomed everywhere in the wake of the westward migration. One astonishing instance of this was the founding of Guthrie in Oklahoma, in 1889. At noon one day there was only an empty grass plain. By three o'clock that afternoon, streets had been blocked out. Four o'clock saw the election of the municipal council. That night, stars resembling astonished blinking eyes, looked down on 8,000 citizens, each camping on his new homesite. This town, which virtually dropped out of the sky that day, has grown steadily and is today a thriving city of over ten thousand.

Not all of the cities of the West rose as dramatically as Guthrie. In fact many of them did not take economic root; some took root temporarily but soon dried up. Some remain today as little hamlets with only a handful of

people, almost as when they started their career. Today we see in many parts of the country, ghost towns with deserted houses and grass-covered streets, without a shadow of living inhabitants. But at that time each town and village that shot up in the western wilderness, aspired one day to be a great city of commerce and industry. Some forty years after Washington took office, numerous towns and villages had appeared along the Mississippi, varying in population from a few hundred to tens of thousands. Famous cities like Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Chicago had begun pushing up from the earth like young shoots. These embryonic metropolises, like many others, fixed their eyes on the surrounding wilderness and determined to become great cities. These humble settlements frequently had their ambitions rewarded. In 1830, Chicago was a mere village; three decades later it was a rapidly growing city of nearly one hundred and ten thousand; at the turn of the century, its population had exceeded a million. Since that time it has grown rapidly into the rail hub of the country, with a present population of 3,400,000. Important urban centers like Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha, Denver, Portland, and Seattle were all desolate little towns in 1860. Thus, the westward migration transformed a million square miles of forests and wilderness into fertile fields and great cities.

GOLD AND OIL

A new age in America may come with meteor-like swiftness and pass away at the blink of an eye. During his lifetime, an American frequently sees several great periods pass before his eyes, for example, the period of the gold rush. In 1849, when the rumor spread that gold had been discovered in California, the whole country was

turned into a whirlwind. Children, old people, priests, merchants, farmers, workers, humans of every description and from every walk of life joined the westward rush. As there was no highway or railroad from the East to California, they walked overland, went by way of Panama, even sailed around Cape Horn in South America. The Chinese, separated by the Pacific Ocean, hopped on sailboats to join the plunge toward California. Within a year an almost unpeopled state had collected 92,000 gold seekers. In four years' time, the newly established Pacific Mail Line Shipping Company had shipped to New York from California, gold worth \$122,000,000. Prices in the mining area were fantastic. Gold miners were paid twenty to thirty dollars a day; lucky gold washers picked up from one hundred to one thousand dollars a day in "pay dirt." Even the cats which were used to catch rats in the stores, were worth fifty to a hundred dollars apiece. Ten years later, the population of California had grown to 380,000, but the great period of the gold rush had ended.

Oil was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859. Land worth less than three dollars an acre now spurted oil worth more than ten thousand dollars in one day, Within a brief period of ten years the oil industry, including its refining, transportation, and marketing, had become one of the flourishing enterprises of the country. John D. Rockefeller, the three-dollar-a-week storekeeper, "had the jump" on others. He used his amazing organizing ability to build an oil empire. During his lifetime he gave more than five hundred million dollars to charitable enterprises of every description in every land. The profit from the California gold rush was nothing compared with that of the oil rush.

THE CHINA CLIPPER

America's rapid economic development was not limited to the rush for wealth on and under the soil; it included all forms of economic enterprises, with speed as the criterion for success. In the field of transportation, take, as an example, the China Clipper, which we may remember as the airplane in the Pacific service just before the outbreak of the present war. About 1840 the shipbuilding industry flourished along the northeastern coast of the United States and a type of rapid sailing vessel was built to compete with the English schooners, especially for the China trade. These fast sailing vessels were called clippers from the Dutch word *schep*, meaning a fast horse. They were used chiefly to transport tea and other cargo from China, hence the name China Clipper. Since tea leaves rot quickly in the hold of a ship, speed was important. The American clippers won many dramatic races with the British vessels. One clipper, racing an English ship from Foochow to London, finally came in ahead after eighty-nine days of sailing. The building of clippers became a flourishing business. Americans rushed to invest money in the new enterprise, and many accumulated large fortunes. Within a decade after 1840, no less than one thousand of these fast clippers were sailing the seven seas. The new China Clipper became the mark of a distinctive period in America's history. It was, however, a brief period since after some twenty years the steamer became practicable and the China Clipper epoch passed into the realm of memory.

