TEXT FLY WITHIN
THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_154601

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

GOVERNMENT OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA · MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

GOVERNMENT OF

CITIES

IN THE UNITED STATES

HAROLD ZINK

Professor of Political Science
Ohio State University

REVISED EDITION

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

New York

Revised Edition Copyright, 1948

BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

All rights reserved—no part of this book may be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who wishes to quote brief passages in connection with a review written for inclusion in magazine or newspaper.

First edition copyright, 1939 by The Macmillan Company

Third Printing, 1950

Printed in the United States of America

TO

ANNE AND SARA ANN

PREFACE

The writer of a textbook is traditionally expected to present a justification of his temerity. Being particularly interested in machine politics this writer is mindful of the soundness of the observation of Boss Richard Croker to the effect that "He who excuses himself accuses himself"; nevertheless, it may be appropriate to point out certain factors that have entered into the decision to undertake such a task.

First of all, it may be noted that the last two decades have witnessed significant changes in the field of municipal government in the United States. The enlarged role of the federal government in city affairs, the elaboration of public welfare programs, the changed emphasis in city planning, the improvement in local public personnel practices, the added interest in public housing, and the accentuation of the difficulties incident to obtaining adequate municipal revenues may be cited as examples of these recent developments.

Also it may be pointed out that certain trends in the teaching of political science perhaps warrant another text in the field of city government. The addition of more or less elaborate courses in public administration to the curricula of colleges and universities gives rise to the question as to whether a revised outline is not desirable for courses in municipal government and administration. An increased appreciation of the influence of pressure groups and citizens' organizations in city government as well as greater attention to public reporting also help to justify a text which deals with these topics. The drift away from a predominant emphasis upon the legal aspects of city government, especially in undergraduate courses, and the growing realization of the vigorous role of political organizations and machines may also be mentioned as developments which contribute to a new treatment of municipal problems.

With almost every aspect of city government in the United States adding to its complexity, the writer of a textbook which attempts to survey the entire field must more than ever rely upon

others. The present writer is very conscious of the debt which he owes to colleagues, to such publications as the *National Municipal Review*, *The Municipal Year Book*, and *Public Management*, to members of the staffs of "1313" agencies, and to the various bureaus of governmental research.

To be more specific, there is the deep gratitude which is felt for the stimulating interest of William B. Munro both during and since student days. The distinguished lucidity and incisiveness of his lectures on city government at Harvard will always remain a vivid memory.

June, 1948 HAROLD ZINK

CONTENTS

PART I. INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE PLACE OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES	3
II.	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION	24

PART II. THE PLACE OF CITIES IN THE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES

III.	THE RELATION OF CITIES TO STATES: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE	37
IV.	THE RELATION OF CITIES TO STATES: ADMINISTRATIVE	54
V.	THE RELATION OF CITIES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	71
VI.	THE RELATION OF CITIES TO GOVERNMENT UNITS OTHER THAN STATES AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	96

PART III. LEGAL ASPECTS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

VII.	CHARTERS	111
VIII.	THE LEGAL STATUS OF CITIES	131

PART IV. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND POLITICS

IX.	MUNICIPAL ELECTORS	143
X.	MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS	155
XI.	POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES	172
XII.	THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES	196
XIII.	MONEY AND GRAFT IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS	218
XIV.	MUNICIPAL PRESSURE GROUPS	228

PART V. THE STRUCTURE OF CITY GOVERNMENT

XV.	THE MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT: THE MAYOR	259
XVI.	THE MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT: THE COUNCIL	279

CHAPTER PAGE

XVII. The Commission Form of City Government . . . 299
XVIII. The Council-Manager Form of City Government . 315
XIX. The Organization of the Administrative Departments 342

PART VI. THE ACTIVITIES OF CITY GOVERNMENT

XX. Municipal Personnel Administration 359
XXI. Municipal Revenues 374
XXII. Municipal Expenditures 393
XXIII. Public Works: Streets 416
XXIV. Public Works: Sanitation 432
XXV. Public Utilities 443
XXVI. Public Schools and Libraries 464
XXVII. Public Welfare 479
XXVIII. Protection to Person and Property 501
XXIX. The Administration of Justice in Cities: Justice and Magistrate Courts 531
XXX. The Administration of Justice in Cities: Other Agencies 545

PART VII. THE PROBLEM OF BETTER CITY GOVERNMENT

XXXI. City Planning 565
XXXII. The Problem of Creating a Popular Demand for Good City Government 587

Appendix: A Project in Municipal Measurement 609

Index 619

PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE PLACE OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

DEFINITION OF THE TERM CITY

Political or Legal.—Like many other words in common use, the term *city* does not permit a simple definition. Perhaps three uses are of sufficient frequency to justify the attention of the student of municipal government. First of all—and most important from the standpoint of municipal government—there is the political or legal concept. The political city is a local government which is recognized by the law of some state as a city. Incorporation is an attribute of political or legal cities, but incorporation is not strictly limited to cities in as much as towns and villages also may be given corporate status by states.[1] Before a local government can qualify as a political city, a certain minimum population requirement must ordinarily be met. For example, Illinois and Nebraska specify a population of 1000 as the smallest that any city within their borders may have. Ohio asks for five times as many inhabitants, while New York and Pennsylvania demand a minimum population of 10,000. It should be pointed out that merely because a local community can claim sufficient population, municipal status does not automatically follow. Legislative, judicial, or popular action must transform the local government from a town or village into a city.

Socio-Economic.—Not infrequently the term *city* is used in a socio-economic sense. Greater Boston, Metropolitan New York, and the Metropolitan Area of Chicago are not cities in the political or legal sense—Greater New York includes something like 271 governmental units. However, from the standpoint of industry, finance, social organization, and cultural offerings political lines

[1] For the difference between a city and other municipal corporations see: J. F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), 5th edition, Vol. 1, sec. 57.

play a comparatively small role. These metropolitan areas display a great deal of unity despite their division into numerous governmental units.

Census.—The Federal Bureau of the Census classifies incorporated places of 2,500 or more people as "urban." [1] Some people rather loosely use this classification to refer to cities.

IMPORTANCE OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

As Population Centers.—As far as population numbers are concerned, urban places are now more important than rural districts in the United States, although they have not enjoyed such a superior position very long. As recently as 1910 the rural areas surpassed the urban communities as population centers of the country. According to the census of 1940, 56.5 per cent of the population of the United States lived in communities of 2,500 or more people, and an additional 7.1 per cent resided in incorporated places having populations of less than 2,500. Thus a total of 63.6 per cent of the population in 1940 lived in urban places under the census definition or municipally-incorporated places. The situation is complicated by the fact that not all of the places of 2,500 or more inhabitants qualify as political cities. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas all of the places of less than 10,000 must be thrown out. In many states communities which might classify as cities on the basis of any population requirement prefer to maintain town or village status. Thus there are the Oak Parks and the Brooklines. Many of the incorporated places of under 2,500 fall into the category of towns and villages. A refined figure would probably show that slightly over half of the population of the United States now belong to political cities. 47.8 per cent of the people in 1940 lived in 140 metropolitan areas which might be called socio-economic cities.[2]

From the Standpoint of Business and Industry.—From the standpoint of industry cities can rightfully claim a far greater place than as mere places of residence. While some factories are situated in rural districts and in villages, the great bulk of manufacturing

[1] This was slightly modified in 1930 when the Bureau of the Census included certain unincorporated places in New England and a few other states as urban. See: *Census Abstract 1930*, p. 5.

[2] For additional discussion and statistics see: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 29–30.

is centered in cities. Recently 155 counties, which included the great industrial cities of the United States, claimed 64.7 per cent of the industrial establishments, 74 per cent of all industrial workers, and 79 per cent of the total value of all industrial products. Transportation must necessarily cover the country, but its offices and warehouses and even its shops rarely are located out of cities. Approximately three-fourths of railroad traffic terminates in cities. The wholesale business is almost entirely confined to cities, and the majority of retail merchandizing is found in cities. Banking depends upon rural areas for some of its business, but the banking organization of the United States largely concentrates in cities.

As Centers of Culture.—Cities occupy an especially notable position as cultural centers. The theatre, music, architecture, painting, and sculptoring find most of their devotees in cities. While some educational institutions prefer small towns or rural sites, a large majority of colleges, universities, and professional schools find it advantageous to locate in cities. The publishing firms, the newspapers, the movie studios, and the radio broadcasting stations, although sometimes regarded as of dubious cultural significance, are almost exclusively confined to cities.[1]

As Centers of Vice and Crime.—On the other and less roseate side of the picture must be placed the greater tendency of cities toward certain types of crime and vice. City inhabitants in general are probably not very different from rural people when it comes to honesty and morals. But the dangerous criminals flock to cities because the opportunities abound there and there is greater safety than in the rural areas where everyone knows everyone else. With more congestion certain social offenses multiply, while with large numbers of people more rules and regulations must be imposed and hence more law infringements result. Organized vice finds an anonymity which is lacking in the country; cities also have more money to spend for such purposes.[2]

From a Political Standpoint.—From a political standpoint cities occupy a very important place in the United States. Rural areas may get along with a comparatively simple political organization,

[1] For an interesting discussion of this question see: Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938).

[2] Consult National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on the Cost of Crime* (Washington, 1931).

but cities, with their complicated problems, must provide elaborate structures of government. With their greater wealth cities pay the larger part of the cost of carrying on national and state government. Because of their problems they must receive the especial attention of the national and state governments in the administration of relief and similar matters. With their large resources cities offer an unusually promising field for the operation of political machines and bosses, and hence these features of American politics and government often attain notorious reputations in cities. Cities employ large numbers of persons—some 861,000 in 1945. They spend for public purposes several billion dollars per year and hence require substantial amounts from the taxpayers.[1]

CLASSIFICATION OF CITIES

On the Basis of Population.—A satisfactory classification of cities presents difficulties. On the basis of population there were 1,422 places, not all of which were cities, having populations of from 2,500 to 5,000 in 1940. In the 5,000–10,000 class there were 965 cities; in the 10,000–25,000 class 665 cities; in the 25,000–50,000 class 213 cities; in the 50,000–100,000 class 107 cities; in the 100,000–250,000 class 55 cities; in the 250,000–500,000 class 23 cities; and in the 500,000–1,000,000 class 9 cities. Five cities in 1940 had populations exceeding 1,000,000. The total number of places of 2,500 or more inhabitants ran to 3,464. Then there were 3,205 incorporated places with populations of from 1,000 to 2,500, and 10,083 incorporated places with less than 1,000 inhabitants. Such a classification means something, but it does not tell the entire story. Cities with the same populations often present great variations in problems and achievements.[2]

On the Basis of Economic Interest.—While population may be significant in classifying cities, it frequently does not tell the whole story since two cities of the same size may actually be very different in character. In the case of cities having populations over 10,000 the major economic interest may furnish a more meaningful basis for classification. By using employment as a criterion cities may be divided into the following categories: manufacturing, industrial, wholesale, retail, and diversified. A manufacturing city may be

[1] In 1945 cities of 25,000 or over spent $2,682,199,000 for general purposes.

[2] *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Volume 1, Population.

defined as one in which 50 per cent or more of the aggregate employment is in manufacturing establishments and retail trade accounts for less than 30 per cent; an industrial city has 50 per cent or more employed in manufacturing and a retail trade employment of over 30 per cent. A wholesale city is one in which at least 25 per cent of the employment is in wholesale trade, while a retail city is one in which more are employed in retail businesses than in any other category and manufacturing accounts for less than 20 per cent. Diversified cities are of two types: (1) those in which manufacturing employment is less than 50 per cent and retail trade second in importance, and (2) those in which retail employment is predominant and manufacturing employment ranges from 20 to 50 per cent.[1]

Another type of economic city is the dormitory city. Here are included suburban places and certain independent cities in which less than 40 per cent of the residents are actually employed in the places where they spend their nights.

Various other types of cities such as education centers, government centers, mining towns, transportation centers, and health or amusement resorts may be mentioned. If 20 per cent or more of the inhabitants are enrolled in a college or university, a city is classified as an education center. If 15 per cent or more of the persons employed are accounted for by the government service, federal, state, or local, then a city is considered a government center. A mining town has 15 per cent or more of its employed persons engaged in mining, while a transportation city has at least 25 per cent of its resident labor employed in transportation or related functions. Health resorts or amusement centers have less than 15 per cent of their employed persons engaged in manufacturing and more than 10 per cent in eating and drinking places, hotels, lodging places, amusement places, recreational facilities, and sanitoria.

Finally, it is possible to divide cities into independent cities, central cities, and suburbs. Somewhat over one-half of the cities over 10,000 in population may be regarded as independent cities, approximately one-sixth as central cities in metropolitan districts, and about one-third as suburban places.

[1] For a more detailed discussion of the problem of classifying cities see: Grace K. Ohlson, "Economic Classification of Cities," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 32–40.

Small Cities and Large Cities.—A classification employed in this treatise divides cities into small-city and large-city types. The problem is where to draw the line which divides the large cities from the small cities. Admittedly it can be done in only the most general terms. Certain cities fall easily into the small-city category; others would be considered by everyone to be large cities; but there are many which lie on the borderline and sometimes seem to belong to one and sometimes to the other class. In a general way, the population figure 100,000 probably has as much claim to be the size-dividing line as any other. Nevertheless, some cities of less than 100,000 inhabitants have more in common with large cities than their sisters with populations of perhaps 125,000.

URBAN DISTRIBUTION

Distribution of Cities among Geographical Divisions of the United States.—The distribution of cities among the various geographical divisions of the United States is far from uniform. Several sections can claim a high degree of urbanization, while other sections have almost no large cities and comparatively few cities of any size. In 1940, the Middle Atlantic states laid claim to the first place among the several geographical sections on the basis of degree of urbanization, with 76.8 per cent of the people residing in urban communities.[1] New England fell just behind, with 76.1 per cent urbanization; the third place went to the East North Central states, with 65.5 per cent; and then the Pacific Coast states followed with 65.3 per cent. No other geographical division in 1940 had as many people living in urban communities as in rural sections. The West North Central states could show only 44.3 per cent urbanization; the Mountain states 42.7 per cent; the West South Central states 39.8 per cent; and the South Atlantic states 38.8 per cent. The least urbanized section of the United States is the East South Central, embracing Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, with only 29.4 per cent of its population urban in 1940.[2]

Variation among the States as to Degree of Urbanization.—The several states also vary widely as to the relative importance of cities and

[1] It should be pointed out that urban population refers to the census classification basing the statistics on the figure 2,500. Obviously, therefore, these figures are not entirely accurate as far as political cities are concerned.

[2] *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Volume 2, Population.

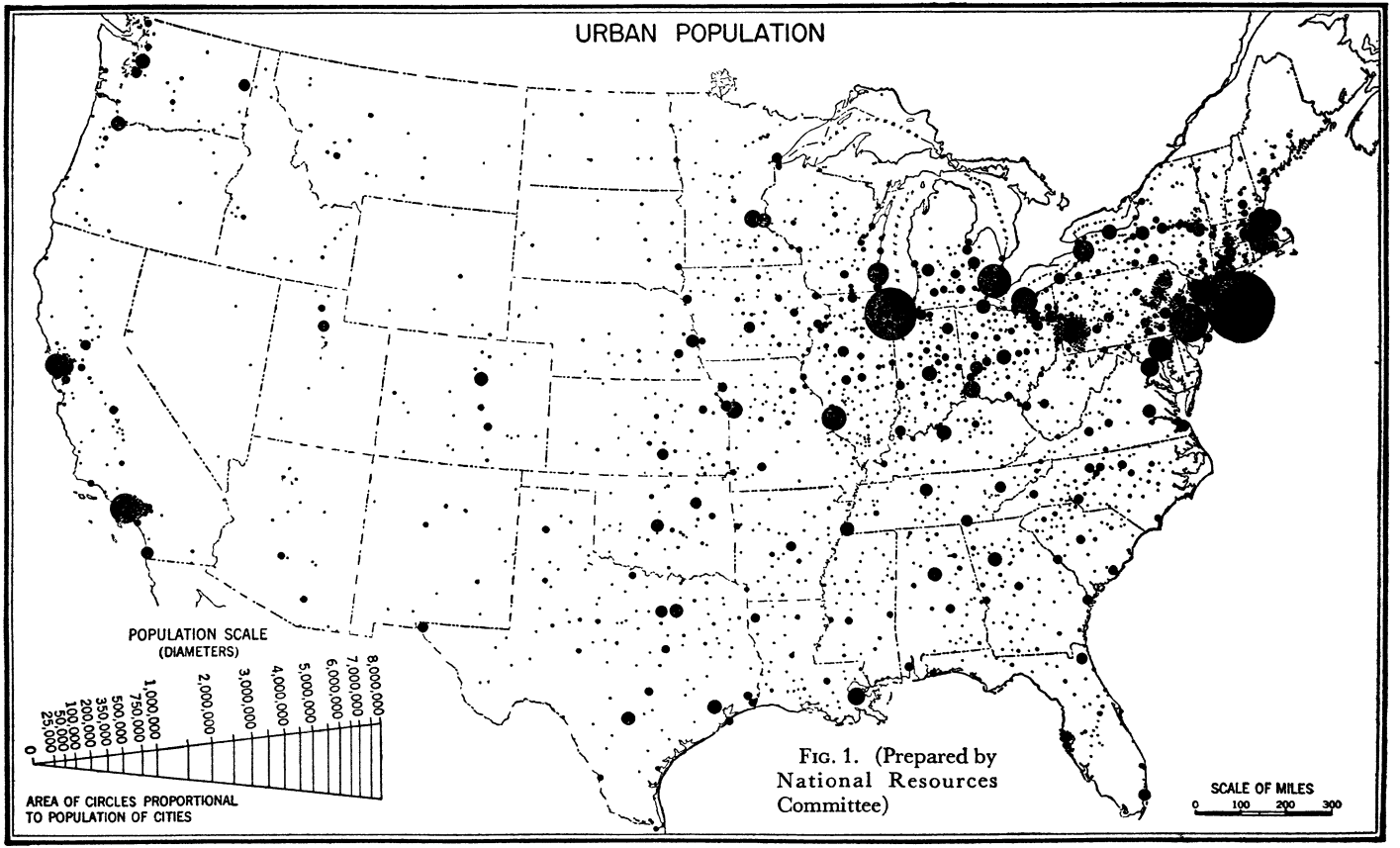


FIG. 1. (Prepared by National Resources Committee)

rural districts. The state of Rhode Island compares favorably on the basis of urbanization with the highly urbanized countries of the world—in 1940 91.6 per cent of its inhabitants resided in places of 2,500 or more people. Among states with high degrees of urbanization may be mentioned: Massachusetts, with 89.4 per cent; New York, with 82.8 per cent; New Jersey, with 81.6 per cent; Illinois, with 73.6 per cent; California, with 71.0 per cent; Connecticut, with 67.8 per cent; Michigan, with 65.7 per cent; Ohio, with 66.8 per cent; and Pennsylvania, with 66.5 per cent. Cities are least notable in Mississippi and North Dakota, which in 1940 reported 19.8 per cent and 20.6 per cent respectively of their inhabitants as living in places of 2,500 or larger. Among other states with comparatively low degrees of urbanization are: Arkansas, with 22.2 per cent; South Carolina, with 24.5 per cent; South Dakota, with 24.6 per cent; North Carolina, with 27.3 per cent; West Virginia, with 28.1 per cent; and Alabama, with 30.2 per cent.[1]

THE MODERN GROWTH OF CITIES

Growth of Cities in the World.—The rise of cities throughout much of the world has been one of the notable phenomena of the last century. At times it is assumed that the United States has been peculiar in this regard, but a glance at Europe, Asia, Australia, and South America will soon dispel such a notion. Even in China and India, where history goes back for long periods and vast populations have been the rule for a long time, the growth of cities has been rapid during the last century. Such great metropolises as Shanghai, Hong Kong, Calcutta, and Bombay are largely products of the modern period. The large cities in Australia, Buenos Aires in Argentina, and modern Rome, Berlin, and Leningrad in Europe primarily belong to the recent period, and even Paris and London have added to their importance, as far as population is concerned, in a very marked manner since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Growth of Cities in the United States.—When the first census was taken in the United States in 1790, only 3.3 per cent of the population resided in cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants. There were

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2.

only six cities of this size, and their total population amounted to a mere 131,472.[1] Philadelphia claimed to be the largest city in the United States; its population only slightly exceeded forty thousand. New York City had approximately thirty thousand inhabitants, and Boston less than twenty thousand. One hundred and fifty years later the United States reported that 47.6 per cent of her people lived in places of 10,000 or more, a total of 62,-715,897. In contrast to the six places exceeding 8,000 in 1790

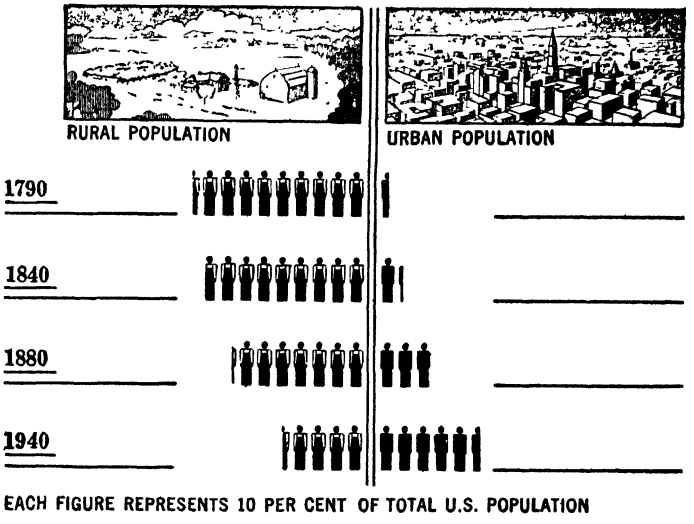


Fig. 2. Proportion of rural and urban population.

there were 1,076 urban communities of 10,000 or more inhabitants in 1940.[2]

Rate of Urban Growth.—The rate of urban growth has been distinctly more rapid than that of the population of the United States as a whole. In the decade ending with 1800 the population in places of 8,000 or more increased 60.4 per cent, while the total population enjoyed an increase of 35.1 per cent. Fifty years later the rates were 99.3 per cent and 35.9 per cent respectively. By 1900 the gap between the two had been reduced to some extent, but even so the respective increases amounted to 37.1 per cent and 20.7 per cent. In the decade ending in 1930

[1] *A Century of Population Growth* (1790–1900), Bureau of the Census report.
[2] *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Volume 2, Population.

the rate of urban growth still reached almost twice the level of that of the population as a whole.[1] For the first time the decade 1930–1940 saw cities slowed down to the over-all rate.

Rise of Great Metropolitan Centers.—Along with the rapid growth of all classes of cities there has been a decided tendency on the part of the people of the United States to congregate in very large metropolitan centers. It has already been pointed out that the largest city in 1790 claimed only slightly more than forty thousand people. By 1850 New York City had over 500,000 inhabitants, and Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Cincinnati all could claim more than 100,000 people. In 1940, slightly less than 30 per cent of the entire population resided in cities having a population of 100,000 or more. In the same year five cities had passed the million mark; nine others had more than half a million inhabitants; twenty-three other cities could claim at least a quarter of a million people; and fifty-five additional cities fell in the 100,000–250,000 group. New York City had reached the vast size of 7,454,995, and Chicago had slightly less than half as many people.[2] Several of the largest cities actually have larger populations than many of the states.

The striking character of the situation would be accentuated if state lines could be broken down or ignored. Thus the population of Chicago might be considerably increased if the northwest corner of Indiana were permitted to withdraw from that state: Gary, Hammond, Whiting, and other cities in that section actually belong to Chicago from the standpoint of their economic and cultural interests. In 1935, a bill was presented to the Indiana legislature by inhabitants of that region asking for separation from Indiana. New York City also might add greatly to its population figures, if it were permitted to take in the cities across the river in New Jersey. These cities belong to Greater New York, but politically must be separate because of their geographical location. New York City could perhaps increase its population to ten or eleven million or even more if such barriers were swept away.[3]

Urbanization in the United States Compared to Other Countries.—

[1] The figures were 30.2 and 16.1 per cent.

[2] *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, Volume 1, Population, p. 9.

[3] The Bureau of the Census reported 11,690,520 persons in the New York–N.E. New Jersey metropolitan area in 1940.

At present the United States must be considered one of the urban countries of the world, although her general urbanization still falls considerably below that of such countries as England and Wales, which report substantially eighty per cent of their people as urban.