America's land transportation followed a similar pattern. The rapid development of the rich land west of the Alleghenies resulted in a large amount of agricultural produce. The prices of farm products were miserably low because they could not be transported at a rea-

sonable cost or on a large scale to the East and to Europe. By 1810 cheap canal transportation, such as was found in Holland, had been introduced. This reduced the cost of transporting agricultural products to the East to one-fifth or one-sixth of the previous cost. In a few years the fever of canal building swept the country. When the Erie Canal was completed in 1825, it demonstrated the low cost of canal transportation for western produce to the East and to Europe, and enthusiasm for constructing canals increased. In the next ten years, 2,400 miles of canals were built. The cry for canal building echoed everywhere; anyone with money to invest put it into canal stocks, expecting large profits and fortunes from them. But in about thirty-five years, enthusiasm for canal building became diluted by a new and greater enthusiasm, that of railway building. An American of some forty years of age at that time had witnessed America leaping into the canal period, then leaping out again into the era of the railroad.

BUILDING THE NATION'S ARTERIES

Let us take another look at the development of land transportation. At the present time a train will take us from New York to Philadelphia in less than two hours, and to Boston in about five hours. The "fire-wagon" had made its first appearance in America in 1830, but it was a very crude affair and the total railway mileage in the United States was only twenty-three miles. The chief means of transportation at that time was the newly introduced stage coach, which traveled over muddy highways. From New York to Philadelphia by stage coach took at least two days, and from New York to Boston, six days. Moreover, only the rich could use it when it was first introduced. In 1836, the stage coach com-

panies introduced an innovation, dividing the fare into three classes. The first-class passenger rode to his destination; a passenger in the second class had to get out of the coach and walk up the hills or when the mud was too deep; while anyone traveling third class had to get out and push. This may seem very funny at the present time but in those days it was a great boon to the people. The stage coaches often raced the new fire-wagons side by side, amid the rousing cheers of the riders.

But the stage coach lost out in the final race. The fire-wagon, which frightened horses, killed dogs, and aroused popular anger, eventually proved itself the most rapid and cheapest means of land transportation, as well as a very lucrative investment. In less than a decade, the old American quest for speed had turned to the railway enterprise. The improvement in locomotives, freight and passenger cars, and the laying of tracks took place with amazing rapidity. Within three decades the twenty-three miles of experimental tracks laid in 1830, had been extended to 30,000 miles. The development of its transportation at that time was a serious and urgent business to the nation because it was feared that, separated by huge mountains and vast distances, the West might detach itself from the East and become independent. Congress assisted the railroad companies, by giving them large tracts of land to build new lines. After 1860 the mileage of tracks laid every year multiplied rapidly, although by 1869 when the Transcontinental Line was completed, the total was only 50,000. By 1890, 167,000 miles of railroad furnished the nation with important economic arteries, making possible the rise of big cities through the cheap large-scale transportation of food and other commodities. The thick net of railroads connected every hamlet and big city. Economic activities in one part of the country were

closely connected with those in all other parts. Statistics for 1940 show American railways totaling about 233,000 miles, with siding tracks of some 119,000 miles.

The railway is still the backbone of America's land transportation but with the advent of the twentieth century, the automobile and modern highways suddenly rose like a strong competing army. Since 1916 this new means of transportation has clipped off 20,000 miles of railway mileage.

Although the invention of the motor car dates back to about 1885, the first decade was only an experimental period. This racket-making monster frightened dogs, horses, and pedestrians, and broke down frequently. Those willing to risk their safety to try it were mostly investors and manufacturers. In the early years of the twentieth century, it was not sold in any large numbers, and many cities would not allow it to run in the streets. In 1895 a large circus company hired an automobile as an object of curiosity for its audience. But after Henry Ford had built his improved version of the low-priced car, many far-sighted people realized that it could no longer be considered a nonsensical toy, but was an innovation with a great future. When Ford opened his automobile factory in 1903, it attracted national attention, and within a few years the characteristic American speed-and-rush had descended on the automobile industry. Huge capital investment from sources large and small poured into it. More than a hundred automobile factories mushroomed everywhere in the country.

The early automobiles broke down very frequently, and the smaller factories did not have enough capital to establish repair stations throughout the country. This resulted in the rise of large-scale manufacturers with huge investments, while the smaller ones gradually dropped out.

Within a short time the American automobile industry grew into an industrial giant. Mass production and the standardization of parts skyrocketed the number of cars and greatly reduced the price. In 1910 an automobile cost from several thousand to ten thousand dollars; before Pearl Harbor, seven to nine hundred dollars would buy a beautiful new car—far better than an expensive one in the previous period. The total number of cars in America in 1900 was less than 8,000; in 1910 it was still less than 500,000; but by 1922 it had broken the ten-million mark. This strange toy, first known as the horseless carriage, had dragged the country into a new era. In 1942 there were more than thirty-three million cars running in this country. A look at the registration numbers on the number plates today will give you some astonishing notions.

The building and improvement of highways accompanied the rise of the automobile. As the automobile crowded the horse and carriage out of the road, the nation's attention was drawn to the importance of adequate highways and soon the enthusiasm for highway building matched that of building canals and railways. In 1900, there were only 140,000 miles of gravel roads, which were made for the use of carriages and could not stand the weight and high speed of the automobile. Ten years later, hard-surfaced highways stretched across 270,000 miles. By 1941 paved roads in America had reached the astonishing total of 3,300,000 miles, of which 1,600,000 were hard surfaced. These roads knit together every village and town in the country. Upon them flowed a continuous tide of cars, consolidating the nation's economic organization, widening social contact and enriching the lives of the people. During his lifetime Henry Ford has witnessed

the automobile coming out of its embryo to change the entire pattern of American life.

These scattered stories of the transportation enterprise may suffice to illustrate the rapid developments of American technology and the brevity of various periods in American history.

FROM A NATION OF FARMERS TO A NATION OF WORKERS

Surveying the hundred and fifty years of America's history, we find the growth of its industry a very recent thing. Although industrial capital had outstripped agricultural capital by 1861 and important inventions were being made every year, American industries were still very crude and on a small scale. Measuring America's industrialization by the percentage of its urban population, we find the following figures: in 1860, urban population made up 19.8 per cent of the nation; thirty years later it was still only 35.1 per cent; not until 1920 did it reach the halfway mark, with a percentage of 51.2. An industrial America, comparable to her present status, did not appear until the end of World War I. If we take the number of millionaires as a rough yardstick in the development of large-scale economic enterprises, we find only three millionaires in 1861, thirty-eight in 1897, and 42,554 in 1919.

The lifetime of an American ninety years old at present would have spanned several great eras. In his childhood he would have heard his parents tell stories of hardship during America's war for independence. He would have seen with his own eyes an America of forests and wilderness transformed into a world of machines, of electrical and chemical inventions, and of great cities. He would have witnessed shiploads of poor but ambitious men from Europe, cross the Atlantic and rush ashore to release

their boundless energy clearing forests, digging mines, building railroads and highways, constructing factories, founding great cities, and accumulating huge fortunes. The machine was first used to save man's labor but it soon did things impossible for human hands.

The signs of wrecking companies are highly symbolic of the rapid changes in the appearance of American cities. In any big city today you will see many signs and advertisements of wrecking companies. In other countries, wrecking a house is part of the work of the building companies, but here house-wrecking has become a specialized profession. This is partly because of the huge amount of wrecking to be done and partly because, as a specialized profession requiring the development of particular skills and the use of expensive machinery, it can be done more cheaply and with greater speed. These professional wreckers have wrecked an entire city of houses. New buildings too are put up with startling rapidity.

FACTORIES ANSWER THE CALL OF ARMS

Today American material progress has not slowed down because of its great achievements in the past but, in fact, has speeded up. The astonishing story of industrial conversion in the war is an illustration. From the time of the last depression until 1939, America's production climbed back to its peak. During this period there was no munition industry to speak of; what manufacturing of arms was done was on a small scale. In March 1941, after Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, President Roosevelt made his "arsenal for democracy" declaration to the world, and set up the Office of Production Management, which absorbed many leading industrialists. This new office gradually transformed the American industrial machine into a machine for the manufacture of arms, but

the production proceeded at snail's pace. Only a few of the heavy industries, such as those manufacturing locomotives, began making airplanes, tanks, and other weapons. Figures showing America's production of civilian goods in 1941 are as follows: 5,000,000 cars and trucks; 3,700,000 refrigerators; 2,000,000 washing machines; 13,000,000 radio sets; 4,700,000 stoves and heating apparatus of various kinds; 2,000,000 vacuum cleaners; 5,500,000 electric irons; 5,400,000 electric clocks, and untold quantities of other commodities. The quantity of arms produced in that year did not compare with the production of civilian goods.

After December 7, 1941, the situation changed beyond recognition. The following January 6, President Roosevelt announced the nation's aim in arms production, and strengthened the administrative agencies dealing with armament production. In February of that year no more cars were manufactured. April ended the production of radios, phonographs, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, amusement and vending machines. May saw the stoppage of production of washing machines, electric irons, stoves and other electrical equipment, and metal furniture and other articles—in fact, as many as 400 metal items. July ended any production of sewing machines and many more metal articles. By October, 205 industries were required to discontinue the manufacture of civilian goods or were so limited in their use of critical materials that they went over to armament production. Finally, the use of metals or critical materials was restricted to farm tools and items absolutely necessary for daily life.

Large factories with a considerable number of workers and engineers accepted armament contracts directly from the government, but among the 184,000 American factories, 168,800 are small plants employing less than one

hundred workers each. Since these small plants could not produce complicated modern weapons, the government held exhibitions in the towns and cities to explain the methods of armament production and the ways of obtaining contracts or subcontracts from the government or larger factories. In this way, numerous smaller workshops were absorbed in the roaring tide of armament production. Those who could not manufacture a complete weapon obtained subcontracts from larger factories to make parts.

Since a modern weapon is frequently made up of many complicated parts, small shops would often work together in the production of an article. For example, one item used in suspending the wheels of a tank is made up of as many as fifty-four parts. One small stove factory, which could not make even one of these parts, organized seventy smaller factories in the neighborhood to produce the fifty-four parts, and assembled them in its own plant.