The United States stands out especially among the nations of

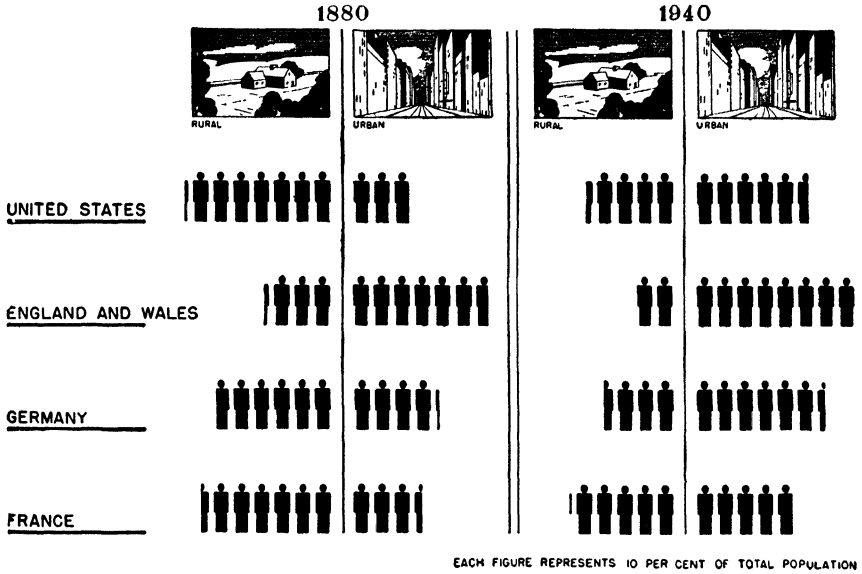


Fig. 3. Proportion of rural and urban population in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France.

the world because of the number of her urban giants—five of the largest cities in the world are located in the United States. In contrast to the more than ninety cities in the United States exceeding 100,000 Great Britain and Germany each have only approximately fifty cities of that size and France less than twenty. Nevertheless, almost one-half of the total population of Great Britain resides in cities of 100,000 population or greater as against the less than one-third in the United States.[1]

THE CAUSES OF CITY GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Improvements in Agricultural Implements.—As in other countries, the rapid growth of cities in the United States is not to be explained by any one factor. Nevertheless, the most significant single

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 26, for additional discussion.

factor would seem to be the industrial revolution and the forces emanating therefrom. As long as human beings had to depend upon their own hands and simple mechanical devices, they could not free themselves from an agricultural economy. One of man's basic needs takes the form of food, and under the pre-industrial system almost everyone had to devote himself to farming because

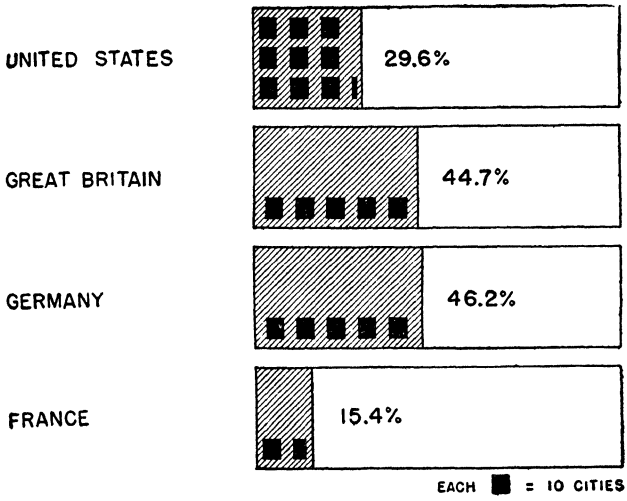


FIG. 4. Number of cities of 100,000 or over and proportion of total population in such cities in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France prior to World War II. (Prepared by National Resources Committee)

each person could not produce very much more than he and his dependents required. Even as late as 1870, 52.8 per cent of the gainfully employed workers in the United States were engaged in agriculture. The corresponding figure by 1946 had fallen to 15.0 per cent. What industry there was before the industrial revolution, largely attached itself to the farm and the villages which served the farmers.

The industrial revolution brought forth steam engines and machines to do the work which man had hitherto performed largely by the use of his own hands. One invention followed another in rapid succession, and agricultural methods developed so rapidly that hundreds of thousands of people found themselves no longer needed on farms. As recently as the decade 1920–1930 approximately six million persons emigrated from rural districts to cities. One man with the new farming implements could do

the work of two men, then five men, and so on, as more efficient and complicated inventions appeared. By 1948 various astounding estimates were in circulation as to how much one man could do on a farm in comparison with the pre-industrial age. Some of these estimates which probably could not be scientifically demonstrated maintained that a single man in 1948 could produce as much food on a farm as one hundred men in France as the eighteenth century closed. Whatever the actual increase in efficiency may have been, there can be little doubt that very large numbers of people no longer were required for agricultural production. With opportunities greatly circumscribed in rural areas, the more ambitious and daring of the surplus rural population gravitated to cities where chances to make a good living seemed better.[1]

Large-Scale Industrialization.—The industrial revolution not only freed large numbers of rural folks, but it provided them employment in cities. The application of steam to manufacturing and the countless mechanical inventions which followed gave a great impetus to large-scale production. No longer was the small shop unit, with apprentices and journeymen, suited to the times. Plants equipped with complicated machinery supplanted them, necessitated group rather than one-man ownership, and provided employment for large numbers of people. While some of these industrial establishments developed in non-urban sections, most of them either attracted cities to themselves or they preferred to locate in a city where an adequate labor supply could be obtained, markets existed for their products, financial facilities offered themselves, and convenient transportation systems simplified the shipping of their goods and the bringing in of raw materials.[2]

The desire of the industrial establishments for the services noted above also in turn led to city growth. Wholesalers, distributors, factory agents, and middlemen in general concentrated in cities where the manufacturing plants offered business. Banks multiplied in cities and gave employment to more people because of the profitable business they could do with industrial concerns and their satellites, the distributors and wholesalers. Steamship lines

[1] Consult A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899), pp. 161–162.

[2] For a detailed discussion of the industrial factors in city growth in the United States the reader is referred to A. M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), Chap. IV.

started operations to carry the products of the factories to other cities or countries and to bring raw materials from all over the globe. Railroad companies constructed their lines into cities for substantially the same purpose. Retail merchants flocked to cities because they found there an opportunity to sell to the employes of factories, wholesalers, banks, and transportation companies. ✓ 10.30 P.M.

Development of Transportation Facilities.—To some extent transportation served as a direct cause of city growth. Instead of being built to serve cities already in existence, railroad and steamship companies sometimes caused the establishment of new cities. Railroads received large quantities of public lands which they wished to develop profitably. Although most of this land had to be disposed of for agricultural purposes, many railroads also attempted to lay out town sites. Some of these were expected to serve as shipping and marketing points for the surrounding farmers, while others received more direct impetus from the railroad companies by being made division points, junctions, and shop centers. Numerous persons had to be employed by the railroads at these various points for the operation of the railroad, the repair or construction of equipment, and for certain other purposes. The chief support of many small cities today, despite the difficulties of the railroads, is derived from the railroads which make them the sites of shops and offices.

Where steamship companies did not start up to provide services for cities already in existence, they, too, had something to do with the direct growth of cities. They had to have longshoremen to handle their cargoes, chandlers to furnish supplies, and marine shops to care for repairs. The providing of these services caused a city to grow up where marshy land perhaps had existed before.

Improvement in Public Health and Sanitation.—The medieval city was known for its high mortality rate as well as for its lack of ordinary sanitary facilities. Plagues, epidemics, and disease in general ran riot, while accumulations of human wastes made these cities not only very unsightly but dangerous. As long as such conditions prevailed, cities were handicapped in their growth. The remarkable discoveries in the field of public health, with the notable attending prolongation of the average life span, and the great improvement in facilities for providing a pure water

supply and disposing of sewage and garbage have contributed largely to the growth of cities in the United States.

Immigration as a Factor in City Growth.—The causes of city growth discussed above were not peculiar to the United States, for they contributed to the growth of cities to a greater or less extent all over the world. Nor should immigration be labelled as important in the United States alone; it has played a very large role in Australia, Argentina, Canada, and South Africa. Nevertheless, immigration has been more of a factor in the growth of cities in the United States than in most other countries.[1] Until 1915 large and even vast numbers of immigrants came to the United States every year from European countries; immediately prior to the World War approximately one million immigrants arrived every year. Practically all of these new-comers first landed in New York City, Boston, New Orleans, or some other sizable city. Some of them passed through these cities and journeyed to take up land in the West, but a very large proportion either remained in these port cities or moved to other cities of the United States. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century certain cities were known for their foreign-born populations, but all large cities in the United States and many smaller ones received substantial numbers of these settlers from abroad. Cities with populations of over one million report that almost two-thirds of their inhabitants are foreign-born or their children.[2]

Some immigrants added themselves to cities because their money did not allow further travel; others had relatives in the cities; but most of them settled in cities for three reasons. They considered employment opportunities better in cities. They had lived in cities in their native lands, and hence preferred city life in their land of adoption. Or they came from countries where national ties are strong, and consequently they wanted to live in the United States among colonies of their fellow-countrymen. Little Italies, Little Polands, Little Irelands, and many other foreign colonies grew up in cities of the United States. Today, New York City has more Italian residents than any city in the

[1] For additional information in regard to the role of immigration in the growth of cities in the United States the reader is referred to H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, 1925); and L. G. Brown, *Immigration* (New York, 1933).

[2] National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 9.

world except Rome, and Chicago more Poles than any other city with the single exception of Warsaw.

Cultural Factors in City Growth.—Not a few small cities derive their chief support from universities, colleges, or preparatory schools which are located therein. Sometimes these educational institutions have chosen cities already in existence, and again they have located in the country and small cities have grown up around them. Almost always they attract a certain number of people in addition to the students because of the opportunities offered for retail sales and personal services. Large cities do not derive their chief support from cultural institutions, but they do receive numerous additions to their population for that reason.[1] New York City, Boston, and Chicago, with their large numbers of educational and cultural institutions, attract thousands of people every year.

It has been estimated that as many as 100,000 of the inhabitants of Boston are accounted for by the educational and cultural advantages of that city. The number in New York City would probably exceed that of Boston, when Columbia and New York Universities, to say nothing of the many other educational institutions, the numerous musical organizations, such as the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic, the great museums, such as the Metropolitan and the Museum of Natural History, and the great array of theatrical companies are considered. Some people go to cities to spend a year or more there as students in educational and cultural institutions, while others become permanent residents as members of institutional staffs.

Political Factors in City Growth.—Washington is, of course, the classic example of a city which owes its existence largely to politics. But many cities must concede to political considerations a certain importance as population factors. State capitals almost always attract large numbers of people to the cities in which they are located. Some come to hold public office or jobs; others desire to seek public favor; and business may be led to the city because of general interest in the seat of state government. The cities which the national government designates as area-office locations often find themselves with hundreds or even thousands of additional

[1] See: Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities.*

residents—the number of federal representatives in such cities, as Denver, Dallas, San Francisco, and Chicago, is supposed to be especially large.[1]

While the governments of cities may draw public employes largely from their own inhabitants, there is sometimes a certain amount of opportunity offered to people from the outside. County seats add much to the status of many small cities, for not only will county officials from throughout the county tend to move their families to the county seat, but lawyers and those who have business which involves any branch of county government will be drawn there.[2]

THE FUTURE OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

The Immediate Future.—The difficulty of making any prediction as to what will happen to cities of the United States in the future is illustrated by the experience of a New Yorker at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He dared to maintain that New York City might conceivably at some distant time have a population of one million people, and his fellow citizens considered him unbalanced mentally. Said they, "It would require all day for people to go to and from their places of business in such a tremendous metropolis, and they would have no time to do their work." During the immediate future it seems probable that cities will continue their growth, but at a decreasing rate. During the height of the depression following 1929 a movement away from the cities back to the country gained some momentum; farms which had not been occupied for many years suddenly acquired residents. But this movement proved short lived. There is reason to believe that the census of 1950 will show more people living in cities than ever before.

The More Distant Future.—The more remote future is another matter. The Hoover Commission on Social Trends and the Roosevelt National Resources Committee have given a great deal

[1] In addition to postoffice employes, these cities provide residence for employes of federal courts, a federal mint, Federal Reserve Banks, regional offices of many of the new federal agencies, such as the Social Security Board, Works Progress Administration, and Federal Insurance Deposit Corporation, etc.

[2] For an illuminating discussion of the causes of city growth in the United States see: The National Resources Committee Report, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, pp. 29–31.

of attention to the problem of the future of the population as a whole as well as to that of cities.[1] It seems probable that the population of the United States as a whole will have reached a stationary point by 2000 or even before. The decreasing birth rate, which has been noticeable in public school enrollment, will more and more curtail the increase in the population of the country as a whole. Immigration, which for decades helped swell numbers, has ceased to be of importance; although 154,000 persons are permitted by law to come into the United States every year as settlers, few have come during recent years. At times there has actually been a net loss, with more people leaving permanently to reside elsewhere than have come to the United States. If the cities follow the population trends, they, too, will reach a position about 2000 when further growth may be regarded as quite improbable except in individual cases.

However, it is possible that although the population as a whole will come to a standstill about 2000, the status of cities may change. The fact that cities have grown approximately twice as rapidly as the population as a whole until the last decade may be significant.[2] However, during 1930–1940 cities of 100,000 to 500,000 failed to keep pace with the national rate of growth, while incorporated places under 2,500 also lagged behind. As the National Resources Committee has pointed out, much depends upon the industrial development as well as upon inventions of one kind and and another. A radical change from the current elaborate technological status to a more simple type of system would probably adversely affect cities. Increasing industrialization might very well cause cities to grow despite the stationary character of the population of the United States as a whole, although there are indications that industry is shifting to some extent from large cities to smaller places, where labor is more abundant and labor troubles less frequent.

The Role of New Inventions and Discoveries.—The role of new

[1] See: *Recent Social Trends*, Volume 1, pp. 46–51. The more recent studies of the National Resources Committee are of especial significance. See: *The Problems of a Changing Population* and the illuminating series of studies relating to cities in the United States.

[2] *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, Volume 1, Population. See also: National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics* (published in 1937), Vol. 3 which contains the "Urban Data."

inventions and discoveries may be important in determining what may happen to cities in the future. The interesting discussion of this problem by a subcommittee of the National Resources Committee might well receive the attention of all serious students of municipal government.[1] For example, the large-scale application of discoveries already made which would involve the production of vegetables and other foodstuffs by means of chemical feeding rather than by farming might lead to a considerable shift from the rural sections to cities. Again, the perfection of the airplane to the point where it can successfully take off and land on the roofs of ordinary office buildings might be significant in that it would increase the distance of convenient commuting. Many years ago the danger of polluted air was pointed out. Not much attention has been paid as yet to the noxious gases poured out by automobiles, buses, and trucks, but inventions may take care of this problem which seems to be of increasing importance. Noise is reaching the intensity in many cities where efficient work and restful sleep are difficult. It has been discovered that human beings cannot retain their sanity beyond a certain noise volume, but not so well known is the deleterious effect which a smaller volume of noise may have on the nervous systems of human beings. It is obvious that atomic energy may have a vital bearing on the future of cities, not only in the United States but throughout the world.

The Physical Appearance of the City of the Future.—Artists have been fond of depicting the city of the future as a place of multiple street levels and hundred-story buildings. Already something has been done with superstreets and very tall buildings, but the costs of both mount so high that it seems questionable whether they will become a common-place feature of cities of the future, although they will doubtless be used in the case of certain key streets and as office buildings. However, it may well be remembered that cost is a relative matter. The amounts spent by New York City for its subway system would have seemed fantastic and quite beyond any possible budgetary arrangement not very long ago.

The Saturation Point in City Size.—The saturation point in city size is not only a matter of physical arrangement, but perhaps

[1] See: *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, pp. 38–40, 84–85; and more especially *Technological Trends and National Policy* (1937).

even more a question of social wisdom.[1] New York City and London demonstrate how large cities may grow in population and continue to be fairly comfortable; both cities probably offer more conveniences now despite their huge sizes than they did a century ago as much smaller places. Theoretically a city might reach the ten- or twelve- or fifteen-million mark—New York City with its environs goes far toward such population figures now.

Inventions and mechanical improvements will probably enable a city to grow almost indefinitely as long as social, economic, defense, and political factors justify such growth. Cultural advantages seem to go parallel with city growth, although large sections of the population of very large cities give evidence of being culturally starved.[2] Social, economic, and political aspects are another matter. The vast overhead of large city stores gives the student some concern. The law of increasing costs which operates in city government presents the question as to how big cities can grow without becoming too burdensome to the taxpayer. Social problems of cities seem to follow the geometric rather than the arithmetical rule of increase in the matter of complexity. The relief problem, juvenile delinquency, crime in general, recreation, and organized vice must all be considered in studying the question of how large a city may grow.[3] And hanging as a sort of Damocles sword, there is the atom bomb which some have predicted will make large cities outmoded.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffith, E. S., *The History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York, 1938).

Jones, Victor, *Metropolitan Government* (Chicago, 1942).

Lepawsky, Albert, "Development of Urban Government," in *Urban Government*, Vol. 1, supplementary report of Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939).

McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community* (New York, 1933).

Mumford, Lewis, *City Development* (New York, 1945).

[1] Stimulating discussions of this point will be found in George Soule, "Will Cities Ever Stop?" *New Republic*, Vol. 47, p. 105 (June 16, 1926); and Lewis Mumford, "The Intolerable City," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 152, p. 283 (February, 1926).

[2] An interesting discussion of this problem will be found in Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938).

[3] For an adequate discussion of municipal population trends the reader is referred to W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933); and *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, especially Chaps. 1, 9, and 10 in Vol. 1.

Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938).
Myers, V. C., and Snider, Felix, *Great Cities and Why They Grew* (Osceola, Missouri, 1944).
National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937).
National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics* (Washington, 1937), Vol. 3 on "Urban Data."
National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy* (Washington, 1937).
Queen, Stuart A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City* (New York, 1939).
Saarinen, Eliel, *The City; Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* (New York, 1943).
Schlesinger, A. M., *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933).
Sert, José L., *Can Our Cities Survive?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942).
Thompson, W. S., and Whelpton, P. K., *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933).
Thorndike, Edward L., *One Hundred and Forty-four Small Cities* (New York, 1940).
Webb, W. D., and others, *Cities in Society* (Austin, Texas, 1945).
Weber, A. F., *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899).
Woods, R. L., *America Reborn: A Plan for Decentralization of Industry* (New York, 1939).

II

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF URBANIZATION

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

Number of Services Performed.—With a very few exceptions cities are everywhere expected to render more services to their inhabitants than is the case with rural areas. Rural dwellers expect police protection, the construction and maintenance of roads, educational facilities, and a certain amount of attention to public health from the government of the county or township. But even small cities are called on as a matter of course to perform additional services for their inhabitants. Besides maintaining a more elaborate system of streets, providing more adequate police protection, and furnishing a more extensive offering of educational opportunities, cities are ordinarily looked to for fire protection, recreational facilities, a pure water supply, and various sanitary services. In the case of large cities the number of functions is almost beyond belief; in certain cases two or three hundred services may be rendered. In general, it may be said that the larger the population of a city, the greater the number of activities the government of the city will be expected to engage in.[1]

Increased Dependence upon Government as a Factor.—To some extent the heavy demands made upon city governments in the United States at the present time result from the spirit of the modern age. In other words, a city of 50,000 has to render many more services for its citizens today than a city of the same size was required to provide in 1900, for government generally, as everyone knows, plays a larger part in human affairs than it did in 1900.

[1] The National Resources Committee's Subcommittee on Urbanism does not regard statistics in regard to the number of services rendered as very satisfactory. However, perhaps some idea of the rate of growth may be obtained from the study made by L. D. Upson, "The Growth of a City," *Public Business*, No. 70 (June 1, 1922). In 1824, Detroit had 1550 people and performed 23 services. In 1930, it had 1,573,985 inhabitants and carried on 306 different activities.

Furthermore, the tastes of the American people have become more extensive and more expensive. People now expect public entertainment, library facilities, street paving, and public school provisions such as were scarcely dreamed of fifty years ago.[1]

Direct Effect of Increase in Population on the Number of Services.—But the growth of cities complicates the problem. People expect more from large cities today than they do from small cities, and as any given city adds to its size, the number of services which it must render to its citizens increases. Even such basic services as garbage collection, street cleaning, and traffic regulation are often not performed by small cities—at least in more than a nominal fashion. The residents of large cities take such functions, as well as many others, for granted. They consider municipal golf courses, swimming pools, operas, auditoriums, subways, electric light plants, boulevards, neighborhood playgrounds, free milk for babies of the poor, substantial relief allowances, and airports as no more than their due. All of this makes it necessary to add more departments and to employ more people.

Increasing Complexity of Problems.—Quite as serious is the increase in the complexity of functions as cities grow in population. Take the police department as an example. In Greencastle, Indiana, five policemen protect the lives and property of 4,872 citizens and for nine months of the year maintain order among 2,000 college students—an average of more than thirteen hundred persons per policeman. Indianapolis, Indiana, employs some 610 policemen to look after the needs of almost 400,000 people—an average of approximately six hundred persons per policeman.[2] Chicago currently provides some 6,496 policemen to attend to law and order among its more than three and a quarter million inhabitants —an average of about five hundred people per policeman.[3] And finally New York City, with 15,586 policemen and a population of more than seven million, has one policeman for every 475 people or thereabouts.[4] Thus one untrained policeman in Greencastle, receiving a salary considerably less than that paid by

[1] For an interesting chart illustrating the growth of municipal functions in Detroit, see: William Anderson, *American City Government* (New York, 1925), pp. 404–405.

[2] The 1940 census showed 387,000 inhabitants, but the war years saw a substantial increase in population.

[3] The population of Chicago in 1940 was reported as 3,397,000.

[4] The 1940 census reported the population of New York as 7,455,000.

New York City, performs police functions for approximately three times as many people as his associate in New York City. That furnishes some idea of the geometric progression under which some municipal functions increase in complexity. It should be pointed out that not all functions increase at the same rate of speed, but that frequently there is more than a proportional addition to the complexity of the services rendered as cities grow in size.

Increase in Costs.—It is not strange that municipal costs follow a line of more than proportional upturn as cities add to their population, considering the situation described above. If increase of complexity kept pace with the growth of cities, costs would be larger in aggregate but not on a per-capita basis. As it is, cities follow the economic law of increasing costs in contrast to the law of decreasing costs which operates in most industrial establishments. Of course, this is unfortunate and gives private industries a considerable advantage over municipal corporations. The larger the population of a city the higher mounts the aggregate cost as well as the per-capita cost of performing a given function. There are, of course, exceptions to such a rule—in purchasing supplies cities may take advantage of the less burdensome law and demand lower prices because of the larger quantities needed. But in the case of the governmental services, such as police protection, public recreation, public health, and relief, the increasing-costs rule is involved.[1]

Relation of Intricacy of Function to Increased Costs.—To some extent the greater per-capita costs of large cities are explained by the more intricate character of the services rendered. As was pointed out in the case of the police function, Indianapolis requires about twice as many policemen on a per-capita basis as Greencastle. Chicago has to have two and a half times as many, and New York City about three times as many policemen per capita. This is not because Greencastle people are more given to law observance than Indianapolis residents or that Indianapolis people can claim to be more law abiding than Chicago people. With some minor differences the people of all of these cities regard the law with the same respect. Chicago and New York City have large foreign

[1] For a more detailed discussion of the law of increasing costs in city government the reader is referred to H. L. Lutz, *Public Finance* (New York, 1936), Chap. V.

populations which are lacking in Greencastle, but Greencastle has a Negro group; it also has a problem involving an inferior group with degenerate tendencies.

It is not the people themselves that account for the greater police burden of the larger municipalities, but rather the social, economic, and psychological changes that attend the growth of a city. People, with a tendency toward theft, may remain free from actual criminal records throughout their lives in Greencastle because the temptations are few, while in large cities the same people succumb because the temptations are both more numerous and more alluring. Again poorly adjusted people may live in their own houses in Greencastle and through lack of intimate contact with neighbors avoid trouble. The same people placed in close juxtaposition to neighbors in a Chicago or New York apartment or tenement house may call for a considerable amount of police attention.