Another instance occurred in a town in Florida the month after Pearl Harbor. All the small factories of the town gathered together, rented the training ground of a circus, moved their machinery into the ground, and together made airplane landing wheels with a total value of a million dollars a year. Thus numerous industries were converted within a single year from civilian to armament production, and United States munitions flowed like a river to the world's battlefields.

In modern mass production converting machinery from civilian to armament manufacture is frequently a slow and costly process, and it is often quicker and cheaper to build new factories. America's armament production in the war did not depend entirely on conversion but to a considerable extent on new factories. Her industrial equipment in 1939 was valued at approximately seventy to eighty billion dollars. In the next two years it increased

nearly twenty per cent. In 1942, America's total expenditure for military purposes was forty per cent of that for other commodities and services. This figure grew to sixty per cent the following year. But in spite of this, the production of civilian goods in 1943 was thirty per cent more than in 1939. That is why, despite the great increase of the buying power of Americans in war time, the United States was able to avoid serious inflation.

THE MATURING OF AMERICAN CULTURE

When we see pedestrians in great American cities rushing along instead of walking, and the personnel in American offices and factories running about or their fingers flying on typewriters and calculators, we cannot help occasionally asking why they are so rushed. Is such a busy life really worth while? It seems to have become an inseparable part of machine civilization and its real value is a riddle. Without questioning the intrinsic value of machine civilization, however, let us look into the busy habits of Americans.

In a little more than a century, these Americans cleared a wild continent, and built the world's richest and most luxurious civilization from forests and empty prairies. Again, in two brief years, they converted an industrial machine whose complexity is beyond the grasp of man's imagination, into an effective, well-integrated armament industry which furnished the world with weapons to fight the dictatorial monsters. How could the Americans have accomplished all this without frantic haste? When the poor of Europe first flocked to America, they found everywhere opportunities which they had to grasp with all possible speed. They rushed to build railways; to secure land, gold, and oil; to invent; to build

factories and business enterprises. All the periods in American history have been brief and people have had to hurry in every period.

We frequently criticize Americans for their lack of cultural refinement and gentleness, for their overemphasis on practical things. These criticisms may have some justification, but their origins can be explained. We have already seen that America started not as a land of the rich but of the poor, and that her history is very short. Many American frontiersmen, who have had to do hard labor of all kinds, are still living today. With a continent waiting to be cleared, they have had no time for cultural refinement and gentle manners, for tending a flower garden.

When enterprises are rising everywhere and opportunities are rich, the immediate problem is to accomplish things quickly. This is why Americans like to finish a job first and talk about it afterwards. Under these conditions, who has the desire or time to talk about purely theoretical things? One's whole life is spent in building some practical enterprise, in practical work. The American railroad giant, Frederick Townsend Martin, once went to a seaside spot in Florida with a friend. The friend remarked, "The earth is really beautiful. I wonder if Paradise can be as beautiful as this." Martin turned to answer, "Unless there are railways to build in Paradise, I don't think I would like it up there." Martin, like most railroad magnates, came up the hard way as a laborer.

In the nineteenth century, America looked to Europe for leadership in the field of culture. A scholar was not respected unless he had studied music, art, science, or philosophy in Europe. European fashions, the social life of European nobility, was the captivating dream of rich Americans. Sons and daughters of American millionaires sought to marry European nobility as a means of

improving their social position. The important buildings in American cities at that time were in the classical European style. An America which had suddenly developed into a materially progressive state, lacked confidence and still looked to Europe for its cultural refinement.

But twentieth-century America is a different story in the matter of science, technology, and education. It has now developed world-famed centers of learning which do not blush when compared with any similar European institution. Some of these American rostrums of learning have even forged ahead of those in Europe. Lincoln was the last President from the backwoods; all the heads of state after his time were college or university men. A French girl, who came to this country as a refugee during the war and was studying at an American university, when asked her opinion of America, replied, "Europe is too backward. Here everything is growing and progressing. There are only seventeen universities in France compared to the 1,700 colleges and universities in America. The difference is striking. One feels that one has stepped into a new cultural world." The comparison may not be entirely fair since America is much larger than France and naturally has more centers of higher learning. However, the population and area of the United States are not one hundred times those of France.

American literature is ever attaining new heights. Readers in other countries have long been familiar with the translations of the works of some American writers such as Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street*, and *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair. Other writers noted for their penetrating pen in depicting social scenes include John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway, and John Dos Passos. Ever since the days when Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* helped to bring about the "Second Revolution,"

From Log Cabin to Skyscraper

emancipating the Negro slaves, each generation of Americans has produced powerful literature which has aroused popular interest in social problems. In poetry and other fields of literary endeavor, America has produced shining stars who have commanded world-wide admiration.