Relation of Higher Salaries and More Elaborate Equipment to Increased Costs.—Additional reasons for the greater per-capita cost of municipal functions as cities grow in size are the higher wages, greater administration costs, and more elaborate equipment to be found in large cities.[1] In Greencastle the chief of police receives approximately two hundred dollars per month, and the four members of the force somewhat less, but a city of any size has to pay, or at least ordinarily does pay, larger salaries. Beginners in large cities start in at something like $2,000 or they may be able to demand an even higher salary. Older members of the force expect $2,100 to $2,400 per year in large cities, and sometimes surpass that rate. Officers receive two hundred dollars per month at least and go up to approximately one thousand dollars per month in the case of police chiefs in New York City and Chicago.

Greencastle has almost no administrative police problem and hence no overhead to speak of; the chief of police patrols the city, makes arrests, and does clerical work. Large cities have elaborate administrative staffs, with office clerks, stenographers, special homicide and vice squads, and numerous executive officers who take no active part in policing the city. Greencastle provides one light car by way of equipment, although until recently its policemen had to use their own cars, borrow cars in cases of emergency, or

[1] See: Lutz, *Op. cit.*, Chap. V.

walk. Large cities maintain a fleet of police cars and motorcycles, electric-call systems and radio systems, machine guns and tear bombs, and laboratories for identifying poisons, bullets, and other crime clues.

Relation of Population to Increased Costs.—It may be illuminating to look at the variation in the cost of a specific municipal function in cities of the several population classes. In a recent year cities of from 10,000–25,000 spent $2.87 per capita on their police departments. Cities in the 25,000–50,000 class expended $3.33; cities in the 50,000–100,000 class $3.25; cities in the 100,000–250,000 class $3.87; cities in the 250,000–500,000 class $3.51; and cities over 500,000 $7.25. It may be noted that the largest cities paid out well over twice as much on a per-capita basis as the smaller ones.[1]

Extent of Increased Costs.—In the study which Dr. L. D. Upson made of Detroit, it was found that the per-capita cost of city government in Detroit rose from $3.85 in 1857 to $53.44 in 1930.[2] These figures have presumably not been adjusted and therefore cannot be accurately compared on the basis of the purchasing power involved. Nevertheless, it is apparent that an enormous increase took place.

Some understanding of the general increase in the cost of city government in the United States may be gained from a study made by the National Industrial Conference Board entitled *Cost of Government in the United States, 1929–1930.* On the basis of dollars adjusted in each case to the 1913 value of the dollar it was reported that the per-capita cost for all local government (including cities, counties, townships, villages, and other local units of government) amounted to $9.59 in 1890, $13.19 in 1903, $19.10 in 1913, $29.82 in 1923, $42.40 in 1929.[3]

Increase in Municipal Indebtedness.—With additional functions to perform, often of an especially costly nature, and increasing complexity of the services rendered as cities grow, it should not be a matter of surprise that general municipal indebtedness has increased through the years and that large cities have distinctly higher per-capita indebtedness than small cities. The unadjusted figures reported by the Bureau of the Census show a gross per-capita

[1] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946,* p. 44.
[2] *The Growth of a City,* Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1931.
[3] See: the *Report.*

indebtedness for all cities having populations of over 30,000 of $66.88 in 1903, $87.63 in 1909, $109.13 in 1915, $142.52 in 1922, $202.14 in 1928, and $220.03 in 1936. Cities with populations over 25,000 reported a gross per-capita debt of $142.03 in 1944.[1] The gross per-capita indebtedness of cities over 1,000,000 ran to $259 in 1944; that of cities in the 25,000–50,000 class to $74.

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF CITY GROWTH

Crime.—A detailed consideration of the social consequences of city growth belongs to the field of urban sociology rather than to the field of municipal government. Nevertheless, there are some social effects which do concern the student of government as well as the sociologist. For example, one of the most important departments of city government is the police department, and the social consequence relating to crime, therefore, cannot be ignored by the student of government. In the most recent year for which statistics are available, cities contributed three times as many prisoners to federal and state penal institutions per 100,000 population as rural areas.[2]

Crimes of theft, embezzlement, and other types of offences involving property usually mount as a city grows. The urban homicide rate exceeds that of rural areas by one-third to one-half or more.[3]

Political Indifference.—Because of their complex economic, cultural, and social organization cities tend to absorb the time and energies of their people. The competition of business and the professions is keen enough to require almost all of the energy of many city residents. Spare time may be spent at various places of commercial amusement rather than discussing politics around the stove in a country store or in the corridors of the court house. Large sections of the population of cities scarcely give a thought to political matters either local or national; they do not even hear politics discussed. In rural districts if people do not themselves talk about political matters, they are quite likely to hear frequent

[1] An exact comparison is impossible because the Bureau of the Census changed its classification system during this period from a minimum of 30,000 to 25,000 inhabitants.

[2] National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 15.

[3] An interesting discussion of the different incidence of several crimes in cities and rural districts is to be found in National Resources Committee, *Urban Government*, Vol. 1 (Washington, 1939), Part V, "Public Safety," pp. 247–303.

discussions by others. All of this contributes to the inertia and indifference that often characterize the attitudes of large numbers of urban inhabitants toward politics. In no other way can the long suffering of such cities as Chicago and New York under the

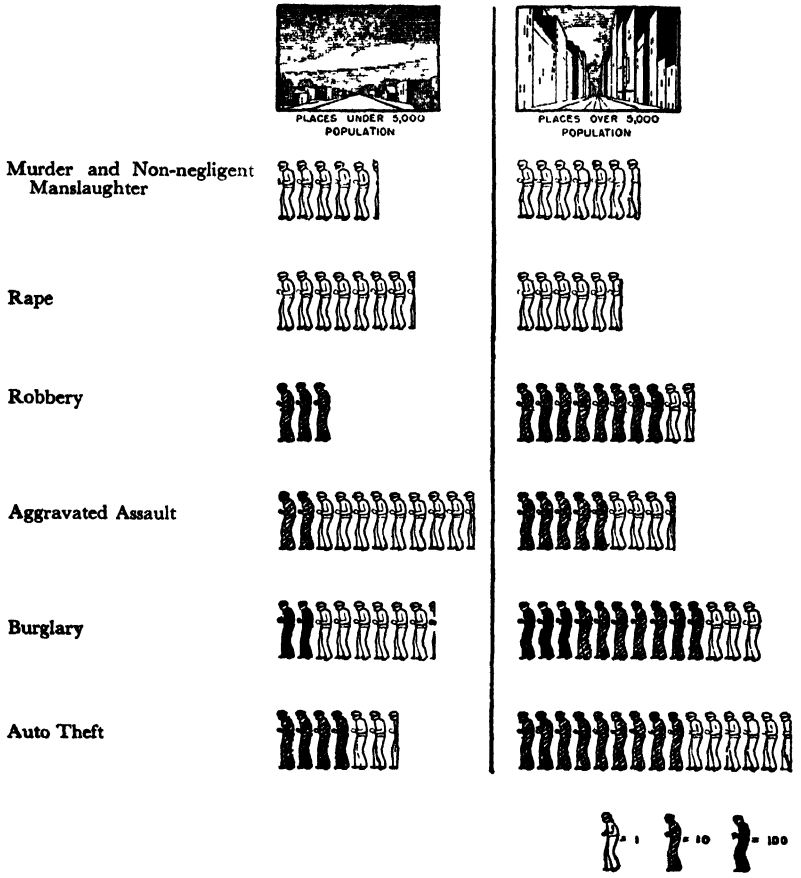


FIG. 5. Crime rates per 100,000 population.

yoke of corrupt and completely ruthless political machines be explained.

Extremes of Poverty and Wealth.—In general, cities are known as financial centers; yet a few blocks from millionaire row may be slum areas of appalling poverty. Rural sections rarely see either the great wealth or the grinding poverty that characterize most large cities. Even the poor in rural districts can usually provide

something in the way of food or depend upon kind-hearted neighbors for donations. In cities there is, of course, no opportunity to raise food stuffs beyond a few garden products in some cases; nor are neighbors always likely to help, although particularly among the foreign-born there is a great deal of fellow-feeling and sympathy. From sixty to seventy-five per cent of the total relief population during the years 1933–1935 was to be found in cities.[1]

The extremes of wealth and poverty have several political ramifications. First of all, the relief problem of cities reaches large proportions. In the second place, the resentment stirred up in the hearts of the poor by the ostentation of the rich has its effect in a "soak the rich" attitude; bond issues may be voted for expensive and somewhat unnecessary municipal projects because the ranks of the poor suppose that the rich will pay the costs. In the third place, this situation has a direct bearing on the establishment of political machines. With so many poor people the political machine has an excellent opportunity to offer services which will lead to support at the polls. It is interesting to note that, as a rule, the main strength of political machines is in the poor sections of cities.

Foreign Colonies.—It has already been pointed out that immigration has been one of the causes of city growth in the United States. At the same time it may also be said that one of the social consequences of city growth has been the concentration of large numbers of foreign-born in cities and the appearance of Little Italies, Little Irelands, and Little Polands. This result of city growth has contributed to several political problems. It enters into non-voting for one thing, and it has its ramifications in the field of political machines. Along with aggregations of the poor the foreign colonies offer extraordinary strength to the political machine. Mention may also may be made of the bosses and other political workers contributed by some of these foreign groups. Furthermore, the foreign groups often constitute important pressure agencies. The heterogeneous character of the foreign groups contributes to the complexity of municipal problems in the United States in no small measure.[2]

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] In their study of *Non-Voting, Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago, 1924), Professors C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell found that very large numbers of foreign-born persons, especially among the women, were habitual non-voters.

Age Distribution.—Cities have fewer children and old people and a larger proportion of people in the 21–60 age groups than rural areas.[1] This is to some extent because of the migration from rural sections of the young as maturity approaches and the additional fact that many people return from cities to their old homes in the country as old age overtakes them. This social consequence of city growth reduces the burden of providing educational facilities to a certain extent and the necessity of giving old-age assistance. It also probably contributes to non-voting, for young people who come from rural districts to take advantage of the greater financial opportunities afforded by cities have little or no background which encourages them to take an interest in municipal political affairs.

Vice.—While there is some doubt whether city people must confess an inferiority to their country cousins on the basis of morals, it is apparent to anyone that the rural areas do not have the organized and commercialized vice that characterizes cities. The presence of commercialized vice in cities leads to political corruption and contributes to the strength of political machines in some cases. Police departments find it difficult to resist the blandishments offered by the vice interests as a reward for protection. Desperate political machines may depend upon the vice interests for contributions to campaign funds as well as for votes.

Birth and Death Rates.—Both the birth and death rates usually reach extremes in cities that are not encountered in rural districts. Cities of over 100,000 maintain their present numbers to the extent of about 75 per cent, primarily because of low birth rates.[2] City death rates have been substantially reduced during recent years, but still exceed rural rates in general, although infant mortality rates are currently below those of rural areas. These facts impinge upon the responsibility of cities for public health, hospitalization, and old-age assistance.

Radicalism.—Cities have often been regarded as centers of radicalism; yet, as Professor William B. Munro points out, most of the movements tinged by political radicalism have started in

[1] For detailed statistics see: the *Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940*, Vol. 3, Population.

[2] National Resources Committee, *Op. cit.*, p. 10. In cities of 25,000–100,000 the reproduction rate is 88 per cent and in cities of approximately 10,000 it rises to 97 per cent.

rural areas.[1] The recall, direct legislation, direct primaries, the Non-partisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the Granger movement have all moved from the rural sections cityward rather than the reverse. Nevertheless, cities do harbor extremes of economic, social, and political theories to a larger extent than rural areas, and considering the wide variation in economic status and the complex social structure of cities such a situation is not to be wondered at. The millionaire, the successful business man, the broker and the banker, and the prosperous lawyer and doctor who reside in cities are likely to be very conservative in their political views. They resist most new proposals relating to government on the ground that the *status quo* is good enough. On the other hand, certain of the foreign residents, the reliefers, and perhaps some of the intellectuals will hold radical views. They may not originate progressive movements because of a sort of sterility, but they unquestionably suspect many, if not most, of the traditional political, social, and economic structures of both cities and other units of government. The political implications of such a situation are not always reflected in concrete forms, but they possess some significance.[2]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davie, M. R., *Problems of City Life* (New York, 1932).
Griffith, E. S., *The History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York, 1938).
Lepawsky, Albert, "Development of Urban Government," Part I, *Urban Government*, Vol. 1, supplementary report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939).
Lepawsky, Albert, "Changing Bases of American Municipal Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 206 (September, 1938).
Lutz, H. L., *Public Finance* (New York, 1936), Chap. V.
Lynd, R. S., and Lynd, H. M., *Middletown in Transition* (New York, 1937).
McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community* (New York, 1933).
Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938).
Muntz, E. E., *Urban Sociology* (New York, 1938).

[1] *The Government of American Cities*, pp. 64–65.

[2] For good discussions of the social consequences of city growth see: William F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago, 1937); E. E. Muntz, *Urban Sociology* (New York, 1938); and H. B. Woolston, *Metropolis* (New York, 1938).

National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937).
Ogburn, William F., *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago, 1937).
Peterson, E. T., ed., *Cities Are Abnormal* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1946).
Pound, Arthur, *Detroit; Dynamic City* (New York, 1940).
President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), Vol. 1, Chaps. I, IX, and X.
Queen, Stuart A., and Thomas, L. F., *The City* (New York, 1939).
Schlesinger, A. M., *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), Chap. IV.
Thompson, W. S., and Whelpton, P. K., *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933).
Thorndike, E. L., *Your City* (New York, 1939).
Upson, L. D., *The Growth of City Government* (Detroit, 1942).
Weber, A. F., *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899).
Wirth, Louis, and Clinard, Marshall, "Public Safety," Part V, *Urban Government*, Vol. 1, supplementary report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939).
Wirth, L., "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology* (July, 1938).
Woolston, H. B., *Metropolis* (New York, 1938).
Zimmerman, Carle C., *The Changing Community* (New York, 1938).

PART II

THE PLACE OF CITIES IN THE GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES

III

THE RELATION OF CITIES TO STATES: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE:

Although cities maintain important contacts with the national government and various types of local governments, their relations with the states in which they happen to be located take first place. In as much as cities are the legal creations of the states in which they are situated, it is not strange that their dependence upon these legal parents reaches into almost every sphere of their activities. On occasion the cities request aid from states, but at other times the relationship takes the form of decisions made by the states for cities. These state decisions may be acceptable to the cities, or they may be highly objectionable. In the case of certain large cities an opportunity is sometimes given to decide whether or not to accept the state acts.[1] However, for the most part cities have no formal choice in determining whether or not the will of the state shall be imposed upon them.[2]

Basis of State Control over Cities.—States possess complete powers over the cities which lie within their borders because the authority over local government rests with the states under the constitutional system of the United States. The national government received no specific grants relating to cities. The national constitution does not prohibit states from exercising more or less full control over their cities. Therefore, this authority is considered as generally lying within the scope of state power.[3]

Restrictions Imposed by the National Constitution upon States in Their Dealings with Cities.—To some extent, the national constitution imposes certain limitations upon states in their dealings with

[1] New York City and Chicago may be cited by way of example.

[2] Through various pressure activities cities may actually exert considerable influence on state acts.

[3] The Supreme Court of the United States has recently made such a statement in *Ashton v. Cameron County Water Improvement District* (1936) in declaring void the national Municipal Bankruptcy Act of 1934.

cities. States cannot, of course, confer upon cities powers which belong to the national government; nor can they authorize or command cities to perform functions which conflict with the provisions of the national Constitution. The general rule is that a state cannot by indirection through cities exercise a power which it cannot administer directly. Cities being creatures and agents of states are bound by the limitations which the national Constitution imposes upon the latter.

A state cannot, for example, empower cities to pass *ex post facto* ordinances or to grant titles of nobility; nor can a state confer upon a city the right to deny equal protection of the law to persons within its borders. A state does not have the power to permit cities to deprive people of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Under the commerce clause of the national Constitution Congress is given the power over foreign and interstate commerce, and, as a result, states cannot authorize their cities to pass ordinances that conflict or interfere with such a power. A state could not authorize a city to impose a discriminatory license tax on salesmen and traveling men from other states who wish to enter the city for business purposes because such a tax on salesmen and traveling men would put a burden upon interstate commerce.

The contract clause of the national Constitution restricts to some extent the powers of states over their cities. Cities must not be allowed to impair the obligation of contracts when they deal with business firms or public utilities. When cities take private property, they must pay just compensation, and states have no power to excuse them from such an obligation. Nor have states any right to convey to cities powers or responsibilities that conflict with treaties entered into with foreign countries by the United States.[1]

STATE CONSTITUTIONS AS AGENCIES OF CONTROL OVER CITIES

The older and briefer state constitutions have comparatively little to say about cities, although some of their general provisions may apply to cities. However, the more recent state constitutions, with their many details and elaborate provisions, frequently contain many items relating to city government. In sixteen states constitu-

[1] For a detailed discussion of one phase of this subject see: Harvey Walker, *Federal Limitations upon the Municipal Ordinance Making Power* (Columbus, Ohio, 1929).

tions confer the right of home rule upon all or some cities.[1] Large numbers of constitutions forbid state legislatures to pass certain types of legislation having to do with cities. It is not at all uncommon for state constitutions to limit the authority of cities in certain spheres. Provisions in regard to the structure of municipal government may be made in state constitutions. Finally, the administrative departments and the legislature may be given the power to exercise certain functions directly or indirectly involved in municipal government.

Why State Constitutions Seek to Control City Government.—Many of the constitutional provisions relating to cities are the result of scandalous misuse of power by state legislatures. Because they wanted to punish cities or sometimes because they desired additional power, legislatures often took over from cities many of the latters' functions. There are numerous examples of state legislatures which have played havoc with city government through their arbitrary use of power. So-called "ripper" bills have been passed by the legislatures either on their own initiative or at the behest of political bosses who wished to destroy enemies. These laws either throw overboard the entire political structure of a city, or they so radically reconstruct it that much chaos ensues. In Pennsylvania during the opening years of the twentieth century Boss Quay fell out with the Pittsburgh bosses by the name of Magee and Flinn; in order to wreak his vengeance upon these enemies he caused the Pennsylvania legislature to pass a law which relegated to the scrap heap the city government of Pittsburgh.[2] In its place the governor of the state, controlled by Boss Quay, was authorized to appoint an executive officer for the city until such time as a more permanent government should be established. Such unjustifiable use of power on the part of the legislature has resulted in numerous constitutional prohibitions against special legislation.

Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Police.—Ambitious legislatures have wanted their fingers in everything—including the government of the cities in the state. Again and again they have passed legislation which removed the police function from cities

[1] This number does not include states where the provision is inoperative.

[2] Additional details of this bill may be obtained from the author's *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, North Carolina, 1930), pp. 241–244.

and conveyed it to commissions appointed by the state, and occasionally other city functions have been lifted outright and given to a state agency. As recently as 1939 the Missouri legislature placed the police department of Kansas City under state control. The local resentment generated by such acts has naturally been very great. Many state constitutions now prohibit such legislative action.[1]

Constitutional Limitations on the Granting of Franchises.—Another type of power which state legislatures have abused has been that involving city streets and other property. Utility interests have frequently looked with covetous eyes on some of this municipal property, and they have frequently wanted it as an outright gift, despite the considerable value attached to it. They have gone to state legislatures and by means of bribes persuaded the members to give them without cost the use of city streets. This, too, has caused the citizens to rage in many cities. The result of such improper exercise of power by state legislatures has been prohibitions against special franchise legislation. Only twelve state constitutions lack prohibitions of this character, and in addition many state constitutions specifically provide that a legislature must gain the consent of cities before granting franchises covering their streets.

Enforcement of Legislative Restrictions Difficult.—The general prohibition of special legislation for cities sometimes proves unfortunate where special problems arise that need attention. However, by and large the state legislatures have exhibited considerable ingenuity in getting around such limitations. Various systems of classification have been devised which actually permit legislatures to meddle with the affairs of cities. This is particularly the case with large cities which sometimes find themselves placed alone in a special class. In as much as most state courts have upheld a classification of cities for legislative purposes based on population, the legislatures manage to keep their fingers in city affairs.[2]

Constitutional Limitations on Municipal Borrowing.—Another type of constitutional provision restricts the power of cities in certain

[1] For illustrations of this type of interference see: E. S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government* (London, 1927), Vol. 1, especially Chapter III.

[2] For examples of various types of legislative interference in city affairs despite constitutional provisions see: H. L. McBain, *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule* (New York, 1916), especially Chaps. II and III.

fields. The borrowing power of cities may be cited as an example. Proposals to incur indebtedness above a nominal sum may have to be submitted to the voters of a city before being carried to completion. Under a provision of the state constitution the total indebtedness of cities may be limited to five or seven or ten per cent of the assessed valuation of property located in the city. At times such limitations have hindered cities quite seriously, although in general something can be said for them. A certain city approaches the limit prescribed by the state constitution; yet there is a great need for a certain improvement which cannot be undertaken out of current revenues. When such a problem as relief presents itself during a depression, borrowing may be the most satisfactory way to handle the emergency, but if a city has exhausted its borrowing power, it lacks that remedy.

The Association of New York Savings Banks, which claims to have spent much time studying such constitutional restrictions, has gone on record as definitely favoring such debt limitations. It maintains that New York City has successfully operated under a provision which places the combined debt maximum of city and county at ten per cent of the assessed valuation of the property located therein.[1] In the absence of such a restriction it points to unwise loans incurred by certain cities which represent forty per cent of the property values in those cities, maintaining that the effect of such borrowing upon the local tax rates is, of course, almost ruinous. Sometimes state constitutions exempt loans for productive purposes or loans to be paid by special assessment upon the property of nearby owners who benefit from improvements from such restrictions.[2]

Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Organization of City Government.—Occasionally state constitutions go into a great deal of detail as to the organization of city government. Specific offices are provided, and even their powers may be detailed. Occasionally the method of election and the compensation of municipal officials are indicated. While certain general provisions relating to cities may be wisely placed in a state constitution, there is much doubt whether details should be included. Times change and conditions

[1] *New York Times*, July 25, 1938.

[2] For a good discussion of debt limitations see: H. L. Lutz, *Public Finance* (New York, 1936), pp. 819–823.

vary, and constitutional provisions may make it difficult to meet new conditions. Such matters can best be handled by the cities themselves or by the state legislatures.

Constitutional Provisions for Optional Legislation.—In a few states there are constitutional provisions which permit the state legislature to pass certain legislation affecting cities, but which also require the cities concerned to approve such action before it goes into operation. Although academically there would seem to be good arguments for such a system, actually the few states which have adopted the plan have found that it accomplishes very little because of lack of use.[1]

Constitutional Provisions Relating to Administrative Control of Cities.—Finally, state constitutions provide for a certain amount of administrative control of cities. State governors sometimes receive the authority to remove the most important city officials for malfeasance in office after hearing charges and listening to evidence. State health departments may be specifically granted the right to supplant municipal health departments where the latter fail to function with a fair degree of efficiency. But in general these administrative controls result from legislative action. They will be discussed in detail at a subsequent point.

STATE LEGISLATURES AS AGENCIES OF CONTROL OVER CITIES

State Legislatures and Cities.—At one time state legislatures enjoyed almost complete power over cities: they created them one by one and gave each city a special charter. Year by year they proceeded to add amendments to the charters. They disposed of city streets and other property to their favorites irrespective of damage inflicted upon the city, and they took over through their pet commissions the exercise of city police functions. As has been pointed out above, they went so far in their interference and abuse of authority that limitations had to be imposed upon them by means of additions to state constitutions.

Yet despite their loss of power state legislatures still exercise a large measure of control over cities. For the most part, they do not attempt themselves to administer any function directly because a legislative body is scarcely suited for such a purpose; instead

[1] A good general discussion of constitutional limitations relating to cities is to be found in E. McQuillin, *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 1, Chap. IV.

they confer such authority on various state departments. Occasionally the courts and the governor receive such duties, but, as a rule, these responsibilities are given by the legislature to the administrative departments of the state. Another very important function which legislatures perform for cities, which will be discussed in some detail a little later, takes the form of deciding what the organization and powers of the latter shall be. Because of prohibitions against special legislation this cannot always be done for each city. Hence, it is frequently handled by the method of providing general or classified charters, general legislation applicable to all municipalities, and amendments to the general or classified charters.[1]

Legislative Committees on Municipal Affairs.—As a rule, every state legislature sets up among its committees in each house a committee on municipal affairs or cities, and, in general, these committees take a place among the important committees of the legislature. Bills are drawn up by members of the legislature or more frequently by cities, their employes, pressure groups, and citizens relating to municipal affairs. These are usually nominally sponsored by a member of the legislature, and after introduction they come into the possession of the committees on municipal affairs.

These committees frequently can ignore with impunity the bills sent to them. In those states where a report is required from committees on every bill referred, the committees on municipal affairs of the house and senate find it possible by delaying a report, reporting with radical changes, or making an unfavorable report to discourage certain action relating to cities which they do not favor. At the same time, bills which they support are speeded up and have a good chance of becoming laws.

The prominent members of the legislatures who hold seats on these committees on municipal affairs often have a direct interest themselves in city affairs.[2] Some of them may be from cities; others may represent the political boss of the state who finds in cities an important source of strength or weakness; and still others

[1] See: H. L. McBain, *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule* (New York, 1916), Chap. I.

[2] In Indiana there is a tradition that the chairmen of the Committees on Indianapolis and Lake County and the Calumet District shall be residents of those places. In 1939, there were no members of the majority party in the house from these cities, and hence minority members strangely enough received the two chairmanships.

may belong to business concerns which furnish services to cities or depend upon cities for their prosperity. Usually the rural areas demand some seats on these committees so that they can protect themselves, as they claim, against the insidious influence of cities.

PRESSURE GROUPS WHICH SEEK LEGISLATIVE ACTION RELATING TO CITIES

Municipal Employes.—Committees on cities find themselves the target of numerous pressure groups. Organizations of city officials or municipal employes constantly seek to persuade them to look with favor upon their pet bills. In every state and in almost every session of the legislature these organizations work energetically to secure the passage of legislation which will increase their salaries, enable them to impose certain fees for their services—the proceeds of which shall go into their own pockets, establish pension systems for their benefit, and protect them in their jobs.[1]

In some states no pressure groups surpass these organizations of city officials and employes in vigor of action or even in unscrupulousness. These organizations raise substantial sums of money which they sometimes use for bribing committee members and members of the legislature in general. They threaten political reprisal if they can't get their way by more agreeable means. In many states the votes controlled by city officials and employes are so numerous that such threats carry a great deal of weight.

Public Contractors.—The public contractors also find it profitable to maintain pressure agents in the legislature. These agents seek to contact the members in general, but often concentrate their efforts upon the committees on cities. They may want legislation which will modify the requirements of letting contracts for municipal projects, or they may seek to have special districts set up within cities so that debt limits can be avoided or unfriendly city departments checked. They may ask to have the powers of cities extended so that certain projects may be undertaken. The public contractors, too, often have a considerable amount of

[1] It is instructive to look at the acts passed by a single session of any state legislature in a state where cities are important. Almost invariably a number of laws are passed as a result of the pressure of city employes. In Indiana in 1937 at least six important laws are to be explained on this basis.

money to spend and not a little strength to hold over the heads of recalcitrant legislators.

City Representatives.—Not infrequently cities themselves come to the legislature with petitions. The mayor of a very important city or the mayors of several smaller cities may be on hand to press for an increase in municipal powers along a certain line. Or a city council may take the initiative and send a delegation to wait on the legislature or the committees on cities. Again cities may band together as a league of municipalities for greater effectiveness in controlling legislation affecting cities. Quite frequently they will not only exert pressure, but they will frame bills which they use as the objects of such pressure. As a rule, they interest themselves in positive legislation which will permit cities greater scope of action, but at times they gird themselves to fight legislation which they regard as contrary to their interests.

Civic Associations.—Various reform associations may be active in promoting certain legislation relating to cities or in opposing legislation which they regard as vicious or unwise. Citizens associations, good government associations, Leagues of Women Voters, short-ballot leagues, and proportional-representation organizations are only a few of the groups of this character which may be encountered in state legislatures.[1] Some of them restrict themselves to municipal affairs, while others, such as the short-ballot leagues, may have broader interests.

As a rule, these groups have their own pet projects which they endeavor to have passed as laws: they originate the bills, secure the services of friendly members of the legislature in introducing them, and then proceed to cultivate the members of the legislature and especially the members of the committees on cities. They may resort to unscrupulous methods, but usually they have neither the money nor the strength which make such devices effective, even if they had the inclination to employ them.

Not all of these groups limit their interests to a single phase of municipal activity. The good government associations and Leagues of Women Voters usually keep an eye on all legislation which has to do with cities. For the most part, this type of pressure group maintains an interest in positive legislation, although the

[1] See: Howard P. Jones, "Citizen Groups, Tool of Democracy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 176 (September, 1938).

good government associations and Leagues of Women Voters may exert themselves to oppose legislation that might burden or harass cities.[1]

Economic Groups.—Chambers of commerce, bankers associations, organizations of taxpayers, and real-estate interests usually find it worthwhile to take part in the general pressure activities which surround a legislative session. They have comparatively broad interests, but they almost always manifest some concern over bills which provide for the financial control of cities. Legislation which limits the city tax rate or which provides for a review of municipal budgets by county and state agencies can usually expect the support of these organizations. Restrictions on municipal indebtedness belong to the same category. Any proposal to enlarge municipal powers which would cause an increase in the general-property tax rate encounters their opposition.

State Departments.—State administrative departments sometimes take the initiative in asking the legislature for laws affecting cities. There is a well known rule in public administration—whether it be national, state, or local—to the effect that every department should every year seek to become bigger and better. Some state departments have to become bigger and better in the sphere of municipal affairs. They, therefore, ask for additional powers over city administrative departments, or they may desire to supplant municipal administrative departments entirely. At times their petitions possess merit and benefit cities, and again their requests could only be granted at the expense of the cities. These departments do not have much money to spend, but they can sometimes muster the support of the governor and the majority party machine, and, hence, they often win, despite considerable opposition from the local interests.[2]

Upstate Groups.—Finally, there are the upstate pressure groups, such as the Farm Bureau and the Grange. They feel that farmers and rural districts have received the raw end of the deal and that cities have prospered far beyond their desserts. As a result, they work for legislation which will favor the rural districts at the

[1] Students will find it profitable to look at the legislative bulletins of such organizations as the League of Women Voters. Invariably there will be items listed which pertain to cities.

[2] Departments of public welfare have been especially active during recent years in seeking increased powers over cities. In general, such authority is desirable.

expense of the cities. They may want to cut down on city powers, or they may want to refuse cities additional authority. Again they may push legislation of a general character which only incidentally works to the disadvantage of cities. Although cities have heavy burdens in connection with their streets and pay a considerable part of the gasoline tax, these rural organizations may insist that all of the gasoline-tax money be spent for state highways outside of city limits.[1]

Despite the tremendous relief loads of large cities the rural groups may oppose any state aid or any additional city power which would help in carrying the relief burden. Thus Chicago has encountered numerous difficulties which have at times almost paralyzed its relief program. Special sessions of the Illinois legislature have been called because of the acuteness of the situation, but the opposition of rural groups has blocked the legislation sought by Chicago. These organizations are particularly successful in their pressure activities because so many of the legislators in many states belong to their ranks. As a result, they do not have to spend money or even carry on elaborate programs of cultivation, for the members of the legislature agree with them to start out.

Of course, some legislation affecting cities will actually come from the members of the legislature and will reflect the general legislative will. However, in most states this is definitely the exception, for the legislation originates with pressure groups, cities, or state departments. The members of the legislature may not know what it is all about, may exhibit slight interest, and in many cases may take their cue from powerful pressure groups or party leaders in casting their votes.

The Unsatisfactory Character of Legislative Control.—The situation which has just been discussed makes legislative control of cities far from satisfactory, for instead of having matters decided on their merits, under this system legislation depends largely upon the activities of pressure groups. The state legislature has really abdicated in many cases and turned its power over to selfish interests. Even where legislatures do take their responsibilities in the sphere of city government more seriously, it is difficult for them to do their work well. Many of them are severely limited

[1] As an example of such a movement see: the *Indianapolis News*, October 4, 1938. Preparations are made in advance of the meeting of the legislature by such groups.

as to duration of session; they have many other duties even more pressing than those relating to cities; and it is utterly impossible to give careful consideration to all of these problems.

Moreover, state legislatures scarcely have the background which would enable a satisfactory handling of municipal problems. Most legislators are fairly honest and reasonably intelligent, but they have little special training in the field of municipal government and administration. At times the problems arising out of city government present no great difficulties and demand no more than reasonable attention and a fair amount of common sense. However, many municipal problems involve technical questions which the ordinary member of a state legislature is not fitted to decide—even if he avoided the dictates of pressure groups and party leaders.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION IN STATE LEGISLATURES

Under-Representation of Cities in State Legislatures.—One of the main reasons why legislative control over cities breaks down involves the distinct under-representation of cities in the membership of state legislatures.[2] In states where a high degree of urbanization is not a feature, this situation may not be accentuated enough to cause notice, but in the states where cities give residence to a majority of the inhabitants, it is almost always a serious matter. Under-representation of cities goes back to the period when the United States and all of the constituent states were definitely rural in character. As certain states have become highly urbanized, the rural interests have stubbornly refused to surrender their legislative leadership.

Despite constitutional provisions state legislatures have sometimes refused to reapportion the seats in the legislature, because cities would under any new arrangement have to be given an increased share. Thus Illinois has made no reapportionment since 1901, although the state constitution definitely orders such a redistribution after each decennial census. Where the reapportionment provisions of state constitutions have been nominally observed,

[1] See: C. C. Maxey, *Readings in Municipal Government* (New York, 1924), pp. 9–17

[2] See: J. G. Thompson, *Urbanization* (New York, 1927), Chaps. I and II.

the new schemes have ordinarily been so fashioned that the rural districts have maintained their dominance. The trouble lies in the fact that legislatures themselves are charged with the reapportionment, and rurally dominated legislatures will not heed the claims of cities. The state constitutions also contribute to the muddle by providing that no city or no county or no group of adjoining counties shall have more than a certain number of seats in the state legislature or that every county must be given at least one senator or representative.[1]

Some Examples of Under-Representation of Cities.—The results of rural selfishness and distrust and constitutional discrimination are very apparent in many states. Essex and Hudson Counties, containing Jersey City and Newark and approximately 40 per cent of the population of New Jersey, receive less than 10 per cent of the seats in the New Jersey senate. In contrast the thirteen New Jersey counties with approximately one-fifth of the total population have a majority of the seats in the senate. Fulton County, Georgia, which includes Atlanta, has approximately four hundred thousand inhabitants but only three representatives in the lower house of the state legislature. Miami (Dade County), Florida claims one-seventh of the population of the state, but it is permitted only one of 38 senators and three of 95 representatives.

Chicago, with most of the population of Cook County, finds itself in a very unsatisfactory situation, for although Cook County has more than half of all the population of Illinois, it elects only 19 out of 51 senators and 57 out of 153 representatives. New York City, with well over half of the population of New York State, controls less than fifty per cent of the state senate and even a smaller proportion of the assembly. Moreover, the committee of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 in charge of reapportionment did not find it possible to recommend any change in favor of New York City, although it did include in its report a considerable shifting about of seats within New York City in favor of Kings, Bronx, and Queens Counties.[2] The

[1] Alabama, Florida, Iowa, Texas, and California may be cited as examples of states which place a maximum limit to the number of representatives or senators from any one county or group of counties.

[2] For other examples, see: Hallie Farmer, *Legislative Apportionment* (University, Alabama, 1944); *Legislative Apportionment* (Berkeley, California, 1941).

counties containing the five largest cities in New York have one member of the assembly for every 100,000 people; the remainder of the counties can claim a member for approximately every 50,000 people.[1]

Rural Suspicion of Cities.—The opposition of rural legislators to any plan which would give cities their fair share of seats in state legislatures arises out of sheer selfishness and a general distrust of cities. Having tasted power the rural sections of states are naturally loathe to surrender their dominance to cities. Moreover, there is a widespread feeling among rural dwellers that cities are not fit to receive the responsibility for carrying on public affairs. Cities furnish more than their share of crime and organized vice; the country resident does not stop to think that this does not necessarily mean that city people are more immoral and evil than their country cousins. There is evidence that immorality in general appears as frequently in rural districts as in urban, but it is not organized on a commercial scale. City people are not more given to crime; it is the accumulation of property and the closer social contacts that account for much of the added crime. Cities contain far more than their share of foreign groups. The native American distrust of the alien capitalizes on this fact, although the studies which have been made throw considerable doubt on the allegation that the foreign-born contribute more than their share of crime, vice, and other evils.

Then there is the claim that cities cannot govern themselves. Rural inhabitants point out the notorious Tweed Ring, the Philadelphia Gas Ring, Tammany Hall, and the Chicago political machine as evidence of their contention. They do not stop to realize that there has probably been as much misgovernment and corruption in rural areas, but that the lack of publicity given to such abuses causes general ignorance of such a state of affairs. Large cities have newspapers which scream such sensational news of graft and mismanagement from their headlines. The rural areas may have newspapers, but they usually do not go in for political exposures. Sometimes their caution prevents such publicity, and at times they do not have the type of reporters who could uncover such unsavory situations. In many cases these

[1] For a more complete discussion of this problem of urban representation, see: C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chapter VIII.

papers devote themselves to social news and pay virtually no attention to politics at all.[1]

Future Prospects of More Adequate Representation for Cities.—Despite the resentment of cities there does not seem to be any immediate prospect of a fairer division of seats in state legislatures between cities and rural districts.[2] The report of the committee on reapportionment of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 was greeted in the cities and among the Democrats with catcalls and boos; former Governor Smith recommended a policy of boycott by the Democrats of the state; but the committee on reapportionment refused to be moved. Relations between cities and rural districts make no noticeable progress toward cordiality and cooperation.

Where a state has a number of cities, there is more prospect of a reasonably satisfactory adjustment than where one great city towers above all the rest of the state. These smaller cities can gradually gain more and more of the seats without the violent opposition which attends any attempt upon the part of a very large city. As the smaller cities become larger and particularly as they realize the necessity of joint action, they will probably be able to capture a large proportion, if not an absolute majority, of legislative seats.

In 1926, California adopted a plan under which cities have full representation in the lower house of the state legislature on the basis of their populations, but continue to suffer discrimination as far as the state senate is concerned. Under the California plan no city or county can contain more than one senatorial district, nor can more than three small counties be put into a single senatorial district. Of course, the rural areas benefit from such an arrangement.

CITIES AS SEPARATE STATES

The Problem of New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia.—For some time there has been a certain amount of discussion as to

[1] For a stimulating article see: Orville A. Welsh, "Government by Yokel," *American Mercury*, Vol. 3, p. 199 (October, 1924).

[2] For a very good discussion of the future of this problem see: V. O. Key, Jr., "Procedures in State Legislative Apportionment," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 26, p. 1050 (December, 1932).

whether a few very large cities should not be given status as states.[1] New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia have larger numbers of inhabitants than many of the states; moreover, they expend far larger sums of money for public purposes than many of the states. New York City at times has spent something like twice as much per year as the largest state—New York State.

Furthermore, these cities are so located geographically that many of the people who depend upon them for jobs or are otherwise closely tied up with them reside in nearby states. New York City has the important satellites across the Hudson River in New Jersey, as well as certain areas of Connecticut, which look to it for economic existence as well as for cultural and recreational facilities. Philadelphia has the section of New Jersey situated around Camden. Chicago has Lake County in Indiana and the southeastern corner of Wisconsin. Many of these sections of other states might be happier if they were joined to the cities from which they draw their livelihoods and upon which they depend for other services. Theoretically there is much to be said for independent statehood for these three cities, considering the more or less unsatisfactory relations which they maintain with their states and the absence of any considerable prospect for improvement.[2]

Constitutional Obstacles.—Actually, the situation is complicated by the provision of the national Constitution to the effect that territory cannot be taken from a state unless that state consents. Although the relations between these great cities and their states are not very cordial and the rural sections profess much distrust of the cities, it does not seem at all likely that the states would consent to separation.

Nevertheless, the matter may not be entirely academic. As recently as 1935 a bill was introduced in the Indiana legislature providing for the freeing of Lake County so that it could join Chicago. In 1938, at the Municipal Law Officers' midyear meeting held in Washington, Barnet Hodes, corporation counsel for

[1] An informing discussion of the problem of independent statehood for Chicago is to be found in C. E. Merriam, S. D. Parratt, and Albert Lepawsky, *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (Chicago, 1933), Chap. XXVIII.

[2] The city council of Detroit became so irritated at rural domination of the Michigan legislature that it scheduled a hearing on March 1, 1939, to consider a proposal that five southeastern Michigan counties secede and apply for admission as a forty-ninth state. These counties contain approximately half of the state's population and pay 67 per cent of the taxes. See: *New York Times*, February 21, 1939.

Chicago, predicted that "New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago may 'be forced to break away from the states and petition to be established themselves as States'." He added, "There is constant conflict between States and cities 'and the granting of home rule to municipalities is the most vital problem that confronts American States today'." [1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bates, Frank J., and Field, Oliver P., *State Government* (New York, 1939).
Crawford, F. G., *State Government* (New York, 1931), Chap. XXIV.
Dillon, J. F., *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 1, Chaps. IV–V.
Graves, W. Brooke, *American State Government* (New York, 1936), Chap. XX.
Griffith, E. S., *The Modern Development of City Government* (London, 1927), Vol. 1, Chap. III.
Hatton, A. R., *Digest of City Charters* (Chicago, 1906), Chaps. I, III, VI.
Key, V. O., Jr., "Procedures in State Legislative Apportionment," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 26, p. 1050 (December, 1932).
Lepawsky, Albert, *Home Rule for Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1935).
Lutz, H. L., *Public Finance* (New York, 1936), pp. 819–823.
McBain, H. L., *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule* (New York, 1916), Chaps. II–III.
McQuillin, E., *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 1, Chap. IV.
Mathews, J. M., *American State Government* (New York, 1934), Chap. XVIII.
Mathews, J. M., "Municipal Representation in State Legislatures," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 12, p. 135 (March, 1923).
Merriam, C. E., Parratt, S. D., and Lepawsky, Albert, *The Government of Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1933), Chap. XXVIII.
Thompson, J. G., *Urbanization* (New York, 1927), Chaps. I–II.
University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *City-State Relations* (Philadelphia, 1937).
Walter, David O., "Representation of Metropolitan Districts," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 129 (March, 1938).

[1] *New York Times*, July 19, 1938.

IV

THE RELATION OF CITIES TO STATES: ADMINISTRATIVE

Partially because legislatures have been found wanting as agencies of state control over cities and to some extent because many functions once of local import have become of general concern, a system of controlling cities by state administrative departments has grown up. While such a development had attained large proportions by 1932, several important additions have been made since that time. In as much as the functions performed by local governments seem increasingly to involve statewide ramifications, there are distinct indications that this aspect of city-state relations will become more and more important. The debates in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 again and again referred to the difficulty of drawing the line between city and state functions.

ASSUMPTION OF LOCAL SERVICES BY THE STATE

Police Administration.—Several spheres which until recently were regarded as belonging more or less exclusively to cities have now been taken over by the states to some extent. Almost everyone knows something about the growth of state police forces during recent years. A comparatively short time ago saw the responsibility for maintaining law and order vested in city police departments as far as urban areas were concerned and in county sheriffs and local constables as far as the rural sections were concerned. Many states have now established state police forces to supplement and assist the local police. Originally these state police forces frequently confined themselves largely to traffic regulation on state highways, but now they have gone far beyond that. They handle homicide cases, kidnapping, bank robberies, and labor troubles. Much of their work is done outside of cities, but in-

creasingly they have been charged with tasks which involve activity in cities.[1]

Highways.—When state highway systems were mapped out and state highway departments established, cities were usually considered as having jurisdiction over those sections within their limits. They could prescribe the rates of speed, parking regulations, and the general rules governing the use of the highways within the city limits. They also decided what type of pavement to use, what the width would be, and what markings would be displayed. They paid for the construction and maintenance of the sections within their limits, and the city police had charge of patroling the sections of state highways within city limits. One by one these city functions have been taken over by states, until in certain states none remain within municipal scope. In Indiana, for example, the state highway department since 1937 has taken over the construction and maintenance of state highways running through cities; it prescribes uniform rates of speed in all cities of the state on such sections of state highways and lays down other rules for the use of the highways; and it marks the highways with direction and stop signs. State police patrol the city streets that carry state highways.[2]

Education.—Another field in which states have taken over the direct administration of local functions is that of public education. Traditionally local school officials selected the textbooks for use in their schools, but on the ground that they did not always choose well and on the additional ground that a diversity of texts made it difficult for students to transfer from one school to another within the state some states have authorized the state board of education to pick out all school books. These boards of education may adopt one text for all classes in the state or they may list several which are approved. States have commonly taken over the function of licensing teachers, although for many decades local school authorities enjoyed full freedom in hiring the teachers they desired. In most states school authorities must now confine their selections to those who have been given licenses by the

[1] For a general discussion of this policy see: W. R. Jones, "The Scope and Functions of Local and Central Control in Police Administration," *Police Journal*, Vol. 4, p. 518 (October, 1932).

[2] For additional details see: the report of the Indiana State Highway Commission in *Year Book of the State of Indiana, 1937* (Indianapolis, 1938), p. 886. This policy applies to cities of 3,500 or over.

state board of education; in certain cases special permits may be obtained, but even in these cases the state board must give the permission.

Miscellaneous.—Because of the difficulty of assessing the property of public utilities and other large holdings some states have taken this particular part of assessing from cities and given it to state tax commissions. States have also, in most cases, relieved cities of the task of regulating public utilities; this service is now performed by state public service commissions. To some extent, states have taken over institutional functions which once belonged to cities. The establishment of children's hospitals and tuberculosis sanatoria by certain states, as well as the maintenance of homes for epileptics and other problem classes, take from city hospitals and other institutions the care of many cases.

When an epidemic is threatened in a city, the state health authorities sometimes supplant city health authorities and remain in general charge of public health until the danger passes.[1] The care of the feeble-minded and the insane has passed from city to state hands. While cities still have their jails, the state performs many services for them in the correctional field. Schools for the juvenile delinquent, farms, and other special prisons for short-term prisoners have relieved cities to some extent of their correctional responsibilities.

GRANTS-IN-AID

Public Assistance.—Where states feel that a measure of state control is necessary but hesitate to take over the actual administration of a function, they increasingly appropriate funds for subsidizing cities which maintain certain standards set down by the state.[2] State departments are authorized to inspect and determine when such grants of money shall be given to cities. The newest and perhaps the most important field in which such a control device has been set up is that of public assistance to the aged, the poor, and the blind. Until 1929 the furnishing of relief to the needy was regarded as almost entirely a local function. Counties sometimes handled it; in a few states, such as Indiana, townships

[1] For additional discussion see: Schuyler C. Wallace, *State Administrative Supervision over Cities* (New York, 1928), pp. 117–118.

[2] See: Schuyler C. Wallace, *Op. cit.*, pp. 139, 165, 195.

exercised such a responsibility; while in the case of large cities the city government frequently assumed such a care.

Since 1932 the federal government has actively entered the relief field through a system of grants-in-aid to states which meet its standards. The states have in turn passed legislation which charged cities and other local units of government with the responsibility; to qualify under the terms of the federal statutes, the states have laid down certain standards to be met by these local governments.[1] In as much as states have received federal funds and in as much as the cost of relief is so great that many cities and other local governments cannot easily finance such elaborate public assistance, states have made grants-in-aid to these governments both out of the federal moneys received and out of their own funds.

Supervision by States of Public Welfare.—To supervise such grants-in-aid and to see that the proper standards are maintained most of the states have either created departments of public welfare or greatly enlarged their old ones. These state departments of public welfare organize themselves in various sections, such as old-age assistance, blind pensions, and aid for children. Each section prepares elaborate rules and regulations which are transmitted to cities and other local governments for their guidance in the actual administration of these functions.[2] Large staffs of clerical and executive persons function at the state capital to supervise the general administration of public welfare, while field staffs of several kinds are recruited to visit the cities for various purposes. The most important one to be considered under this heading is that of inspection and review as a means of ascertaining whether the standards, as laid down by the federal government for the states and in turn the states for the cities, have been enforced.

Public Education.—Another field in which states increasingly provide administrative control through grants-in-aid is that of public education. Attempts have been made to require cities to maintain certain standards in their public schools by means of general state law. Some of these have been successful, and others

[1] It is only accurate to state that these local governments are usually counties rather than cities. See: Marietta Stevenson, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938), Part 2, Chap. III.