In the field of music and art, America is still young but is rapidly maturing. Music of native composers is now heard on the American stage and concert hall, which formerly played chiefly European selections. Jazz not only plays an important part in American daily life but also furnishes rich material for great symphonic pieces. In motion pictures, the wonder child of the twentieth century, America has topped the world. Museums and art connoisseurs, who previously bought pieces only from the European masters, are now beginning to purchase the work of American artists, depicting American scenes. There are famous centers for artists in various parts of the country. We rarely encounter new buildings in America which are in classical European style. Manhattan, which was bought from the Indians for twenty-four dollars, is now firmly ruled by typically American skyscrapers. The rugged sky line of skyscrapers portrays for tourists not only the general outline of New York but that of America's native culture as well.

After the fall of Paris in 1940, the world capital of fashions moved to New York, and New Yorkers are determined to maintain this status. Many observers agree that American women are the most fashionable in the world. This may be the work of American dollars, but we cannot deny that in its cultural tastes America has more than caught up with Europe. During the two world wars, a large number of the European nobility have come to this country. In World War II while

Meet the United States

bombs were exploding everywhere in Europe, you could pick up European nobility by the handfuls in any big American city, many of them working in factories and stores. The result is that the American's worship of European nobility has disappeared like smoke in the open air, and its social life is no longer the great dream of the wealthy American. America is maturing culturally at a rapid pace.



CHAPTER SIX

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIALISM

America has achieved epoch-making progress in democracy and economic development, but this does **not** mean that she has brought about the millennium in her brief history of a century and a half. Each time the country leaps into a new era, she wades into troubled waters. In the frontier days before 1890, whenever a man felt dissatisfied with his job or environment he could pick up his belongings and go out into an empty world to build an independent career. Since the close of the frontier, it is not impossible for an ambitious man, even without money, to establish a small business, but in most cases he will become hired help in a complex and impersonal world. In 1860, four out of five Americans possessed their own land or independent business; today, four out of five live on a salary or wages handed out by others.

THE BIG FELLOW AND THE LITTLE FELLOW

Great changes have also descended upon the organization of America's business. During the three decades following the Civil War, Americans discovered the advantages of large-scale business organizations. This discovery netted many lucky ones huge fortunes. Big organizations suddenly came into fashion, swallowing up small firms or snuffing them out of existence. When Congress passed the Anti-Trust law in 1890, almost the entire oil industry of the country was in the grip of

Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. As many as five thousand sugar factories were merged into the American Sugar Refining Company. By 1900, from fifty to ninety per cent of the commodities used in daily life, such as tobacco, matches, and biscuits, were controlled by huge organizations.

Since the strict enforcement of the Anti-Trust law, big trusts like the Standard Oil Company have been forced to break up into independent competing units. Unfair attempts by large companies to crush small ones or to control the market were strictly forbidden. Nevertheless, the definite trend is toward "big business" with its numerous economic advantages. Its influence instead of decreasing is still growing. Because of the pressure exerted by the Anti-Trust law, we cannot arrive at any accurate estimate in regard to the undercover activities of the big companies.

With the great industrial mergers arose the chain stores. These utilize centralized scientific management and large-scale buying. They administer from several to several thousand stores, selling goods cheaply, and making it more and more difficult for the independent shops. Everywhere you go in America today, you are bound to find these neat-looking chain stores, showing up the weaknesses of the old-fashioned independent stores around them.

Large-scale business organization has brought about a highly efficient and economical system of management. It has produced cheap automobiles, telephones, clothes, and numerous gadgets which make up the high standard of living of the American people. But the chances of success for the small independent enterprise have become narrower and narrower, and the degree of economic freedom for the individual is also shrinking. The outlet for the individual is no longer the unsettled

land, but to become hired help in some large complicated organization, like a negligible part in a complex machine. His alternative is to take up a small independent business, the disadvantages of which are growing with time. Men of superior ability can, of course, rise readily even in gigantic complicated organizations. In fact, many high executives in big business today worked their way up from laborers or other lowly positions. Most big railway men work their way up instead of being born into their high positions.

The question is how the average man can maintain his freedom in these large complicated business machines and secure a position commensurate with his ability. How can the modern efficiency of a large business organization be maintained without turning the average worker into a mere cog in the wheel, thus curtailing his opportunity for full development? With the close of the frontier, America left behind a world where the predominant struggle was between man and nature, and entered a world where the struggle is between man and man. How can freedom and opportunity for the average man still be maintained in accordance with the country's democratic tradition? These are some of the questions America has taken on together with her brand-new industrial civilization.

ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION

Before the outbreak of the second World War, President Roosevelt declared that one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clad. Those who see only America's luxurious stores, beautiful streets, and smooth hard-surfaced highways may not realize the truth of the President's words. But if we were to lose

our way in a poor section of a big city or among the workers' homes near a factory, we should see an entirely different picture. There we should find row upon row of dilapidated buildings, numerous dirty ragged children playing in narrow streets. If we ask one of these children where he lives, he may point to a windowpane thickly coated with smoke and dust. Curiosity might lead us into one of these houses where we would see dimly lighted corners and squeaky floors, with many families living on each floor. If we enter one of the homes, we may see several rooms with beds, chair, a table or two, a chest, a coal stove, a sink and wash basin, and clothes scattered on the beds and floor. Some of these rooms may have eight or ten or even more persons living in them. Some contain four or five beds, and frequently three or four children sleep in one bed. The toilet is often an outdoor privy.

This is the other side of America's world of luxury, totally different from her middle class homes. These include a patch of lawn and flowers, a dining room, living room, bedrooms, and toilet cleaner than a Chinese eating table. They are equipped with electric lights, a telephone, vacuum cleaner, washing machine, and an untold number of the gadgets of modern living.

The above dark picture may not represent the situation of the entire working class, still there are large numbers of people huddled under the dark shadow of America's modern materialistic civilization. In New York—a city outwardly sophisticated, intoxicated with songs, dances, pretty dresses, and perfume—one quarter of the inhabitants live in "old-law" tenements. In 1937, Philadelphia and St. Louis each had 10,000 outdoor privies. In the same year, Minneapolis had 8,000 houses absolutely devoid of any water system, even hand pumps. It is worse in

the rural districts, of course. In the era of electricity we still find farmers everywhere using the good old kerosene lamp.

The *New York Times* reported on November 14, 1935, that there were 135,000 undernourished children in New York City. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reported in 1930 that there were no less than 6,000,000 undernourished children in the country. In 1937 a rural school teacher introduced me to two contrasting American families. In the home of the first, where I had dinner, I saw hardly any meat under the dim kerosene lamp; I had only vegetables and bread. The next day we visited a middle class farm where we had lunch. My mouth watered when I saw a big platter of roast beef being placed on the table. I have always been grateful to that teacher for showing me the two sides of the story of America's machine civilization.

How many poor people are there in rich and luxurious America? There is no accurate answer to this question, but let us look at the statistics for 1929, the peak year of America's prosperity. Figures for that year, indicating family incomes, are as follows:

Number of families	Annual income
5,899,000	\$1,000 or less
10,225,000	\$1,000-\$2,000
5,192,000	\$2,000-\$3,000
3,672,000	\$3,000-\$5,000
2,256,000	More than \$5,000

At that time the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics disclosed that the adequate annual income to maintain a healthy family was \$1,900 in New York, \$2,100 in Chicago, and \$2,300 in San Francisco. According to these figures, there were between six and ten million

families with an inadequate income at that time. Thus, large numbers of Americans are still unable to enjoy the fruits of scientific and industrial civilization. How economic progress can be brought to the masses is a problem that has come to America together with her rapid advancement.

THE QUESTION OF SECURITY

The above figures represent a year of peak prosperity. In years of depression, the number facing financial difficulties is much larger, and in the American economic system, depressions come to call with the regularity of malaria. They came in 1837, 1859, 1873, 1893, 1913, 1929 — one depression every twenty years with almost uncanny accuracy. When the United States was still an agricultural country, most of the people would suffer economic losses and a reduced standard of living but not actual starvation during these years of depression. But in industrial America the majority depends upon business jobs for its bread, and when a depression causes business collapse and a reduction of workers and wages, it brings far greater hardship, even danger, to the people. In a country where banking is well developed, as in America, a man may labor and save throughout his life only to find all his savings evaporated with the closing of his bank. A careful and thrifty man may find himself innocently dragged into hunger and poverty by a depression. Such economic insecurity is another great problem in America's rapid progress. Recently, however, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has assumed responsibility for protecting depositors, thus offering an effective remedy.

One of these depression monsters in a complex, impersonal, industrial community entails many fatal experiences. The great depression that began in 1929

scattered tragedies across the entire country. There were sixteen million unemployed, and eleven million working but one to three days a week. The unemployed included twenty thousand school teachers. Countless idle workers, small business men and even professors were reduced to selling apples on the street. Parents, unable to feed their children, were forced to leave them to orphanages, husbands and wives were parted, each going to live with his parents; men, women, and children were evicted from their homes because they could not pay rent. Shanty towns lined railway tracks and even public parks. Hungry guests called on garbage cans in the alleys, and respectable people were driven by hunger to seek help from public welfare agencies, not daring to greet an acquaintance on the street. Yet in this great tragedy we find the burning of potatoes and wheat in order to maintain price levels. This is what we call poverty in abundance, man-made famine. We use the word famine only metaphorically because the large-scale relief measures of the central government were very effective in the depression, and extremely few people actually died of starvation. Nevertheless, we can see from this picture that the masses in America still lack economic security.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Economic insecurity stems not only from the regular visitation of depressions but also from the phenomenon of normal unemployment. Except in wartime, when there is always a shortage of labor, we find more than a million unemployed even in times of prosperity. The ranks of the unemployed naturally swell in years of depression. In 1935 there were 3,833 applicants for every hundred office jobs in New York.