[2] As an example see: the *Handbook* prepared by the Department of Public Welfare of Indiana for the use of local welfare agents.

have failed because of lack of incentive on the part of the local school authorities. Under a general system of rules it is difficult to enforce responsibility upon local school officials, for many of them receive no compensation, and they can scarcely be fined or imprisoned for failure to observe state rules. The main weapon has been that of removing schools from approved lists, but even this does not worry certain school officials.

By substituting a system of grants-in-aid an incentive is furnished the local school authorities. If they meet state requirements as to buildings, equipment, length of term, and training of teachers, they not only have their schools enrolled on accredited lists, but they also receive state funds toward the maintenance of their school systems. A number of states pay a thousand dollars or more per year toward the salary of every teacher in approved public schools.[1] In as much as this represents a substantial proportion of the cost of hiring most teachers, cities and other school districts invariably try to qualify, and except in rare cases they do meet state requirements. Although such a system has had some effect upon the schools of large cities, it has particularly improved public school standards in many smaller cities.

Public Health.—A third field in which grants-in-aid may be employed by states to control local standards is that of public health. In order to persuade local health authorities to carry on certain campaigns against disease, grants-in-aid are given to those cities which meet state requirements. A recent example of this in some states is in connection with the program to reduce venereal disease incidence and consequences. Another is the case of tuberculin inspection of milk cows. The state will pay a part of the cost of giving tuberculin tests to dairy animals and thus encourage city as well as some rural health authorities to take action.

PRESCRIBING OF STANDARDS AND ISSUING OF RULES TOGETHER WITH STATE INSPECTION

Accounting and Recording.—One of the commonest devices used by states to control cities involves the issuing of rules by state

[1] Indiana may be cited as an example of a state which has been increasingly interested in this type of assistance. Starting out with a payment of $500 toward the salary of every teacher in approved schools, it has made successive increases to something like three times that amount.

administrative departments together with subsequent inspection by state officials. Cities may be required to adopt uniform accounting systems and recording devices, and state inspectors visit city departments from time to time to see that the accounts and records follow the prescribed types.

Indiana has employed such a control since 1909.[1] The state board of accounts maintains a staff of examiners who are recruited on a bi-partisan basis; these examiners are supposed to inspect the accounts and records of city departments every year. They not only check to see that the proper forms are being used, but they audit the accounts of city officials, and if shortages are found, charges are lodged with the prosecuting attorneys. If mistakes are discovered, they must be corrected and any shortages of funds made up. In less than thirty years this board of accounts recovered more than six million dollars of public funds that had been illegally or carelessly diverted from the public treasury.[2] In addition, it established a fear in the hearts of many careless and unscrupulous officials that undoubtedly has greatly added to the honesty and care with which funds belonging to the public are kept. The indirect saving to the taxpayers probably exceeds the direct recovery of more than six million dollars.

Public Education.—State boards of education quite commonly prescribe certain rules for the local public school systems. City schools must run a certain number of months during each year; buildings must have a certain arrangement of windows which will ensure not only adequate amounts of light for the pupils but light from the proper angles; and the sanitary facilities of school buildings may be specified as far as minimum provisions. The number of books or the amount of money set aside for school libraries may be laid down by the state board of education. The rules under which teachers may be fired from their positions after a certain amount of service may be set down by state boards of education, although the basic law is usually enacted by legislatures. Rules concerning pensions and pension funds may be promulgated by state boards of education.

In all, or at least most of these cases. there is also state inspec-

[1] For a discussion of the Indiana experience see: Pressly S. Sikes, *The State Government of Indiana* (Bloomington, 1937), p. 102.

[2] See: The *Yearbooks* of the state of Indiana for additional details.

tion, for the mere setting up of rules and the issuing of orders accomplishes little unless state inspection is provided. The agents of the state board of education visit city school systems at intervals to check on building standards, library facilities, and sanitary equipment. If violations of state rules are discovered, they are reported to the local authorities. If the situation is remedied, the matter is dropped, but if nothing is done to correct the defects, the school system may be omitted from the accredited list of public schools.[1] Such a penalty may mean that the credits of such a school system will not be accepted by other public schools in case of transfer or by state universities and private colleges after graduation.

Public Health.—State boards of health prescribe rules which must be observed by cities in protecting public health and maintaining sanitary services. These rules may apply to the quarantine of contagious diseases by city health authorities, or they may concern the quality of the milk supply. In some states the state board of health may issue orders in regard to the disposal of sewage. If a city empties its sewage into waters that may be thereby contaminated and hence menace the health of other communities, the state board of health may send it an order to construct a sewage disposal plant or make other satisfactory arrangements for the disposal of its sewage.

A city's dereliction in getting rid of its garbage may also result in an order from the state board of health—if, for example, a city merely loads its garbage on scows which are towed a few miles to sea and dumped. And if the tides bring much of the garbage back to the beaches of neighboring cities in such a fashion as to menace their health, state boards of health sometimes have the authority to issue orders compelling a more satisfactory method of handling the garbage. Here, as in the case of education, inspection as a rule accompanies the promulgation of rules and the issuing of orders.

Enforcement of Orders of State Departments of Health.—Unfortunately at times state boards of health have no adequate way of enforcing their rules and orders. If the city authorities refuse to do anything after the state inspectors have reported non-compliance, the state

[1] Inspection of elementary schools is provided by more than thirty states. See: Schuyler C. Wallace, *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

board is at a loss to know what to do. Hence, in some cities the matter of quarantine is handled in a very careless and unsatisfactory manner because of local public opinion which sees no need for a more rigorous system. State departments of health may place such cities upon a blacklist, but such lists mean less in the case of cities than similar lists involving public schools.

Occasionally court action is permitted as a means of enforcement; for example, in the case of regulations set up by the state department of health as to the proper care of food products by merchants, judicial enforcement is often provided. If the merchant refuses to cover his bakery goods so that flies cannot get at them or if he maintains his right to display fresh meats in his windows without adequate refrigeration and protection, the health inspectors from the state board may lodge a charge in the local court. Fines may be authorized by state law as a means of enforcing such state rules.

REVIEW

Municipal Budgets.—A comparatively new device for controlling municipal action is that of review. This has been especially used in controlling city budgets, debts, and welfare decisions. Indiana claims the honor of being a pioneer in providing for state review of city budgets and proposals to incur indebtedness.[1] The Indiana Plan has received much publicity, and a considerable amount of interest has been aroused in other states. North Carolina has perhaps gone even further than Indiana in applying state control to city financial activities.[2] Iowa has also set up a system of state control.

The Indiana Plan.—The original law in Indiana was passed by the legislature in 1919 and gave the state board of tax commissioners quite complete authority to review and reduce local budgets. The state tax board acted so vigorously the first year the law operated that sufficient opposition developed to repeal the law. However,

[1] See: Philip Zoercher, "The Indiana Scheme of Central Supervision of Local Expenditures," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 90 (February, 1925). Mr. Zoercher is chairman of the Indiana Board of Tax Commissioners.

[2] C. B. Masslich has an article on this plan in the *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 20, p. 328 (June, 1931). It is entitled "North Carolina's New Plan for Controlling Local Fiscal Affairs." A more recent article is that of P. W. Wager, "Effects of North Carolina's Centralization," *National Municipal Review*, December, 1937.

in 1920 local expenditures mounted so rapidly that the legislature in 1921 enacted another law which, with certain important modifications in 1931, 1933, and 1937, has continued in effect. The 1921 act permitted any five taxpayers to bring any city budget to the state board of tax commissioners for review. The state board was authorized to investigate the budget, decide whether certain items were justifiable, and disallow expenditures which they deemed unwise. Under this arrangement the state board of tax commissioners in Indiana slashed from local budgets an average of approximately one and a half million dollars annually until 1937.

Amendments to the law added in the nineteen-thirties provided that city tax rates should not exceed $1.50 and later $2 per hundred dollars assessed valuation. Rates in excess of such amounts automatically carry city budgets to the county board of tax review and, if the excessive rate passes that body, to the state board of tax commissioners. The state board is authorized to cut the city budget, increase it, or restore it to its original level. Although the increasing costs of local government make it difficult to compare the fourth and fifth decades of the century, it may be of some interest to note that cuts of two to three million dollars were being made.

Municipal Debts.—In the case of proposals to incur debt the Indiana Plan provided that any ten taxpayers affected by such indebtedness exceeding $5,000 could carry the matter to the state board of tax commissioners. This board was authorized to investigate the wisdom of such indebtedness and to either approve or veto. Acting under such a plan the state board of tax commissioners refused to allow debt proposals to the amount of more than thirty million dollars during the fifteen years following 1921.[2] An amendment to the law in 1937 increased the number of interested taxpayers to fifty, but preserved the basic features of the plan.

In North Carolina the local government commission established under a law passed in 1931 has less discretion than the Indiana Board of Tax Commissioners, for the law in North Carolina lays down certain principles which shall govern the state board in its

[1] See: The *Yearbook* of Indiana; the *Reports* of the Indiana state taxpayers association; Edwin E. Warner, "A Study of the Indiana Plan of Budgetary Review," *Legal Notes on Local Government*, Vol. 4, p. 279 (March, 1939); and Carl Dortch, "The Indiana Plan in Action," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 525 (November, 1938), for additional details.

[2] See: *Reports* of Indiana State Board of Tax Commissioners.

deliberations. Furthermore, voters may override the veto of the state board in North Carolina, whereas in Indiana voters have no recourse. The North Carolina plan carries the system further in that it sets up an arrangement for the floating of local bonds with state assistance.[1]

Justification of State Review of Municipal Finances.—The several state laws which provide for state review of municipal expenditures and indebtedness have received a great deal of praise in certain quarters and much criticism in other places. Chambers of commerce, real-estate men, associations of home-owners, and similar groups, as a rule, wax very enthusiastic over state review. Their primary concern is in a low tax rate on general property, and hence they favor any system which is not too obnoxious which serves such a purpose. As has been pointed out above, the Indiana Plan has saved the taxpayers millions of dollars.

On the other hand, city officials maintain that state boards usually do not appreciate local conditions and often arbitrarily cut budgets and veto proposed indebtedness as a matter of general principle. These same officials contend that their efforts to provide adequate city government have been severely hindered by the interference of the state boards. Many other people who consider quality more important than cost are also severely critical of state review of city finance. They declare that the saving which has been realized by state review has been actually achieved at very great cost to the welfare of the people and that the comparatively small amount of money saved does not begin to balance the evils.[2]

Public Welfare.—State public welfare departments now generally have the power of review.[3] Their representatives consider the awards made to old people in the form of old age pensions; they also review allowances made to the blind and to children without parents. The purpose of such review is to ascertain whether the recipients are entitled to aid. Such a device seems to be worthwhile, considering the political character of many city governments. In the absence of such a check it might well be that worthy and deserving applicants would receive no consideration because

[1] See: C. B. Masslich, *Op. cit.*

[2] For an interesting discussion see: Wylie Kilpatrick, "Tax Control: Is the Indiana Plan the Way Out?" *New Jersey Municipalities*, Vol. 8, p. 22 (December, 1931).

[3] See: Marietta Stevenson, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938), Part 2 Chap. III, and Part 3, Chap. V.

of lack of proper political qualifications, while less deserving applicants, with strong political backing, would receive prompt and generous assistance.

LABORATORY SERVICE

A number of states provide laboratory service to cities either without charge or at a very nominal cost. Massachusetts offers free Wassermann tests to cities in order to aid in the war against syphilis. Several states through their departments of public health test the purity of city water supplies and erect signs indicating that the water has been examined and found safe for human consumption. State departments of health not infrequently offer a service for testing milk which is supplied by dairies to city inhabitants. Some states render a service to cities in examining food and drugs to ascertain their fitness for human consumption.

State police maintain laboratories that may be used by cities which do not have their own facilities of this kind. All sorts of clues and evidence may be sent to these state laboratories for examination. The laboratories will inform city police departments whether a blood stain was caused by human or animal blood; whether or not poison contributed to the death of a certain person; and whether a given bullet was fired from a certain gun. Some states provide expert clinical service to cities for the examination of those who may exhibit symptoms of tuberculosis or other serious maladies. Particularly in the case of small cities such services possess great value, for the cities could scarcely be expected to provide such facilities for themselves and yet they have great need of such assistance at times.[1]

TECHNICAL ADVICE

Public Health and Sanitation.—It is not uncommon for states to furnish technical advice to cities which stand in need of such aid. City health departments may be confused as to the source of typhoid infection; the state health department is usually willing to put its facilities at the disposal of the city health authorities in such cases. State health experts will write letters to the municipal authorities in certain cases in which they offer suggestions as to procedure, or the state authorities may visit the city for the purpose

[1] See: Schuyler C. Wallace, *Op. cit.*

of working with the local authorities on a perplexing problem.

In the field of sanitation state advice is often available in connection with the handling of sewage and garbage and the construction of plants for the treatment of these wastes. In the matter of obtaining an adequate supply of water and the purifying of water state departments are frequently at the disposal of cities. State departments may furnish advice as to where to obtain water from surface sources or how to drill wells for adequate supplies. Expert advice is often obtainable in connection with the construction of filtration plants or the chlorination of water during seasons of the year when contamination is particularly a problem.[1]

Public Education.—State departments of education furnish much advice to city schools: they will recommend building plans, suggest types of equipment, and interest themselves generally in the physical aspects of city schools. More important is their willingness to assist in meeting problems arising out of instruction. State departments of education frequently engage in experiments which may be made the basis of advice to city schools. Where they have no first-hand information, they have at their disposal more adequate library facilities than most cities can hope to have. It is not uncommon for state departments of education to employ experts whose primary function it is to advise city school officials on primary education, secondary education, vocational education, adult education, and other problems arising out of the administration of a municipal public school system.

Public Welfare and Finance.—Expert advice can frequently be obtained by cities from state departments of public welfare and finance.[2] The former have their research divisions as well as libraries; they also have at their command people who are better trained and more expert than the employes of most local welfare departments. Bulletins are sent out in large numbers advising local welfare departments how to carry on their work and how to set up their organizations. In addition to this service, which is rendered without application from the local authorities, state departments of public welfare are usually more than willing to furnish advice on special problems arising out of the administration

[1] See: C. V. Chapin, "State Boards of Health," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, Vol. 1, p. 143 (1904).

[2] See: Marietta Stevenson, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938), Part 2 Chap. II, and Part 3, Chaps. V, VII

of relief. Where states do not specify the type of accounts and records that cities must keep, they sometimes offer advice to cities as to what systems of accounting are suitable for their use and what arrangements should be made for the proper keeping of records of a public character.

REPORTS

Public Health.—Some state departments require city authorities to furnish reports at stated intervals as to local conditions. Municipal health departments must, as a rule, send to the state health department reports on all cases of typhoid fever, smallpox, diphtheria, infantile paralysis, and other dangerous diseases which break out within their jurisdiction within a few hours or days of the out-break. They must also send in more general reports as to local health conditions at regular intervals. These reports involve the birth rate, the death rate, the causes of death, and other vital statistics.[1]

Public Safety and Welfare.—Fire departments may have to render periodic reports to the state fire marshal as to the number of fires, the apparent causes of fires, and the damage caused in dollars. Police departments may be expected to furnish information relating to the number of arrests made, the frequency of various types of crime, and the disposition made of the persons arrested. Welfare departments are called upon for numerous reports at frequent intervals. They must give information as to the case load, the cost of overhead, the amount spent for various types of relief, and the qualifications of their employes.

Public Education.—City schools report their activities in great detail to the state department of education. Pupil days must be computed to indicate the attendance. Expenditures, types of equipment, library facilities, teacher activities, extracurricular activities of pupils, and many other items must be reported in considerable detail to the state officials.[2]

CIVIL SERVICE

Recruiting.—A few states furnish eligible lists to municipal departments from which appointments to city positions must be made.

[1] For a general discussion of reports see: Schuyler C. Wallace, *Op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40. 58, 59.

[2] For examples consult the *Year Book of the State of Indiana, 1937*, pp. 337–398.

While most cities, if they operate under civil service at all, have their own civil service commissions, Massachusetts and New Jersey authorize the state civil service commissions to examine candidates for municipal employment and prepare eligible lists for the use of cities within their limits. The cities have no choice as to whether they will use such lists.

Other states offer some service to cities in the field of civil service, although the service does not extend to all departments of city government. Perhaps the best example of this lies in the public welfare field. In order to qualify for federal grants-in-aid relief within a state must be administered by properly qualified people; consequently where states have no general civil service commissions and where cities have no such facilities, bureaus of personnel are sometimes set up within departments of public welfare. These state bureaus of personnel give examinations to interested persons all over the state and sometimes without the state and on that basis draw up eligible lists for the use of local public welfare departments. The city departments must select their workers from such lists in certain cases.

In-Service Training.—Much more will probably be done during the next few years in state training of municipal employes than in actually setting up eligible lists, as is done by New York, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. The George-Deen Act which was passed by Congress in 1937 had by 1939 lead more than twenty states to provide in-service training for municipal employes.[1] In as much as many municipal employes have had little training in public administration, general classes should be quite valuable. In certain cases technical instruction will apparently be given to limited numbers of municipal employes. Departments of public welfare in many states offer courses and stage conferences for local welfare employes.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

In addition to the grants-in-aid which are given by states to cities which meet certain specified standards in such fields as education and public welfare, states sometimes make general gifts to cities. It is not uncommon for states to distribute the pro-

[1] See: Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *News Letter*, January, 1939.

ceeds from certain sources, or at least part of the receipts from such sources, among cities. Revenues from liquor licenses may be ear-marked for public schools, while a part of the money which comes in from gasoline taxes may be divided among the cities. No standards are set up that cities must meet before receiving such financial assistance, but the money is ordinarily apportioned on the basis of population, and all cities share.

APPOINTMENT AND REMOVAL

In some instances state departments or state governors possess the authority to appoint local officials or to remove them if they prove corrupt or inefficient.[1] During the period when city police departments were taken out of the hands of cities and given over to commissions, state authorities almost always had the power to appoint the members of these commissions. At the present time state authorities do not often have the right to appoint municipal officials; however, in several cases they do have the legal authority to remove city officials for malfeasance in office. New York, for example, makes the governor responsible for removing mayors of cities who behave notoriously. Acting under such a provision Governor F. D. Roosevelt was considering the removal of Mayor James J. Walker of New York City when the latter conveniently decided to resign.

This device of state control at best is cumbersome and intended only for emergencies, but it does, however, afford a means of preventing municipal excesses and perhaps adds to the general moral tone of city government. State health departments frequently have the right to remove city health officers if they refuse to heed their responsibilities.[2]

INFORMATION

Finally, there is the information which almost every state department offers to furnish to cities. Much of it may not be particularly valuable; probably the most worthwhile service of this type is rendered in connection with expert advice. But many

[1] Maryland, Delaware, South Carolina, Indiana, Nebraska, Vermont, Minnesota, West Virginia, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, and New York provide for such state authority in certain cases.

[2] Twenty-three states made such provision in 1928 according to Professor S. C. Wallace. See: *State Administrative Supervision over Cities*, p. 116.

state departments that are not prepared to offer expert advice on problems do distribute reports of one kind and another. Sometimes these reports throw some light on city problems by indicating how a state department is conducting its affairs.

The most valuable type of information is that compiled from the various reports which cities are required to furnish state departments. These compilations make it possible for cities to learn how they stand in relation to other cities of the state on such matters as death rate, per-capita cost of government in general, per-capita cost of certain items, per-capita indebtedness, educational services, welfare activities, and so forth. Some cities may be encouraged to improve their standards when they find that neighboring cities excel them, or they may be deterred from a certain course because they fear the unfavorable comparison that would be made with other cities in the state.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

Although the administrative control which states establish over cities may have many defects, it is, in general, superior to legislative control. For one thing, administrative departments have at their command more information and more expert counsel upon which to base the control. That is not to say that state departments are as competent as they might be, but they do excel state legislatures in this respect. Furthermore, administrative action tends to be less arbitrary in that it is not as formal as legislative action. When a certain administrative device proves unsatisfactory, it can usually be modified or changed. Finally, politics does not enter into administrative control to the extent noted in the case of legislative control. Administrative departments are at times subject to selfish pressure groups, but, as far as cities are concerned, there is less of this than in the case of state legislatures. Nevertheless, political considerations enter into administrative control far more than they should, particularly in the public welfare field.[1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bates, F. G., "State Control of Local Finance in Indiana," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 20, p. 352 (May, 1926).

Carr, R. K., *State Control of Local Finance in Oklahoma* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937).

[1] Note recent cases in Ohio and Iowa.

Council of State Governments, *State-Local Relations* (Chicago, 1946).
Crouch, W. W., *State Aid To Local Government in California* (Berkeley, California, 1939).
Dortch, Carl, "The Indiana Plan in Action," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 525 (November, 1938).
Fairlie, J. A., and Kneier, C. M., *County Government and Administration* (New York, 1930). Chap. VI.
Ford, R. S., and Goodrich, K. S., *State Supervision of Local Borrowing* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1942).
Griffith, E. S., *Current Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1933), Chap. VI.
Ketcham, R. M., *Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Los Angeles Area* (Los Angeles, 1941).
Kilpatrick, Wylie, *State Supervision of Local Budgeting* (New York, 1939).
Kilpatrick, Wylie, *State Supervision of Local Finance* (Chicago, 1941).
Lancaster, Lane, *State Supervision of Municipal Indebtedness* (Philadelphia, 1923).
Leonard, J. M., and Upson, L. D., *The Government of the Detroit Metropolitan Area* (Detroit, 1934).
Masslich, C. B., "North Carolina's New Plan for Controlling Local Fiscal Affairs," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 20, p. 328 (June, 1931).
New Jersey Commission to Investigate County and Municipal Taxation and Expenditures, *Report No. 1*, pp. 172–273 (1931); *Ibid.*, *Report No. 2*, Chaps. IV, VII.
Pennsylvania, University of, Institute of Local and State Government, *City-State Relations* (Philadelphia, 1937).
Pontius, Dale, *State Supervision of Local Government; Its Development in Massachusetts* (Washington, 1942).
Rush, J. A., *The City-County Consolidated* (Los Angeles, 1941).
Simon, H. A., *Fiscal Aspects of Metropolitan Consolidation* (Berkeley, California, 1943).
Stene, E. O., *State Supervision of Local Finance in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1930).
Stevenson, Marietta, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938), Part 3, Chap. V.
Wallace, Schuyler, C., *State Administrative Supervision Over Cities in the United States* (New York, 1928).
Warner, Edwin E., "A Study of the Indiana Plan of Budgetary Review," *Legal Notes on Local Government*, Vol. 4, p. 279 (March, 1939).
White, Leonard D., *Trends in Public Administration* (New York, 1933), Part 1.
Zoercher, Philip, "The Indiana Scheme of Central Supervision of Local Expenditures," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 90 (February, 1925).

V

THE RELATION OF CITIES TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Extent and Rapid Growth of Federal-City Relations.—At the present time a large number of bureaus and other agencies of the national government are performing functions which have a more or less direct bearing upon the government of cities. It may be added that this represents a spectacular development within a comparatively short space of time.[1] In 1912, the *American City* called upon the Department of Commerce for a list of the activities of the national government in the municipal field and was informed that only the work of the Bureau of the Census could be mentioned.[2] It would seem that the Department of Commerce interpreted the above request as applying only to itself or that it lacked familiarity with the situation, for it entirely ignored such items as the important work of the Public Health Service particularly in dealing with the health problems of port cities in the South and the early activities of the Department of Agriculture in pure-food protection. Nevertheless, any list of such relations in 1912, however carefully compiled, would perforce have been a modest one.

Fifteen years later the editor of the same periodical made a similar request to the Department of Commerce and received a fairly elaborate statement of the services which the national government was carrying on in the municipal field toward the end of the third decade of the present century.[3] However, even since the publication of this second list large and significant changes have

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937), p. viii. For an article on the early status of federal-city relationships the reader is referred to William Anderson, "The Federal Government and Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13, p. 288 (May, 1924).

[2] See: *American City*, Vol. 6, p. 409 (January, 1912).