In the rapid current of modern economy, numerous business organizations fail every year or are combined

with others into larger units, with the result that many people are thrown out of work. Another cause of unemployment is technological. Whenever a new machine is installed it takes the place of many human hands. A man who finds himself replaced by a machine or because of a new business set-up may learn a new skill or look for another job if he is young, but if he is old his chances of a come-back are very limited. If he has accumulated some savings, he can live meagerly on them or start a small business, but if his savings are limited and he has the burden of a large family, he will have to look for a job against numerous odds. Many modern efficient business establishments have fixed policies not to hire workers above the age of fifty or even forty. If an older man is hired he is frequently put in an unimportant job, not utilizing his lifetime skill. Socially speaking, this is a waste of man power and hard-earned skills; speaking from the standpoint of the individual, it is the tragedy of old age. In a scientifically and technologically advanced society, one who has devoted his whole life to conscientious work should have the right to enjoy a happy old age. But in the highly competitive economic current of America, both unemployment and underprivilege of old age are serious problems.

Technological unemployment, however, is relative rather than absolute. A new technological invention may throw some out of work but it also creates new industries for a large number of new workers. If we visit a modern steel plant in Pittsburgh, we see a few lonely workers in a huge building, manipulating machinery and pouring tons of modern steel into molds. We cannot help recalling that this work was formerly done by tens or even hundreds of workers, and we unconsciously think of this as technological unemployment. But when we visit the labora-

tories of the same plant, we find hundreds of scientists and technologists doing research work. This is technological employment because when one of these experiments achieves success, tens of thousands of workers will be employed in some new industry of its creation. Thus, when the telephone was first used it replaced several thousand messenger boys but the telephone industry now employs more than 400,000 workers. New opportunities created by technology show the other side of technological unemployment. The solution of America's technological unemployment is naturally not the halting of its progress but the orderly distribution and transfer of man power.

CAPACITY PRODUCTION AND FREEDOM FROM WANT

It seems inevitable in human society that part of the people shall find themselves poor or unemployed. This may be true in a society of backward economy because the production of goods is limited by slow handicraft processes and the number of consumers is large. But since the development of machine production, the most crucial problem is no longer poverty caused by the scarcity of goods but the distribution of surplus commodities. When it is no longer a question of insufficient production but one of overproduction, the abolition of poverty becomes a real possibility. To a country of backward economy, President Roosevelt's "Freedom from want" seems like a fairy tale, but in America where production technology has resulted in such great progress, it is a real possibility.

According to the book entitled *America's Capacity to Produce*, published by the Brookings Institution, production in the United States from 1925 to 1929 was at least twenty per cent below the maximum practical limit. Adequate utilization of the means of production in that year

ought to have brought to the American people the fruits of scientific civilization. In other words, if the production equipment had been utilized to the full practical limits, twenty per cent more goods could have been produced. Translating this into dollars, America could have produced an additional fifteen billion dollars worth of goods. If these additional goods were distributed among all the families having an annual income less than \$2,000 in 1929, it would bring their income up to that level. In other words, America could, theoretically, wipe out poverty merely by using her surplus production power. The Civil Works Administration in its *National Survey of Potential Product Capacity* in 1935 published a Chart of Plenty which stated that if America's raw materials, equipment, and man power were fully utilized they could produce goods that would require an average annual income of \$4,370 for every American family to consume. Naturally these figures are hypothetical since the differences in people's abilities and efforts will not permit of an even distribution of goods to all families. Nevertheless we can see that America has potential ability to banish want and hunger. We can also see that a nation cannot solve all the problems of its people's happiness merely by adopting modern technology and efficiency.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Democracy in America has indeed progressed with time. Since the establishment of the Republic, the poor people have consistently expressed their will through its constitutional government. They forced the Bill of Rights into the Constitution; they sent champions of the common folk like Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln to the White House; they changed the system of indirect election of the President and senators

into one of direct election by the people. The method of elections has become increasingly fair since 1888. The Civil Service law passed in 1883 greatly reduced the evils of the party spoils system. In general, the rights of man have been closely observed, except in the case of the Negro. All this does not mean that American democracy has reached perfection. Poll taxes in the South still prevent Negroes from voting. No federal law has yet been passed to prevent lynching. A considerable number of citizens of voting age still do not go to the polls. Since the rise of big cities, political bosses and political machines cause corruption in many localities. Control of the press by "big money" has to a certain extent impaired the people's freedom of speech. These are a few defects in America's democracy which even a layman can spot.

EFFORTS TO FIND A REMEDY

Not only the foreign observer can detect some of America's economic, social, and political perplexities, but Americans themselves are becoming aware of them. The people and government are constantly discussing them and attempting to find a solution. Since the 1880's there has been a distinct trend by both the people and the government toward emphasis upon social and economic problems. Furthermore, the crash in 1929 produced important legislation during Roosevelt's administration.