[3] See: *American City*, Vol. 37, p. 575 (November, 1927). In 1930, J. F. Miller wrote a master's thesis at the University of Illinois entitled "Relations of Federal Administrative Departments with Municipalities."

occurred in this new field. Indeed it is probable that the developments since 1932 transcend in importance the gradual evolution wrought by many decades prior to that time.[1]

Silence of the National Constitution on Federal-City Relations.—There is nothing in the national Constitution which specifically provides for city government; this field was left intact, with a very few indirect or implied exceptions, to the states. For well over a century the activities of the national government were confined to fields that had little to do with the problems of city government. However, the expansion of the powers of the national government has proceeded at such a rapid pace during the years since 1920 and especially during the years since 1932 that this situation has been vastly changed. How much further the development will be carried, it is, of course, impossible to determine, but there is reason to believe that the relations between the national government and cities will become increasingly intimate and that cities will receive more and more in the way of services from the national government.

Character of Federal-City Relations.—With the subject of municipal government left to the states, the path which the government at Washington has followed in developing its relations with cities has usually not been a direct one. The more important services now rendered by the national government which benefit cities are planned primarily to accomplish a general purpose which lies within the sphere of action of the former; they incidentally involve cities. However, some of the activities of the national government in this field apply specifically to cities. In such cases no compulsion is ordinarily applied—the national government blazes a path and trusts that cities will follow it, or it offers services which cities may or may not use.[2]

SOCIAL SECURITY

It is probable that the most important basic relationship between

[1] The most authoritative statement in regard to relations between the national government and cities is that of the National Resources Committee's Subcommittee on Urbanism entitled *Federal Relations to Urban Governments.* See also: Paul V. Betters, "The Federal Government and the Cities: A Problem in Adjustment," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 190 (September, 1938).

[2] The Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee recommended that the "direct expenditures of the federal government in cities be reduced to a minimum." See: *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 80.

the national government on one hand and cities on the other is that growing out of social security. This problem has been especially acute in cities where unemployment hit harder than in rural areas. Early in the depression of 1929 the cities found themselves unable to meet the many demands made upon them in this sphere. Some of them had no organizations to cope with such a tremendous problem, while others had the basis of an organization, but found it impossible to obtain adequate funds. Even before the national government entered the field in a large way, it found itself impelled to aid individual cities through loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. As the situation became more and more demanding, pressure became so intense that the national government entered the relief field directly and on a large scale. It began to pour tremendous sums of money into cities usually by way of the states, although New York City received special classification as a sort of forty-ninth state.[1]

Early Relief Activities of the National Government.—The early program of the national government involved both direct and work relief. Needs were so great and the pressure so compelling that a widespread scheme of direct outdoor relief was developed for cities which was largely financed by the national government. At the same time, the beginning of a work-relief program made its appearance in the form of the C.W.A. (Civil Works Administration); this was entirely financed by the national government. Hundreds of thousands of persons were given C.W.A. jobs in all cities of the United States, both large and small. They worked a few hours each month and received wages which on an hourly basis often surpassed anything that they had ever known. The depression was still supposed to be a temporary matter, and labor exerted great pressure to have the so-called prevailing wage scales maintained. Hence, C.W.A. workers put in a few hours each month and received compensation at rates which averaged between seventy-five cents and one dollar and a quarter per hour. The few hours specified during the course of each month resulted from a much publicized theory that the remainder of the time would be spent by the recipients in looking for private employment.

Direct Relief versus Work Relief.—As the hard times continued, it seemed to the authorities in Washington that the cities were

[1] See: John D. Millett, *The W.P.A. in New York City* (Chicago, 1938), p. 31.

perhaps not doing their share in providing relief. Also there was much talk about direct home relief not being an American way of handling the situation.[1] Home relief smacked of the dole, and that, it was said, belonged to Europe, with its inferior standards of living. At any rate the national government abandoned direct relief and set up the well known W.P.A. (Works Progress Administration).

The cities raised a storm of protest when they were left to face the problem of caring for those who could not qualify for work relief under W.P.A. Periodically they attempted to enlist the aid of Washington in handling their heavy burden of direct relief, but Washington resisted any participation, despite the action of so august a body as the United States Conference of Mayors and its vigorous president, Mayor La Guardia.

W.P.A.—The activity of the national government in the relief field prior to World War II which most concerned cities involved the Works Progress Administration, for through W.P.A. cities in the United States found it possible to reduce their public-assistance burdens by very considerable amounts. They still had to find money to aid those incapacitated by accident, illness, death of relatives, and similar causes, but the national government took over the care of those able-bodied people who presumably could be absorbed in private employment when economic conditions improved. Hundreds of thousands of these people were placed on W.P.A. rolls—at one time approximately four million from both cities and rural areas [2]—and paid monthly allowances averaging about fifty-two dollars, the exact amount depending upon their classification and the part of the country in which they lived. What cities could have done without this substantial aid from the national government, it is difficult to imagine; certainly the service was a very great one. As late as 1938, New York City alone received $15,000,000 monthly in W.P.A. funds—approximately 175,000 persons being employed.[3]

C.C.C.—Although by no means as important as W.P.A., the Civilian Conservation Corps camps materially benefited cities.

[1] Work relief costs approximately twice as much as direct relief.

[2] *New York Times*, July 22, 1938, quotes Mr. Harry Hopkins, Administrator of W.P.A., to the effect that the high mark was as stated above and that 2,898,597 were on the rolls as late as mid-1938.

[3] *New York Times*, August 4, 1938.

They relieved cities of the care of thousands of persons and were especially significant because they furnished a degree of training in vocational subjects which not infrequently enabled the young men who enrolled to place themselves in private employment.

S.C.C.—The Surplus Commodities Corporation contributed to cities by supplementing the allowances which they made to those on direct relief; quantities of food products, such as fruits, potatoes, butter, flour, canned goods, and meats were provided. The particular gift ordinarily depended upon the abundance of given products at any one time and hence did not mean as much to recipients as a more balanced offering would; but the efforts of the national government in this field were not without importance to cities.

N.Y.A.—The National Youth Administration also affected cities. Many youths who otherwise would have been compelled to remain at home in idleness—approximately two million altogether—were enabled to attend high school and college. This contribution of the national government not only relieved cities to some extent of the provision for the material care of large numbers of young people, but it also undoubtedly reduced their delinquency and crime problem. Moreover, it kept enrollments in public schools and municipal colleges and universities at a higher level than would otherwise have been the case. Some of the work performed by this type of N.Y.A. student was of direct value to the cities; various studies of social significance, as well as manual and clerical labor furnished, benefited cities.[1]

Permanence of W.P.A., C.C.C., Etc.—The permanence of the W.P.A., C.C.C., S.C.C. program was argued at some length. Originally the national government maintained that its activity in this field must be regarded as a temporary affair. However, increasingly there was a growing opinion on the part of national government officials, city officials, and students of social work that some type of program on the part of the national government might become a permanent aspect of national government activity. With the entry of the United States into World War II, the need for these programs came to an end for the time being and

[1] Much illuminating information in regard to N.Y.A. may be obtained from Betty and Ernest K. Lindley, *The Youngest Third of This Country's Unemployed* (New York, 1938).

they were discontinued. But a return to economic depression would doubtless see an insistent demand for similar federal activities.

Old-Age Assistance.—Though many of the federal programs which relieved cities of substantial burdens came to an end following the entry of the United States into World War II, there were others which continued to operate. The old-age assistance systems operated by the states with federal grants-in-aid may be mentioned as an example. As a result of the pensions which run as high as $45 per month, the problem of indigent old people has been substantially ameliorated. This naturally relieves cities of the heavy burden that these aged persons would constitute if they had to be cared for through poor relief.

Old-age and Survivors Insurance.—The over-all program of federal security was not as significant to cities in the early years as some of the more limited activities. Old-age and survivors insurance started out with inadequate coverage and small payments to the small number who drew benefits. Nevertheless, its general importance to cities is very great. As the years pass and more people receive maximum benefits, cities should not only find their welfare loads reduced but there should be various constructive results apparent.

Unemployment Compensation.—Cities are much interested in the unemployment compensation provisions of the general social security program. Unemployment usually hits cities first, and first and last involves larger numbers of city dwellers than rural inhabitants. While unemployment payments are temporary and would not relieve a city of carrying those unemployed over long periods on its relief rolls, it does contribute very substantially in relieving cities of many cases of those sporadically out of work.

Other Social Security Programs.—While old-age assistance, old-age and survivors insurance, and unemployment compensation have the most important bearing on municipal problems, it must be added that all of the social security programs have some interest to cities. Aid to dependent children, blind pensions, aid to crippled children, and vocational rehabilitation help cities both directly and indirectly. To begin with, they reduce the relief burden of cities; in the second place, they assist cities by adding to the number of citizens able to participate in civic affairs.

Employment Offices.—Employment offices have sometimes been operated directly by the federal government and again they have been administered by the states. Even in the latter case they have been supported in large measure by financial contributions made by the federal government. Whether they have been operated by the federal government or supported by federal funds, they have been of considerable importance to cities. To begin with, they have maintained their offices or branches in cities. More significant, they have done a substantial piece of work in finding employment for those seeking work. During the war period they handled a large part of the job of furnishing workers to the various war industries located for the most part in cities. After the war they assisted in finding jobs for the millions of returning service men. Cities sometimes used them to recruit their employees. They were particularly important in keeping unemployment to a minimum and thus relieving cities of relief cases.

PUBLIC WORKS

Dual Character of the Public Works Program.—A second exceedingly important contribution made to cities by the national government involves the construction and maintenance of public works. To begin with, the national government entered this field in connection with its relief program. In as much as the building trades and the heavy industries which depend upon building construction were especially hit by the depression following 1929, the federal authorities attempted to relieve unemployment in these fields by assisting cities to carry on elaborate programs of public works. As part of its relief program the national government also furnished vast amounts of labor for repairing and improving public works already in existence in cities. Later the national government interested itself in public works apart from relief administration. Many new buildings were constructed in cities through the assistance of this second type of agency.[1]

[1] New York City may be cited as an example of the extent of a public works program financed in large part by federal funds. During the period March, 1933 to June, 1938 W.P.A. constructed more than 100 miles of new streets with paved surfaces, added improvements to more than 650 miles of other roads, and constructed 12 bridges. W.P.A. also erected 391 new public buildings during this period and improved an additional 1,000 public buildings. Among the 391 new buildings were: recreational buildings to the number of 156 and administrative or office buildings to the number of

P.W.A.—Many of the public works which were undertaken by cities during the nineteen-thirties were made possible by grants and loans received from the national government. New city halls, school buildings, libraries, museums, swimming pools, bridges, sewage systems, garbage disposal plants, and parkways resulted from the assistance which the national government extended to cities. Cities prepared plans for such projects which they submitted to the Public Works Administration, and if the projects were approved by the P.W.A., outright grants to the extent of 45 per cent of the cost of construction were made to cities out of the national treasury. Of the 55 per cent which the cities themselves had to bear, loans were frequently made by the national government covering all or part.

W.P.A.—Much was done during the decade following 1932 to improve city streets, parks, rivers, water works, and other public property as a result of projects proposed by cities and accepted by the Works Progress Administration. This type of improvement involved additions, maintenance, or repairs rather than large permanent undertakings; and was intended primarily as an outlet for work-relief labor. The hundreds of thousands of men who were accepted by the national government as its share of the municipal relief load had to be provided with work near their places of residence.

The chief source of work took the form of municipal projects of one kind and another. Repairs were made to city streets; sidewalks were relaid and leveled; old street car tracks were torn up; and water storage tanks were painted and cleaned. Parks were improved by the building of shelter houses, the planting of shrubs and flowers, the construction of walks and seats, the addition of playgrounds and sport fields, and the providing of new quarters for the zoological exhibits. Low and swampy lands were reclaimed; beaches were put in order; unsightly river banks were beautified; and the danger of floods was cut down. Much of this was done

18. W.P.A. has contributed 34 new athletic fields, 250 playgrounds, 100 new swimming and wading pools, 2 golf courses, 181 tennis courts, and 15 new parks. In the sanitation field 200 miles of new water lines, 137 miles of trunk and lateral sewers, 9,000 manholes and catch basins, 1 new water treatment plant, 1 sewage disposal plant, and 1 garbage incinerator were contributed during the period. These data are taken from the report of H. Ferris White, State Director of the National Emergency Council for New York. See: the *New York Times*, October 2, 1938.

without any expense to the cities; all of the labor was supplied without cost.

The efficiency of such undertakings may be questionable. Critics have pointed out the enormous amounts of labor required to complete a relatively small project, as well as the long delays frequently involved. In comparison with ordinary construction the cost was great without doubt. However, two results were achieved: relief was extended and the cities have at least something to show for the expenditures of the national government. And it can scarcely be denied that, irrespective of the cost, some very acceptable improvements were made on city property that otherwise would scarcely have been undertaken. Many cities present more attractive appearances and offer much more in the way of recreational facilities than was dreamed of a few years ago.

Postwar Role of the Federal Government.—During World War II cities were unable to do more than the barest essentials in constructing new public works. The role of the federal government during this period was naturally very small, but it may be noted that the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 provided loans or advances to cities for planning of public works in the postwar period. Of an appropriation of thirty million dollars for such purposes, something like two-thirds was used for plans involving water, sewer, and sanitary projects and for schools and educational facilities. In his state of the union message to Congress in 1946 President Truman declared that the federal government should confine itself to assisting with the planning of public works of local character unless economic conditions became such as to necessitate a more substantial role.[1]

Highways.—Though the federal government did not undertake to renew its very ambitious participation in municipal public work construction immediately following World War II, it should be pointed out that it did authorize sizable appropriations for city highway construction. Out of some $175,000,000 recommended for general highway grants-in-aid in 1947, $43,750,000 was ear-marked for highways in urban areas. Of course this does not involve all city streets, but it does assist cities in improving some of their through streets which are used as sections of the highway system.

[1] See I. M. Labovitz and J. W. Field, "Federal-City Relations in 1945," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 92–98.

Airports.—A second public works field in which the federal government has taken an active interest following World War II is that involving airports. The United States emerged from the war more air-minded than ever before and it was readily apparent that adequate air service required larger airports with improved equipment. Early experience demonstrated quite conclusively that private interests could not be expected to provide these airports and consequently that municipal airports would have to be given substantial support. The National Airport Plan administered by the Civil Aeronautics Administration provides large federal aid for municipal airports.

HOUSING

The United States has been backward in the field of public housing. Private housing has received more attention, but it has lagged during recent years until a large part of the present structures are antiquated and in many cities there is a considerable shortage in houses. In comparison with cities in England and certain European countries cities in the United States make a very poor showing in the matter of slum clearance and general public housing. Much of the progress which has been made in cities of the United States has resulted from activity of the national government.

Public Housing.—Since 1932 the national government has spent large sums of money in housing experiments both within and without cities. Slum areas have been purchased, cleared, and made the scene of imposing apartment houses; outlying acreage has been acquired and developed into model residential communities; and special housing provisions have been made for Negroes. Most of the efforts of the national government prior to 1938 depended relatively little upon city governments. National agencies planned the projects in the first place, cared for their construction with national funds, and proceeded to operate them or arrange for their operation by other than city governments. Such a scheme did not prove very satisfactory in many instances, and some of the projects have been turned over to the cities in which they are located.[1]

[1] For several interesting articles on this subject see: the section on "Housing as a Problem of Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 190, pp. 145–190 (March, 1937).

Largely through the efforts of Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York a more adequate housing law was enacted by Congress in 1937. Appropriations under this law were not as large as Senator Wagner hoped for—$800,000,000 was the initial sum made available. Under this law it was possible for cities to receive important assistance from the national government in carrying out public housing improvements. Low interest-rate loans to the extent of 90 per cent of the cost were made and, in addition, the national government makes annual grants to keep the rents low. The war naturally halted the construction of permanent low-rent housing projects, though numerous emergency housing undertakings were financed out of federal funds in cities. In 1945 Congress appropriated many millions of dollars for conversion and transportation of emergency housing units to cities where the need was especially great. Proposals such as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill would enable considerable progress to be made in the public housing field in cities.

Private Housing.—Through the Home Owners Loan Corporation the national government enabled the owners of many city homes to save their property from foreclosure. The physical appearance of cities in general has been considerably improved by the loans which the national government has insured through the Federal Housing Administration for painting, additions, and new houses. Much of this was intended to meet the emergency created by the depression, but certain provisions, which seek through a federal guarantee of as much as 90 per cent of the value of the loans for the construction of new residences to stimulate more adequate private housing in cities, are of long-range significance. Under this law banks are encouraged to loan money for home building because of the guarantee feature. Would-be-home-owners can proceed to a realization of their desires because of the liberal credit terms allowed.

MUNICIPAL FINANCE

During the early years of the depression following 1929 many cities found themselves in a state of financial crisis. They were called upon to assume vast burdens of relief; their revenues became greatly reduced because of the failure of taxes to come in; and bankers hesitated to renew loans or to extend additional credit.

An unknown number of cities—estimated in the hundreds and by some observers as many as approximately half of all cities—found themselves facing bankruptcy. Salaries of municipal employes remained unpaid; municipal bills in general could not be satisfied; bond charges had to be postponed; and assistance to those on the relief rolls could not be promptly distributed. At this critical stage the Reconstruction Finance Corporation stepped in and made numerous loans, receiving in return municipal bonds or notes.[1] In the case of Chicago alone approximately one hundred million dollars was made available.

Municipal Bankruptcy Legislation.—Congress, in 1934, passed a municipal bankruptcy act which permitted cities some of the advantages which private persons have enjoyed for many years. Under the terms of this law if the states in which the cities were located gave their permission, cities might carry their financial problems to a federal court. Perhaps the main advantage of the law to cities was that it gave them an extended period in which to settle their financial difficulties and hence put pressure upon their creditors to make adjustments in demands. The number of cities actually taking advantage of the law was less than expected, but the moral effect of the law benefited many more cities which faced financial crises. The Supreme Court of the United States later declared the law unconstitutional on the ground that cities are the creatures of the states and even if the states consent the national government cannot legislate in regard to cities.[2] Congress then proceeded to pass a modified municipal bankruptcy law which safeguarded the interests of the states more definitely. The Supreme Court more or less reversed its original position regarding federal action in this field and upheld the constitutionality of this law.[3]

CRIME

When crime became so rampant in Chicago that it threatened to paralyze the city, worried citizens appealed to President Hoover

[1] During the period March 4, 1933 to June 30, 1938 the federal government spent $3,075,231,570 for recovery and relief in New York State. According to the regional director of the National Emergency Council, H. Ferris White, approximately two-thirds of this went to New York City. See: *New York Times*, October 9, 1938.

[2] *Ashton v. Cameron County Water Improvement District* (1936).

[3] *Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District v. Same* (1938).

for federal aid. Mr. Hoover replied that he appreciated the seriousness of the situation, but that the national government had no authority under which it could intervene. Nevertheless, within a short time the national government was taking a very active part in the war against gangsters, bank bandits, and other high-powered crooks. Ordinarily cities had found it possible to cope with crime until the nineteen-twenties; then came the organized gangs and the racketeers, equipped with machine guns, bombs, bullet-proof cars, and the fastest transportation. Their power was so great and the blandishments they offered so fascinating that police departments and other city officials sometimes could not resist. Instead of operating in a single city they covered many cities located in a dozen states. Ordinary prisons could not hold them.

Bureau of Investigation.—The national government increased the power of the Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice, making use of its power over interstate commerce, national banks, mails, and national property and officials. The agents of this bureau soon became a potent factor in the fight against crime in cities. They compiled lists of public enemies and carried on vigorous campaigns to capture bandits who robbed national banks, transported stolen automobiles across state lines, engaged in interstate white-slave trade, or disregarded their federal income taxes. They coöperated with city police departments if these agencies of the city remained free from alliances and agreements with the criminals; otherwise they operated independently. If the criminals could be captured alive, they were imprisoned, but the federal agents did not hesitate to shoot desperate criminals. As a result of their courage, vigor, and skill the problem of large-scale crime in cities decreased to a point where bank robberies ceased to be everyday affairs. The operations of gangs became much less rampant, and the number of stolen automobiles decreased from a monthly record in some cities of hundreds to a handful. Municipal police departments found it humiliating to have the reputation among federal agents as allies of the underworld, and hence the standards in these departments improved.[1] After the Lindbergh case Congress made interstate kidnapping an offense

[1] See: J. Edgar Hoover's *Persons in Hiding* (Boston, 1938); and H. S. Cummings, *Federal Justice* (New York, 1937), for a more detailed discussion of these functions.

punishable by death and extended the power of the federal officers.

In 1939, the national government started a campaign to clean up municipal politics and received much publicity in connection with the conviction of Boss Pendergast of Kansas City on an income-tax charge. Attorney General Frank Murphy publicly declared that the national government was prepared to "strike hard" in a "purge" to improve political conditions "if city governments won't clean up of their own accord." [1]

Some critics have contended that the national government takes unfair advantage of criminals; they say that if the government agents fail to find any evidence definite enough to lead to conviction on more serious charges, they will resort to income-tax violation charges. The notorious Al Capone represented a case at point, for he was incarcerated in the prison for the most desperate criminals at Alcatraz, although convicted on an income-tax charge. Such sympathy for the criminal, considering the crime problem, seems misplaced. The concrete results have frequently been far greater than is generally realized. Residents of cities have been saved millions of dollars every year through the efforts of F.B.I.

Identification of Criminals.—One of the most important services rendered cities in connection with the fight against organized crime involves the fingerprint files maintained by the Department of Justice. These files, which have a history of only a few years, already surpass the well known files in Paris and London. They are being added to at the rate of several hundred per day and serve a very useful purpose as far as city police departments are concerned. The national government also offers cities, which cannot afford to maintain elaborate facilities, a service in connection with laboratory identification of poisons, blood stains, bullets, and other clues. And it may be added that numerous cities, even including some with large populations, regularly avail themselves of these aids. Certain crimes which would probably have remained unsolved in the old days have consequently been detected.

Miscellaneous.—Peddlers of narcotics, distributors of pornographic pictures and literature, and blackmailers who use the mails are the objects of federal attention as well as city police departments. The federal Narcotics Bureau and the Postoffice Department give assistance to cities in these fields.

[1] *New York Times*, May 30, 1939.

HEALTH

The national Public Health Service has contributed to the handling of municipal health problems during a fairly long period.[1] Its studies of persistent and dangerous diseases over a number of years have been of direct benefit to cities; its activities in stamping out yellow fever were especially noteworthy in the case of southern cities. One of its most recent services to cities lies in its vigorous leadership in the campaign to reduce the incidence of venereal diseases. These dread infections have been of unusual frequency in cities; their cost has been greater than can be accurately estimated. The program of federal-plus-state grants-in-aid may go a considerable distance in enabling city health departments to meet this longstanding problem.

National Health Plans.—Perhaps the most important health contribution which the national government makes to cities is in connection with a gigantic health plan which looks toward more adequate medical and health care for the entire American people. Cities have had more than their share of free clinics, but the plight of the middle class has been greater than in rural areas where medical fees are distinctly lower. A program, first presented at the National Health Conference held in the summer of 1938 under the direction of the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Activities, proposed an annual expenditure of $850,000,000 over a ten-year period. A message from President Truman in 1945 recommended that the national government embark upon a comprehensive, large-scale program for the expansion of public health services into new and wider fields. Much of the cost of such a program would be met by the national government.

Hospital Construction.—While the health plans remain in the paper stage, Congress has appropriated funds to assist cities and other local governments in adding to their hospital facilities. Surveys have indicated that many cities have hardly any hospital facilities; larger cities find existing hospitals inadequate. High construction costs make the federal appropriations less important than had been

[1] James A. Tobey, "Municipal Administration and Federal Health Activities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 745 (December, 1925), and "Federal Health Agencies as an Aid to City Officials," *American City*, Vol. 36, p. 232 (February, 1927).

anticipated, but even so a considerable number of new public hospitals will be built.

Pure Food Legislation.—The efforts of the national government to improve the quality of food products and to ban the sale of harmful drugs cannot be ignored by anyone who observes the relation between cities and the national government. Not all food can be inspected by the experienced agents of the Department of Agriculture because only products that move in interstate commerce come under the provisions of the law. However, a large proportion of the meat products consumed by the inhabitants of cities do receive this safeguard. The Food and Drugs Law of 1938 makes even more important the services rendered to cities by the national government. With a national law which requires manufacturers to indicate on the outside of the package containing their products just what the basic ingredients are and an absolute prohibition of specious and unjustifiable statements promising to cure everything from Bright's Disease to Measles, it should be distinctly simpler for city health departments to carry on their work of safeguarding public health.

W.P.A. and P.W.A.—A somewhat indirect contribution was made by the national government to public health through its interest in sewage and garbage disposal. In the first place, large P.W.A. grants and loans were made to many cities for the purpose of constructing more adequate sewers, sewage disposal plants, and garbage incinerators. Quantities of W.P.A. labor were placed at the disposal of cities to put into repair their sanitary systems. The progress of small cities in the field of sanitation has been especially noteworthy as a result of assistance from P.W.A. and W.P.A. Indeed many small cities would doubtless still be without sewage systems except for this aid. It is well known that adequate water supplies have a direct bearing on health; consequently the assistance given by P.W.A. to small cities in connection with the construction of central water systems should be noted.

Miscellaneous.—In addition to the programs referred to above, there are other activities of the federal government which have an impact on municipal health standards. The Bureau of Mines has advised city departments in regard to smoke abatement and the control of exhaust fumes from motor vehicles. The Bureau of Dairy Industry has given advice to city officials in connection with

drafting milk ordinances and regulations. The Children's Bureau has interested itself in various problems relating to the health status of children in cities. Federal courts have on occasion protected cities from the irresponsible acts of industrial plants and other local governments in emptying their sewage into bodies of water from which municipal water supplies are drawn. In petitions brought by New Jersey municipalities which found their beaches ruined by garbage and other refuse dumped by New York City into the ocean, federal courts ordered the latter city to construct garbage-disposal plants.

RECREATION AND CULTURE

During the depression of the nineteen-thirties and to a less extent as a war measure the national government spent considerable sums of money on a recreational program; until that time cities depended upon themselves or had no such programs. Some cities, particularly of the larger populations, paid some attention to this matter, but they found funds so difficult to obtain that their efforts usually fell short of a reasonably adequate program. Small cities, as a rule, did nothing at all in the way of public programs, although private groups sometimes attempted modest activity. One of the popular W.P.A. projects throughout the cities of the United States sought to bring recreational facilities to the children and young people especially and to the adults as far as possible. Experts or semi-experts in public recreational programs were furnished, and a great deal of interest stimulated in certain cities. Perhaps the efforts were most significant in the smaller cities where little existed in the way of entertainment. The effect of such activity, sponsored and paid for by the national government, was especially great in the sphere of petty crime and juvenile delinquency.

The W.P.A. Recreational Program in New York City.—Some appreciation of the scope of the cultural and recreational program which the national government carried out in cities through W.P.A. may be derived from a report concerning such activities in New York City. Between the dates January 1, and June 30, 1938 Colonel B. B. Somervell, W.P.A. Administrator for New York City, disclosed that 12,319,869 people had participated in the various recreational activities of W.P.A.—of this number

9,460,498 were children and 2,869,390 were adults.[1] An additional 2,993,284 took advantage of the cultural program, of whom 2,242,894 were children and 750,390 belonged to the adult category. In 1938, 4848 people were employed to direct the recreational program which was carried on at 647 centers.[2] The most important single undertaking involved a street-play project which covered every part of New York City—every assembly district was divided into twelve units for the purpose of this project. During the six-month period 3,232,312 boys and girls benefited from this street-play project alone.

Tournaments for district and city-wide championships were promoted in basketball, with 520 teams competing; in roller-skate hockey, with 372 teams; and in ping-pong, with 300 individual entries. One hundred took part in boxing shows. Special programs were arranged in the various hospitals, in municipal institutions, in settlements, in community houses, in neighborhood houses, and in other social agencies. A total cumulative attendance of 2,771,264 was reported for these special offerings. The pre-school recreation program enrolled 138,716 children. Trips, hikes, and excursions to parks and other places of interest near the city were sponsored. A program for truant and potentially truant boys reached 61,777 boys. Among the cumulative total attendances at cultural offerings were: 901,709 in arts and crafts, 503,413 in recreational dancing, 195,504 in recreational dramatics, 620,312 in recreational music, 106,608 in puppetry, 13,443 in fencing, 70,653 in group discussions, and 181,639 in miscellaneous cultura activities and special events.[3]

Park Improvements.—P.W.A. and W.P.A. funds literally transformed city parks in many instances.[4] Swimming pools were added; shelter and picnic houses constructed; bridle paths provided; sports fields laid out; more interesting settings created

[1] The total "gate" for the entire year of 1938 amounted to 34,715,796 persons. See *New York Times*, February 20, 1939.

[2] Report of W.P.A. Administrator B. B. Somervell as summarized in the *New York Times*, February 20, 1939.

[3] *New York Times*, July 24, 1938.

[4] In 1938, W.P.A. added 2,298 acres to the developed park system of New York City and renovated 37 other parks with 2,991 acres. Twenty-seven new athletic fields, 2 new wading pools, 58 new playgrounds, 2 skating rinks, 42 new recreation buildings, 13 new tennis courts, 246 handball courts, and 69 places for horseshoe were added. *New York Times*, February 20, 1939.

for the animal exhibitions; and greatly improved standards of general upkeep maintained. As a result, city parks that consisted of little more than undeveloped ground achieved the status of recreational assets, and other parks were made vastly more attractive to the people of the city. Most of the sizable cities can point to one or more parks which they owe to these programs.

The Theatre, Music, and Literature.—Similar efforts of W.P.A. did much during the depression to add to the cultural advantages of large cities which offered their citizens no more than occasional theatrical diversions. W.P.A. theatres were formed in a fairly large number of cities, and some of their productions achieved high standards and attracted much attention. The W.P.A. Living Newspapers were notable examples of ingenuity. In some cities musical organizations were established by W.P.A.—some of these furnished the music at the W.P.A. theatres, and others belonged to the symphony-orchestra variety. Concerts at public places were provided for the people either at a very low admission fee or at no cost at all.

Writers were set to work preparing guide books, local histories, and literary anthologies. Some of these were so attractive that commercial publishers accepted them for publication.[1] Cities which have had no detailed guide books, as are commonly available in European cities, can now offer their visitors quite adequate information.

Archives.—In not a few instances city archives received the first and only systematic attention that they have known. Not only were many interesting records discovered and preserved, but some order was established in old city records so that they will be available for general use.

Painting and Decoration.—As never before cities now have the walls of their public buildings decorated with murals and other works of art. Much of this has been the result of efforts of the national government, for W.P.A. gave employment to artists who found it impossible to secure private employment. The result was some colorful and often surprisingly interesting decorations in municipal buildings which have ordinarily been grey and cheerless. Cities have commonly neglected their statues and other adornments, and in some cities the condition of these objects has been

[1] As an example the reader is referred to the new *Guidebook to New York City.*

deplorable—what with the deterioration caused by the elements and the work of vandals. W.P.A. undertook to clean, repair, and identify such monuments to the past.[1] These programs came to an end as the country concentrated on the war effort.[2]

EDUCATION

The Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency has carried on studies and issued reports based on municipal educational problems over a period of years. It has compiled and issued statistical reports which have been widely used by city school administrators, and recently it has interested itself in civic education through radio broadcasting.

The work carried on in the field of adult education deserves special mention. Approximately 580 centers were selected throughout the United States—for the most part cities—as experimental laboratories in adult education. Federal funds were provided, and federal supervision furnished. The results have been summarized and made available to those interested in adult education.[3] Thousands of adults living in cities have received stimulation from these experiments. It is hoped that the leadership supplied by the national government will encourage many other cities to engage in this important activity. The citizenship program drafted by the Office of Education following World War II should be of special benefit to city schools and indeed to cities in general.

Educational Grants-in-Aid.—Most of the improvements made to physical plants of city schools during the nineteen-thirties were assisted by the national government, and, in addition, P.W.A. grants and R.F.C. loans were made for the construction of many modern school buildings in almost every large city and in many smaller cities. Grounds were made more attractive and general repairs effected through the use of W.P.A. labor, while N.Y.A. contributed the services of many high school youngsters. Some of these performed clerical work for the public schools, while others engaged in other activities of value. In 1937, President Roosevelt

[1] This program in New York City was especially important.

[2] For a detailed discussion of this topic see: Grace Overmyer, *How Governments Nourish the Arts* (New York, 1939).

[3] A public document issued by the Office of Education and the Department of the Interior, entitled *Forum Planning*. A report made in May, 1939 revealed that these 580 forums had held 14,454 meetings with an attendance of 1,700,866. *New York Times*, May 14, 1939.

appointed a national committee of educators to study the whole problem of education in the United States. This committee, in its report made in 1938, recommended greater activity on the part of the national government in the field of education, with national grants-in-aid amounting to several hundred million dollars per year. If this program is put into effect by the national government, the relations with cities in the educational field will be greatly elaborated.

STATISTICAL SERVICES

Perhaps the most established relations between the national government and cities are in the field of statistics. For many years the Bureau of the Census has collected information of various kinds which it makes available to cities. The decennial census reports constitute one of the most important sources of material to those interested in municipal government in the United States, but even more important from the standpoint of the large cities are the publications entitled *City Finances*, *City Employment*, and *Proposals Voted Upon in City Elections*. Only cities with a population of over 25,000 are at present included in the first publication, and there is sometimes an unfortunate delay in getting the volumes out.[1] However, they serve an extremely useful purpose, especially for purposes of comparison. Information is supplied as to the revenues of cities, expenditures, assessed valuation, municipal indebtedness, and municipal enterprises. The Office of Education, the Public Health Service, and various other agencies of the national government issue statistical reports that concern cities.[2] The Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census has been most outstanding in statistical studies relating to municipal activities.

MISCELLANEOUS

The national government provides a considerable amount of informational and advisory service to cities. The Department of Commerce has prepared a series of monographs on city planning and zoning and has also published bulletins dealing with municipal

[1] This has been reduced recently. The 1943 volume came out in 1946.

[2] A detailed discussion of the work done by the national government in reporting municipal statistics is to be found in the report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee, entitled "Federal Reporting of Urban Information," in *Urban Government*, Vol. 1 (Washington, 1939).

airports. The National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, organized in 1924 with the Secretary of Commerce as chairman, holds meetings for the discussion of traffic problems and has prepared two publications that are of interest to cities: *A Uniform Vehicle Code* and *A Model Municipal Traffic Ordinance.* The United States Civil Service Commission has had long experience in preparing examinations for those seeking public employment. While many of its examinations do not apply to municipal employment and there is some feeling among municipal administrators and others that its work has been poorly executed, nevertheless, some use has been made by cities of its examinations and techniques.

City purchasing agents have sometimes employed, and might well employ to a much larger extent, the *United States Government Master Specifications* and the *National Directory of Commodity Specifications.* The Bureau of Standards performs many services that may be used by cities either without cost or upon payment of a small fee. Departments of Weights and Measures in city governments can find in the work of the Bureau of Standards in such a field much that is valuable. The tests which the Bureau of Standards has made of electrical equipment, cement, fuels and lubricants, automotive equipment, fire-resisting materials, building materials, meters, and a multitude of other items might well be used by many cities.[1]

The studies carried on by the Bureau of Mines in the field of fire protection, fire fighting, sewer-gas explosions, the handling of gasoline, and several other problems have resulted in publications which may be obtained by municipal officials. Much of the information contained in these reports bears directly upon important city problems. Investigations relating to the general problem of fires and their control have also been made by the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils of the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Standards. These are reported in bulletins which are available to cities.

[1] For additional discussion of the work of the Bureau of Standards see: Waldron Fawcett, "What the National Bureau of Standards is Doing for American Municipalities," *American City*, Vol. 20, p. 154 (February, 1919).

WARTIME RELATIONS

The relations of cities and the federal government were more numerous during World War II than most people realize. The abandonment of W.P.A. and other much-publicized programs set up during the great depression of the nineteen-thirties probably led many citizens to believe that the relations between the federal government and cities were curtailed. While there was a definite cutting down in certain fields, the war developed a number of new fields in which joint action proved desirable. It should be added that most of these were limited to the war period.

Civilian Defense.—Cities received a great deal of attention from the Office of Civilian Defense, for it was generally recognized that cities would bear the brunt of any air attack launched by our enemies. The Office of Civilian Defense sought to work very closely with cities in preparing for adequate fire-fighting forces, air-raid shelters, and various types of equipment. The cities did not always see eye to eye with the Office of Civilian Defense, but nevertheless much was done to supplement fire-fighting facilities and other defense precautions.

Selective Service.—Though the federal government made greatest use of the states in administering the selective service machinery, the role of cities was by no means insignificant. Small cities might be part of larger selective service areas, but larger cities were either units in the selective service system or were themselves subdivided into various districts for such purposes.

Community Services.—Many of the war training camps and munitions plants were located in or near cities, with the result that large numbers of new inhabitants had to be taken care of by cities. Housing had to be provided; schools, medical care, water, sanitary facilities, recreational programs, and other services frequently had to be expanded in order to take care of the increased population. Cities undertook a part of the responsibility for such additional services, but they were unable in many cases to shoulder the entire burden. The result was a rather complicated system of collaboration under which the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, the Federal Security Agency, and the Federal Works Agency assisted cities in dealing with these difficult problems.

Child-care Centers.—It was necessary to recruit many mothers to work in war plants during the emergency, but arrangements had to be made for caring for their children if they were to be free for such labor. Congress therefore passed the Lanham Act which provided grants-in-aid for establishing child centers. Most of these were set up in cities and involved a relationship between the local authorities and representatives from Washington. This program came to an end in 1946.

Community War Services.—The Office of Community War Services was established as a federal emergency agency to deal with social protection and recreational programs. Much of its work was carried on in cities throughout the United States and naturally necessitated relations with city officials.

Federal Property.—The war saw a very large accumulation of real property in the hands of the federal government. Much of this property had been on the tax rolls and was depended upon by various local governments for revenue. Such property acquired by R.F.C. was not tax-exempt, but property held directly by the federal government could not be subject to local taxation. With cities and other local governments hard-pressed for income in many instances, it was necessary for the national authorities to consider what could be done to meet the situation. Various bills were introduced in Congress, but the general problem was too complicated to permit simple solution. In certain cases federal agencies did make payments to cities in lieu of taxation.

Surplus Property.—At the conclusion of the war the federal government found itself with vast amounts of various types of property on its hand, much of which was not needed for peace-time purposes. Cities were interested in the disposal of real property within or adjacent to their boundaries; they themselves desired various types of equipment and supplies for their departments. . Cities were given a high priority in cases where they desired to purchase this surplus property; they could claim substantial discounts or even gratuitous awards in certain cases.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, William, "The Federal Government and Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13, p. 288 (May, 1924).

Betters, Paul V., *Federal Services to Municipal Government* (New York, 1931).

Betters, Paul V., "Federal Aid for Municipalities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 174 (April, 1933).

Betters, Paul V., "Federal Loans to Cities for Self-Liquidating Projects," *Public Management*, Vol. 14, p. 289 (September, 1932).

Betters, Paul V., "The Federal Government and the Cities: A Problem of Adjustment," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 190 (September, 1938).

Chatters, Carl H., "Cities Look at Their Federal-State Relationships," *Minnesota Municipalities* (October-November, 1937).

Fawcett, Waldron, "What the National Bureau of Standards is Doing for American Municipalities," *American City*, Vol. 20, p. 154 (February, 1919).

Foley, E. H., Jr., "Recent Developments in Federal-Municipal Relationships," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (March, 1938).

Hoover, J. Edgar, *Persons in Hiding* (Boston, 1938).

Isakoff, J. F., *The Public Works Administration* (Urbana, Illinois, 1939).

Kneier, C. M., *City Government in the United States* (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chap VIII.

Lindley, Betty, and Lindley, Ernest K., *The Youngest Third of This Country's Unemployed* (New York, 1938).

Millett, John D., *The W.P.A. in New York City* (Chicago, 1938).

National Resources Committee, *Urban Government*, Vol. 1 (Washington, 1939), Parts II–III.

Overmyer, Grace, *How Governments Nourish the Arts* (New York, 1939).

Tobey, James A., "Municipal Administration and the Federal Health Activities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 745 (December, 1925).

Tobey, James A., "Federal Health Agencies as an Aid to City Officials," *American City*, Vol. 36, p. 232 (February, 1927).

Wood, K. D., and Palmer, Gladys L., *Urban Workers on Relief* (Washington, 1936), Parts I and II.

VI

THE RELATION OF CITIES TO GOVERNMENT UNITS OTHER THAN STATES AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Types of Relations.—In addition to the states in which they are located and the national government, cities have important relations with other units of governments. Some of these relations are legal in character, in as much as cities may be a part of the other units or the other units of government may be subdivisions of cities with legal status apart from them. Many of the contacts which cities have with other governments belong to the informal rather than the formal category and hence resemble somewhat the relationship characterizing cities and the national government. Examples of the first type are relations between cities and the counties in which they are located and between cities and townships which constitute parts of cities. In the second kind of contact other cities, satellite communities, whether cities or towns or villages, and certain special governmental districts play roles.

THE COUNTY

Unlike certain countries which exclude cities from surrounding counties or corresponding divisions of government, the states of the United States, except for Louisiana, provide that cities shall be a part of the counties in which they are located—that is, unless the city and county lines are identical and the two governments combined into one. This means that cities and counties frequently have very important relations. Small cities especially depend upon the counties in which they are located. Large cities do not feel that they require assistance from counties in many instances; they tend to duplicate and even conflict with county services, and consequently the contacts between the two are often characterized by irritation and jealousy.[1]

[1] For a general discussion of the relations of cities and counties see: William Anderson, *American City Government* (New York, 1925), pp. 83–90.

SMALL CITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTIES IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED

Many small cities derive much of their importance from being county seats. The county building, the county offices, and the county courts are located in these cities; lawyers concentrate in the city because of its status as county seat; and business tends to gravitate toward the small city in the county which can boast of being the county seat. Hence, there is much rivalry among the cities of a county for such an honor unless one city happens to stand head and shoulders above all others.

Problem of Conflicting Jurisdiction.—Where a city is a county seat, there is almost invariably the problem of what functions shall belong to the sheriff and what duties shall be performed by the city police department. To some extent, the duties of each are specified by law, but both have the obligation of maintaining law and order in the territory covered by the city unless the state law declares that the functions of the sheriff shall be restricted to areas outside of city limits.[1]

Financial Assistance.—Small cities frequently depend upon the county in which they are located to make assessment of ordinary general property within the city as well as in the county at large. These assessments are used as a base for fixing city tax rates and levying city taxes. In many instances small cities do not even collect their own general-property taxes, but the county does that and turns over to the city the amounts received.

Public Welfare.—Cities of small population rarely have medical examiners in their police departments, and consequently cases of violent or unknown death are handled by the county coroner. Counties take care of the prisoners arrested by city policemen in many cases, for small cities do not require separate jails and economically arrange with the county to keep prisoners at a specified sum per day. Cities both large and small frequently look to the counties in which they are located to provide for paupers and those temporarily in need. If counties do not handle this function entirely by maintaining poor farms and houses and offering out-door relief to those who are only temporarily unable

[1] See: J. A. Fairlie and C. M. Kneier, *County Government and Administration* (New York, 1930), Chap. XXIV.

to take care of themselves, they sometimes pay a part of the cost of such a function. At times the county health officer performs valuable services for residents of small cities. The burdens of small cities would be greatly increased if the services now performed by counties ceased.

LARGE CITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTIES IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED

The problem of large cities and counties is more complex than that which has already been discussed involving small cities and counties.[1] In contrast to the relatively cordial and helpful relations of the latter, the contact between the former is often characterized by strain, friction, and duplication of function. While the county tends to be more important than the small city, it is often less important than a large city. Services performed by counties for small cities are often handled by large cities for themselves and even in some cases for the counties in which they are situated. For example, the large city may act not only as its own financial manager but also as a sort of fiscal agent for the county; it may assess the general property located within the city limits and allow the county to make use of the same assessments for the levying of county taxes. Moreover, it may act as the representative of the county in receiving the county general-property tax from the taxpayers, turning the receipts over to the appropriate county official at regular intervals.

Duplication of Functions.—Many large cities almost constitute the counties in which they are located, particularly as far as population is concerned. Chicago can claim approximately ninety per cent of the people of Cook County, as well as a large proportion of its area, and New York City covers all or parts of five counties. Where such a situation exists, it makes the relationship of the city and county very complicated. In addition to the elaborate organization maintained by the city government, the county will ordinarily provide a complete set of departments which in general have to function, if they are to function at all, within the limits of the city. With almost all the inhabitants of the county in the city there will be little to do if the county officials confine them-

[1] For a study of an actual situation see: *The City and County of Philadelphia* (1923), prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.

selves to the area outside of city limits. The result is that some county departments do very little except draw their salaries.[1]

Former Governor Smith is responsible for the statement that the sheriff's office in New York County, a part of New York City, has difficulty in finding anything of any consequence to do. As sheriff of that county himself twenty years ago he maintained that his main duty consisted in collecting the approximately seventy thousand dollars per year which the office carried in salary and fees for its holder.[2] Obviously with the large police departments that have been built up in most large cities the sheriff, who is usually considered the most important county officer, is a supernumerary as far as maintaining law and order goes. He still has duties to perform as agent of the county courts, but it may be questioned whether these could not be transferred to the city police and other agencies at no sacrifice of efficiency and with a considerable saving of public money. At the very best the current situation in many cases involving large cities and counties must be regarded as wasteful—even where conflict and duplication do not occur. Such counties manifest considerable pride and feel that they must maintain imposing county buildings and elaborate departmental organizations; yet they have less to do—considering that their real responsibility covers only the non-urban area—than many counties situated largely in rural sections.

Consolidated City-Counties.—The criticism of the situation involving large cities and counties has reached considerable intensity in certain places; with the result that provision has been made for consolidating cities and counties territorially.[3] Denver in Colorado has been both a city and a county for many years. Philadelphia and San Francisco now enjoy such status. Unfortunately the movement has not been carried far enough, largely because of the opposition of vested interests—county officials and their friends violently resent any attempt to deprive them of their honors and salaries. Even where territorial consolidation has been achieved, there has unfortunately been inadequate functional

[1] See: Anderson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 87–88.

[2] *New York Times*, November 4, 1935.

[3] The federal Bureau of the Census classifies nine cities as governmental units where city and county governments have been merged. These are: New York City, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, San Francisco, Washington, New Orleans, and Denver.

consolidation. For example, Denver found itself after consolidation saddled with a county superintendent of schools; the result was that the county superintendent had nothing to do and received a small office and a small salary apparently by way of consolation. The consolidation of large cities and counties requires some readjustment in county lines in many cases. The rural part of such a county has to be separated from the urban part and either made into a county by itself, or, what is more logical in most cases, attached to adjoining counties.[1]

THE TOWNSHIP

In most of the states the township possesses slight political significance at the present time. However, in certain Middle-Western states the township still clings to important functions.[2] In the case of large cities which include in their limits several such political units complications necessarily arise. In Indiana, for example, townships continue to be charged with the responsibility of assessing general property, and, therefore, cities must depend upon townships for the establishment of their general-property tax base.

Townships also in a few instances insist on performing certain functions in connection with poor relief; despite all of the new legislation in Indiana setting up a department of public welfare, together with county boards of welfare, much of the relief in Indianapolis is dispensed by the trustee of Center Township. This more or less irresponsible person functions entirely on a political basis; yet he has the power to levy large taxes on the property of part of the citizens of Indianapolis to raise the revenue necessary to run his office. The amount spent annually for relief alone runs to over a million dollars. Such a system is vicious, for it prevents any city-wide relief policy and sets up an irresponsible authority with large financial powers which should be vested in the city government. Townships also continue to exercise certain powers relating to education in small cities of Indiana by virtue of their representation on school boards.

[1] In 1937, a measure providing for functional consolidation of Philadelphia City and County was referred to the voters of Pennsylvania. This measure was defeated, although it was favored by a majority of the voters in Philadelphia. *New York Times*, September 4, 1938.

[2] See: F. G. Bates, "The Indiana Township—An Anachronism, "*National Municipal Review*, Vol. 21, p. 502 (August, 1932).

LOCAL DISTRICTS

Almost incredible numbers of special districts have been authorized throughout the United States during the last half a century. Many of these are located in rural areas, but not a few are to be found in cities. Park districts, sanitary districts, water districts, and drainage districts are only a few of the special governmental units to be found in cities.[1] These special districts usually have the taxing power, the borrowing power, and the authority to spend public funds. They also perform certain functions which might better be performed by cities in many cases. With their independent financial powers they complicate the financial problems of cities, and being more or less outside of the limelight they frequently operate in an irresponsible fashion which causes friction with city authorities.