In the past half century there have been many attempts to solve these problems: The Anti-Trust law aims at limiting the excessive aggression by big capital and protecting the free development of smaller enterprises. The progressive rates of the income tax are an attempt to make a fair distribution of the public burden on people of varying incomes, thus \$400 is taken out of an annual net income of \$2,000, while \$800,000 is taken

from an income of \$1,000,000. Insurance on savings banks' deposits protects one from losing his lifetime savings. The government has limited activities on the stock market in an attempt to mitigate the evils of gambling in stock, which time and again has shaken the nation's economic structure to its foundation. Work and emergency relief tided over the worst period in the depression years for millions of people. Social legislation passed since 1935 includes: unemployment insurance; old age pensions; federal aid for orphans, expectant mothers, families overburdened with a large number of dependants, disabled children, and the poverty stricken. The federal crop insurance protects farmers from serious loss in bad years, while other farm legislation gives farmers the benefit of loan and various aids. Federal housing acts enable people to build adequate homes with government guaranteed loans; local government housing projects furnish the low-income groups with large-scale housing facilities. Time and again Congress has debated legislation on the poll tax and lynching questions. All these are but a few of the many public and private efforts to improve the people's social and industrial welfare.

It would take volumes to list all the social legislation by the United States government. Whether this legislation can attack the root of the evils mentioned above is debatable but it is a fact that many Americans have benefited from these public measures. Among the many post-war plans of this country is one to guarantee the people's security from the cradle to the grave. Such proposals show that the Americans are aware of their defects and are attempting to remedy them. But America's greatest contributions are freedom of speech and democratic constitutional government. Under the system of free speech, leaders and people alike are free to discuss openly any

problem, examine openly any defect, and propose openly any plan of remedy or reformation. From the great diversity of opinions expressed in the press, one feels that Americans will not let any illness grow in the dark until it becomes an incurable disease. At the same time, under the system of constitutional government, the majority can always express its decisions regarding its own welfare at the polls. With the progressive lifting of educational standards, the people understand better where their own benefit and interest lie, and the continuing advancement of America's education is an evident trend.

These factors, together with America's progress in science and technology, and her immense productive capacity, with the confidence, energy, frankness, speed, and practical nature of her people — all make one feel that America is a country full of hope and deserving our attention. That America tops the world in prosperity and progress is too glittering a fact to need emphasis. Therefore, we have to point out rather the shadow behind the bright light. It takes hundreds of years for a civilization to mature, for a historical age to arrive at a state of balance. The history of machine civilization is still short; modern machines and the energy they generate are still new; man has not yet worked out an adequate social organization to utilize them wisely. Such an adequate social organization will not appear abruptly, for its complexity has never been experienced by man in the past. America is still young. Her defects, like measles in a rapidly growing child, will not be fatal to her final growth and development.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

INCORPORATED

2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

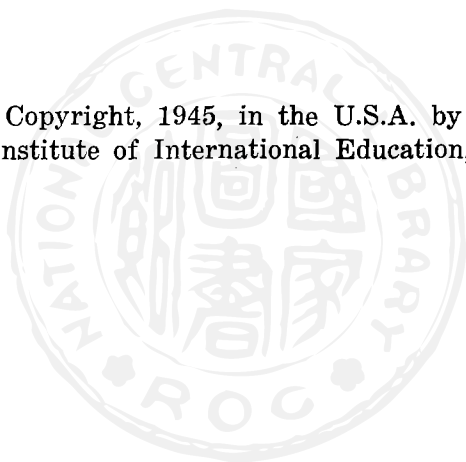
STEPHEN DUGGAN, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D. L.H.D.
Director

EDGAR J. FISHER, Ph.D.
Assistant Director

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

WILLIAM W. BISHOP	WALDO G. LELAND
SAMUEL P. CAPEN	PAUL MONROE
HARRY J. CARMAN	JOHN BASSETT MOORE
JOSEPH P. CHAMBERLAIN	HENRY MORGENTHAU
STEPHEN DUGGAN	EDWARD R. MURROW
JOHN FOSTER DULLES	WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
VIRGINIA GILDERSLEEVE	ARTHUR W. PACKARD
ALVIN JOHNSON	LELAND REX ROBINSON
THOMAS W. LAMONT	G. HOWLAND SHAW
MARY E. WOOLLEY	

Copyright, 1945, in the U.S.A. by the
Institute of International Education, Inc.



Printed by THE MERCURY PRESS



Meet the 

by
CHING-KUN YANG



Published in China by
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE
By Special Permission of the
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.
2 West 45th Street, New York, 19, N. Y.

August, 1948.



★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Meet the 

by
CHING-KUN YANG

Published in China by
UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE
By Special Permission of the
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.
2 West 45th Street, New York, 19, N. Y.

August, 1948.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★