Some of them seem particularly obnoxious. For example, the Chicago park districts—West Park, South Park, and Lincoln Park—until recently not only had the legal authority to maintain parks and levy taxes, but they enjoyed the power to maintain police forces. These police forces made their own traffic rules, and Chicago motorists, therefore, had to familiarize themselves with several systems of traffic regulations when they drove within the city limits of their city. The city authorities must coöperate with such park district authorities in planning through highways that will adequately carry city traffic, and furthermore there is the problem of apprehending criminals within the various police jurisdictions. Such situations are fraught with complications and irritations and unfairly hamper the city in the exercise of its functions.[2]

The heavy bonded indebtedness in some cities goes back largely to the existence of special governmental units within a city. The city itself has slight control over the financial policies of the special districts. Moreover, although the city must constantly consider public opinion when it undertakes public improvements, these

[1] In 1930, there were 271 incorporated places in metropolitan New York City; 134 in Pittsburgh; 114 in Chicago; 91 in Philadelphia; 55 in Los Angeles. An interesting chart is included in National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 66.

[2] For a valuable study illustrating this point see: C. E. Merriam, S. D. Parratt, and Albert Lepawsky, *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (Chicago, 1933).

special districts often operate more or less undercover. Thus the city must follow a niggardly policy in regard to important public projects, while the special districts may sometimes spend public funds and incur indebtedness on a generous scale for comparatively unimportant purposes.[1]

METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS

Special Water Districts.—In addition to the special districts which may lie wholly within their borders, cities also have relations with larger districts of a governmental character. Particularly where a large city is surrounded by satellite cities and towns these metropolitan districts are likely to be set up. In some cases there is the problem of an adequate water supply. The local sources approach exhaustion; an additional supply will have to be brought from a source many miles distant; and the construction of the reservoirs, mains, and pumping stations necessary to such an undertaking presents difficult engineering problems as well as heavy expense. Obviously not all of the governmental units in the area requiring the additional water can cope with such complicated problems. Therefore, a special district constructs the water system, enters into contracts with the various cities and towns for the furnishing of water, and engages in certain financial activities, such as the floating of bonds, essential to its operations. Some cities must not only look to such districts in planning their own water systems, but they must negotiate with the districts as to price to be paid and other items.

Special Sanitary Districts.—Where the disposal of sewage becomes a serious problem and general contamination of rivers and beaches is threatened by the haphazard methods employed by the cities and towns in a metropolitan area, a special district may be the solution.[2] The cost of constructing an adequate system for disposal would be prohibitive to each of the individual cities and towns, and one mammoth system will handle all of the sewage of the whole region. The state proceeds to establish a metropolitan sewer district which is authorized to build trunk sewers collecting the waste from the several cities and towns in the area and carrying

[1] See: Kirk H. Porter, "A Plague of Special Districts," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 544 (November, 1933).

[2] See: W. M. Olson, "The Value of Sanitary Districts," *American City*, Vol. 27, p. 557 (December, 1922).

such waste far out into a bay or other place where it ceases to be a menace.

The cities and towns in the area are relieved of a difficult problem, but they must cooperate with the special sewer district in constructing their local sanitary systems. If a charge is levied for the use of the trunk sewers, they must negotiate with the special district as to how much their share is, and if no special charge is imposed, they must expect the property within their limits to bear a tax for the maintenance of the metropolitan district. The area including Boston and its surrounding cities and towns constitutes such a special metropolitan district.[1] In contrast to the special districts which lie wholly within a city these metropolitan districts frequently offer advantages to the cities which they serve.

SATELLITE CITIES

Large cities almost always find themselves flanked by smaller cities and towns which may be called satellites. These smaller government units depend to a large extent upon the larger city for their actual existence, although legally there is usually no dependence. Some of these satellites serve largely to provide homes for the hordes who work in the large city, while others are industrial in character and depend upon the market afforded by the larger city. Whatever their character, they present problems to the larger city. The satellite cities themselves also must contend with problems which an ordinary small city does not face.[2]

Large cities must sometimes furnish certain services to their satellites. Occasionally small cities and towns are too poor to maintain an adequate fire department or even any fire department at all; consequently the large city may enter into a contract with the satellite under which it agrees to furnish fire protection in return for a certain payment of money. Large cities must plan their transportation systems and their highways in such a manner that the multitude of those who work in the large city but live in

[1] Boston is perhaps the best example of a city which has far-flung relations with various metropolitan districts. Professor Arthur N. Holcombe goes so far as to declare, "Today Boston has practically ceased to be a community. It is at best but a part of a metropolitan district." Quoted from A. N. Holcombe, "Changing Concept of the Community," *Public Management*, Vol. 20, p. 357 (December, 1938).

[2] See: Graham R. Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (New York, 1915).

the smaller cities and towns may travel back and forth.[1] Large cities may find themselves furnishing most of the recreational facilities for the people in their satellites, without being able to impose upon them any taxes to meet the cost of such services. Sometimes the large city must give heed to the health conditions in the satellites—not so much to protect the people in the satellite as to ward off danger from its own people. At times large cities enter into agreements with surrounding smaller cities and towns under which they furnish water, electric current, and similar services to the smaller places.

Financial Relations of Large Cities and Their Satellites.—Perhaps the most controversial problem involving the relationship between a large city and its satellites is that of finance. The large city must furnish costly and elaborate services which it contends are enjoyed by the inhabitants of the satellites; as a result its tax rate may be very high, while the tax rate of the satellite may be comparatively low. The large city argues that it should not be expected to contribute expensive services on a complimentary basis to the inhabitants of the surrounding small cities and towns. Probably there would be general agreement with that contention as an abstract statement; the difficulty comes when an attempt is made to correct the unfair situation. Just how the inhabitants of the small cities and towns can be made to pay for the privileges of using city streets, parks, and libraries is the question. A general charge would fall upon the citizens of the large city who already chafe under paying heavy taxes. A storm of protest would follow any attempt to levy general fees for use of parks, recreational facilities, and libraries; yet it is almost impossible to separate and identify the residents of the satellites, imposing a fee upon them alone.

Some large cities probably exaggerate the burdens which they are called upon to bear in behalf of surrounding smaller cities. Considering the fact that the inhabitants of these smaller places contribute to the prosperity of the large cities by buying many of their goods from the stores of the latter, patronizing the places of commercial amusement located there, and securing their luncheons at the big city restaurants they do at least to some extent assist in

[1] A very able discussion of this and other related problems is to be found in *The Government of Metropolitan Areas*, prepared by the Committee on Metropolitan Government of the National Municipal League in 1930. See: p 35 on this particular point.

paying the costs of the large city government. Moreover, the city may be relieved of certain relief charges which it might otherwise have to bear. Finally, these satellites furnish a labor market which may be valuable to the large city.

Consolidation of Large and Small Cities.—However, in some cases there seems to be little reason for the independent existence of the small cities and towns.[1] For all practical purposes they belong to the large city and might well be incorporated into the large city. As a matter of fact, that is what has happened in certain cases in recent years. However, the satellites often have a considerable amount of local pride, and furthermore there is the advantage of a lower tax rate enjoyed by many satellites. But even so, with proper cultivation by city authorities it is sometimes possible to successfully woo the small cities until they consent to union.[2]

SURROUNDED CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

More stubborn is the problem of the cities, towns, and villages which are entirely or largely surrounded by a large city. To some extent these are really satellites, but they present a somewhat different problem. At times a satellite may be situated ten or fifteen or more miles from the city limits of the large city, and there may be real justification for its political independence. These political units which are surounded by the territory of a large city offer no such justification. The traffic of the large city may have to run through one of these places, while the problems of police administration, fire control, health, and disposal of sewage and garbage are all vitally tied up with the existence of such a governmental unit which may have few resources and inferior services. Yet the local sentiment in these small places is so intense that all efforts on the part of the large cities to persuade them to join forces often prove futile. The question arises as to whether state laws should not prohibit the independent existence of such cities and towns.

Looking at the matter from a practical standpoint it may be difficult to refrain from sympathizing with the burning desire of some of these political units for their own identity. The residents

[1] See: C. C. Maxey, "The Political Integration of Metropolitan Communities," *National Municipal Review*, Supp. 229 (August, 1922).

[2] See: T. B. Manny, *Rural Municipalities* (New York, 1930), Chaps. XIII–XVI.

of the town of Brookline, Massachusetts look with scorn at the political manipulation which so frequently characterizes the City of Boston which engulfs them. Likewise, the citizens of Oak Park, Illinois, feel that they are much better off under their own town government than they would be as a part of machine-ridden Chicago. If it were always a matter of improved services and government for one of these small political units, the problem of incorporating them with a large city would be simplified.[1]

OTHER CITIES

Mutual Relations of Small Cities.—Small cities frequently display interest in other small cities throughout their state, and large cities concern themselves with the activities and accomplishments of other large cities throughout the United States and to some extent in other countries. Small cities sometimes profit from the experience of sister cities in the same state; they may join these cities in an effort to get certain legislation through their state legislature. They usually belong to a state league of municipalities which seeks to further the cordial relations of cities as well as to assist cities in meeting their problems through discussion at annual or more frequent meetings. Some of these leagues publish worthwhile periodicals which serve as clearing houses and devices for stimulating progressive action on the part of city officials.[2] Small cities pay some attention to the tax rate of other cities of approximately the same population and seek to attain a reasonably satisfactory position in comparison.

Mutual Relations of Large Cities.—Large cities belong through their mayors to the United States Conference of Mayors, as well as to numerous other organizations such as police, fire, health, sanitation, park, education, law, and public works associations. These groups hold annual meetings for the purpose of general acquaintance and the discussion of current problems. Some cities take a very active part in promoting such organizations, paying the expenses of their officials in attending the meetings and encouraging their representatives to take an active part in the programs. Other cities complacently make little effort to be represented and pay

[1] See: T. H. Reed, "The Government of Metropolitan Areas," *Public Management*, Vol. 12, p. 75 (March, 1930).

[2] See, for example, the publications of the Illinois and Minnesota Leagues of Municipalities.

no attention to the discussion. Some of these organizations undoubtedly have much to offer cities.

The "1313" Agencies in Chicago.—The American Municipal Association, the International City Managers' Association, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the American Public Works Association, and the Municipal Finance Officers' Association maintain permanent secretariats in connection with the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.[1] They publish important studies and furnish expert information and advice to their members which in many cases are cities or departments thereof. Cities can save themselves much wasted effort as well as at least some expense if they avail themselves of these services.

Occasionally cities send officials or committees to other cities in the United States or even in Europe to study the experiences of these cities; unfortunately many of these trips fall within the *junket* category and accomplish very little that is useful. With the expert service now rendered by certain associations, it is questionable whether such visitations can be often justified.

Large cities also may display interest in the tax rate of sister cities in other states and may attempt to make an equally good or better showing.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, William, *The Units of Government in the United States* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1942).

Bemis, George W., and Basche, Nancy, *Los Angeles County as an Agency of Municipal Government* (Los Angeles, 1947).

Carpenter, William S., *Problems in Service Levels; The Readjustment of Services and Areas in Local Government* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1940).

Donoghue, J. R., *Intergovernmental Cooperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area* (Los Angeles, 1943).

Fairlie, J. A., and Kneier, C. M., *County Government and Administration* (New York, 1930), Chap. XXIV.

Jones, Victor, *Metropolitan Government* (Chicago, 1942).

[1] For an interesting description of the organizations which join together under a single roof in Chicago the reader is referred to Hal Hazelrigg, "The '1313' Group in Chicago," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 183 (September, 1938). Among other organizations of especial significance to cities are: International Association of Chiefs of Police, American Society of Planning Officials, American Public Welfare Association, Governmental Research Association, and National Association of Assessing Officers.

Lancaster, Lane W., *Government in Rural America* (New York, 1937), Chap. XV.

Manny, T. B., *Rural Municipalities* (New York, 1930), Chap. XIII–XVI.

Merriam, C. E., Parratt, S. D., and Lepawsky, Albert, *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (Chicago, 1933).

National Municipal League, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas* (New York, 1930).

National Resources Committee, "Associations of Cities and of Municipal Officials," by Harold D. Smith, in *Urban Government*, Vol. 1 (Washington, 1939).

National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937).

Olson, W. M., "The Value of Sanitary Districts," *American City*, Vol. 27, p. 557 (December, 1922).

Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, *The City and County of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1923).

Porter, K. H., "A Plague of Special Districts," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 544 (November, 1933).

Shaw, G. W., *Providing Municipal Services Outside of Corporate Limits; The Experience of Tennessee Cities* (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1943).

Reed, T. H., "The Government of Metropolitan Areas," *Public Management*, Vol. 12, p. 75 (March, 1930).

Wells, Roger H., *American Local Government* (New York, 1939).

PART III

LEGAL ASPECTS OF CITY GOVERNMENT

VII

CHARTERS

The General Nature of a City Charter.—The charter of a city corresponds in a general way to the constitution of the United States in national government or to the constitution of states in the state sphere. It provides for the framework of government and indicates what powers the city is authorized to exercise. However, the source of the city charter is usually quite different from that of the national or state constitutions. Both the national and state constitutions derive their fundamental power from the people—in the former case the people of the whole United States and in the latter case the people of a single state. City charters, on the other hand, are ordinarily grants of state legislatures.

In the case of home-rule charters the drafting procedure may seem to resemble that employed in the preparation of state constitutions. A charter commission is usually elected by the voters of the city to draw a home-rule charter, and hence it may seem that the source of authority is the people. But even in this type of charter general rules and limitations are imposed in considerable numbers by the state constitution or by legislative enactment. Moreover, the provisions of the home-rule charter may not conflict with general state laws. Therefore, if the people may be said to be the grantors of authority in this type of charter—as is sometimes maintained—they are certainly not particularly free agents in determining exactly what power shall be given to the government of the city and what power shall be withheld.

Narrow and Broad Use of the Term "Charter."—As in the cases of the national and state constitutions, there is a narrow and a broad use of the term "charter." Many think only of the national Constitution as it was adopted in 1789 when the term "Constitution of the United States" appears, or they may add to that the formal amendments which have been appended. In the broader sense the national Constitution is a far more complex affair than

this narrow meaning allows: it includes numerous laws passed by Congress amplifying the original document, many decisions of the Supreme Court interpreting the formal document, and a considerable body of customs and conventions.

In the same way the ordinary person thinks of a city charter as a single grant of authority from the legislature: it is a definite document of so many pages made up of a certain number of sections. In the narrow sense there is sometimes a city charter of this type; where special charters are permitted, such a document always exists, and even under the classified system the largest cities may have such a formal grant. However, smaller cities under the popular classified type must share their legislative grants with sister municipalities of similar size. In the narrow use of the term their charters consist of the original general law enacted by the state legislature for all cities of that particular class.[1]

In the broader sense city charters include: the original grant or the original general law enacted by the state legislature; legislative codes which supplement simplified charters; amendments which have been added to the original grant from time to time and which are frequently very numerous; any general laws relating to cities; provisions of the state constitution having to do with cities; and certain decisions of courts interpreting the original grant or other elements.[2]

The Extent of Powers Granted to Cities.—There has been a widespread feeling that cities have not received adequate grants of power from their states, particularly in those states where no provision is made for home-rule. A study reported by Professor Benson in 1938 indicates that the situation is actually less acute than is generally believed. With the assistance of collaborators in 41 states Professor Benson sought to find to what extent states had granted their cities authority in 27 fields which are of current importance. In the matter of zoning land and restricting the height of buildings more than three-fourths of the states had given power to all of their cities, and an additional 8 states permitted certain cities to enact zoning ordinances.

Thirty-five states authorized their cities to approve of sub-

[1] Nathan Matthews, *Municipal Charters* (Cambridge, 1914), is somewhat old, but contains much informing data in regard to the nature of charters.

[2] See: C. B. Elliott, *The Principles of the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1925), Chaps. III–VIII.

division plats and to own land outside of the city limits, while 33 states granted to all cities the power to own and operate electric utilities, although 28 states deny the authority to regulate private gas and electric companies. Forty states have passed general legislation which provides for the establishment of airports by their cities, and 31 states permit cities to control traffic on state highways which use city streets. Approximately 40 states make provision for municipal poll, sales, excise, or wheelage taxes. Among the powers given to cities by less than half of the states are: to regulate buildings in territory outside of city limits, to fix rates of public utilities, and to require special improvements in subdivisions before acceptance.[1]

THE CONTENTS OF A CHARTER

General Provisions.—If a city possesses a special charter, the name of the city will be specified in the original grant from the state legislature; then there will be a provision incorporating the municipality; and the geographical limits of the city may also be definitely set down. There will usually be definitions of terms as used in the grant, a statement as to the limits of the municipal year, and perhaps a general description of powers. How much else there may be will depend largely upon the city charter under consideration. Some charters are quite long—sometimes extending over two hundred or more closely printed pages. Other formal charters are comparatively general in character and therefore brief. A fairly detailed charter will provide for nominations and elections, unless the general state law covers the entire field. There will be provisions for registration of voters, calls for elections, type of ballot or voting machine, nomination procedure, the regular municipal election, and vacancies and special elections.[2]

The Framework of City Government.—The framework of city government will always come in for some attention. The mayor-council type, the council-manager type, or the commission form will be specified. If the mayor-council form is to be used, the qualifications to be possessed by the mayor may be set down in

[1] See: George C. S. Benson, "Sources of Municipal Powers," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, pp. 149–165.

[2] Nathan Matthews, *Municipal Charters*, Chap. III, discusses this aspect of charters in some detail.

detail, and his compensation may be indicated. Certainly some attention will be given to his executive and administration powers, as well as to his authority over acts of the city council. Generally there will be sections relating to vacancies in the mayor's office and to an acting mayor. The election and compensation, the composition, the qualifications, and the organization of the city council will receive attention. A particularly important part of the charter will define and describe the duties and powers of the council. In case the council-manager or the commission form is to be used, there will be a corresponding provision regarding the city manager and council or the commission.

Administrative Provisions.—The number of administration departments and the organization of each may be definitely prescribed in the charter or may be left largely to the discretion of the city itself. As a rule, sections are devoted to appointments, removals, suspensions, vacancies, temporary appointments, and other personnel matters, unless the general state law includes city employes in its scope. Almost invariably there will be a number of provisions relating to appropriations, taxes, and indebtedness. Such matters as transfers of funds, loans in anticipation of taxes, forms of loans, debt limits, the budget, and purposes for which public funds can be expended, are likely to be made the subject of sections. Unless handled by state law there are usually prescriptions in regard to contracts, purchases, records and accounts, municipal ownership of utilities, and the public school system.[1]

Contents of General or Classified Charters.—If, as is commonly the case at present, a city does not have its own special charter, the items noted above as contents of a city charter will, with a few exceptions, be provided for either in a general law for all cities in a state or in classified laws applying to cities of a certain population. Obviously under such an arrangement the name of the city and its territorial limits are not included in the legislative enactment. However, they are still a part of the charter in its broad sense and are included in the order of the court which admits a city to incorporation and to membership in a certain class of cities or by whatever other arrangement is specified by law.

Frequent Changes in Contents of Charters.—It is not the contents of the original charters or basic laws relating to cities of certain

[1] See: Matthews, *Op. cit.*, Chaps. V, VII, VIII.

classes that cause confusion as much as the additions that are constantly being made by the legislature and courts. Legislatures rarely meet without making changes in the laws relating to cities, and courts handle numerous cases involving the powers of cities. It is not too easy in many cases to obtain a copy of the original provision for the government of a city—the experience of several hundred students living largely in Middle Western cities indicates that city officials either do not know that their cities have charters or that it is difficult to find a copy of the charter. When there is added to the comparatively simple original document or legislative enactment the multitudinous modifications and court decisions, it is not strange that few officials, to say nothing of citizens, are able to keep informed as to the legal foundations of their city government. Even the legal departments of cities do not always find it easy to keep abreast of the changes.[1]

Consolidated or Revised Charters.—In some cities the situation has become so confused after the accretion of many years of legislative and judicial change that attempts have been made to bring some order out of chaos by preparing consolidated or revised charters. This has also been done in some states which use the classified system. Those sections which have been repealed, voided, or outmoded are deleted, while the changes are incorporated in the original charter under the appropriate sections or placed in legislative codes. In order to remove legal doubt these consolidated or revised charters or legislative codes may be submitted to the legislature for passage. New York City has recently requested the New York Legislature to pass an "omnibus bill" which recodifies the laws left without a proper place as a result of the simplification of its new charter.[2]

Defects in Charters.—In addition to the confusion resulting from frequent changes, which although necessary to some extent has been accentuated by the proclivity of legislatures to meddle in municipal affairs, city charters often display other defects. They commonly either err on the side of elaborateness or generality; whereas a happy medium is desirable. Some charters are repetitious and give evidence of careless construction.

[1] If the student is especially interested in this subject, it is suggested that he look through the acts passed by a single session of some state legislature.

[2] See: L. A. Tanzer, *The New Charter of the City of New York* (New York, 1937); and *New York Times*, February 9, 1939.

There has been a tendency for those charged with drawing up city charters to copy slavishly provisions from other charters. Attention to other charters is desirable, but careful study might properly accompany such consideration. At times absurd mistakes have been made in the process of copying, as, for example, when the new charter of a city located inland was found to have a provision for a dock and harbor department. More serious and more common is the inclusion of provisions of existing charters which apply after a fashion, but which do not meet the needs of the city as well as they might. In other words, it is a case of wearing second-hand clothes which can be donned, but which do not fit.

Overemphasis of Charters on the Political Machinery of City Government. -Another common fault of city charters may be described as their overemphasis on political machinery and their lack of attention to administrative problems. In other words, the mayor and the council are embarrassed by restrictions that may be placed on their authority because of the lack of trust imposed in them; they could do a better job if they had more leeway. On the other hand, little or no attention may be given to paying all city employes doing the same type of work equal salaries, and as a result, there may be glaring discrepancies, with resulting waste of public funds and poor morale on the part of employes, in the salaries paid by the different administrative departments of a city.

Finally, city charters frequently make the mistake of emphasizing prohibitions rather than more positive matters. Considering the sad experiences which many cities have suffered in the realms of graft and corruption it is not strange that much attention should be given to abuses of one kind and another. Nevertheless, as Nathan Matthews, sometime mayor of Boston and chairman of the Boston Finance Commission, points out in his book on *Municipal Charters*,[1] "The object of a city charter should be not only to prevent abuses of power, but to secure the efficient use of power, so far as this can be done by law."

SPECIAL CHARTERS

In England charters, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were especially granted by the Crown to petitioning

[1] (Cambridge, 1914), p. 16.

boroughs. This practice of granting special charters was used in the American colonies and during the early years of the United States.[1] It is still used on a limited scale, particularly in the New England States and the South.[2] However, for the most part, during the nineteenth century the states placed prohibitions in their constitutions restraining the state legislatures from granting special charters to cities. The objections to the system had little to do with any theory of government—they grew out of concrete experiences.

Defects.—Under the special-charter plan legislatures spent too much of their time on municipal affairs to the neglect of their other duties. They also sometimes discriminated unjustifiably in their treatment of the several cities within their borders; some cities received generous concessions of power, while others found themselves very shabbily treated. This naturally caused resentment. Then, too, widespread corruption entered into the special-charter plan, in that cities, desiring certain favors from the legislature, found it wise to offer considerations of a corrupt nature to the members. Sometimes the members of the legislature suggested to cities that bribes would be in order before petitions could be granted. Such abuses of authority by the legislatures of most of the states lead to the constitutional restrictions noted above.

Ineffectiveness of Constitutional Prohibitions of Special Charters.—Nevertheless, despite constitutional prohibitions many states do virtually still grant special charters to certain cities. In some states the largest city is placed in a class by itself, and sometimes the two largest cities are placed in separate classes, as in the case of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania. Such an arrangement makes it possible to handle the affairs of the most important cities on what amounts to a special-charter basis. The name of the city is not mentioned as a rule, but with only one city in a certain class, any legislation applying to that class of cities is in reality special legislation.[3]

[1] See: E. S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government* (London, 1927), Vol. 1.

[2] Ten states still grant special charters: five in New England (all except Massachusetts), Delaware, Maryland, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee. See: George S. C. Benson, "Classes and Forms of Municipal Government," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 168.

[3] See: E. McQuillin, *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 1, Chap. IV.

Advantages of the Special-Charter System.—Aside from reality, special charters have much to be said in their favor. Almost every city has its own problems, and a charter intended for all cities of from 60,000 to 100,000 may not adequately allow a certain city falling within that population class to handle its problems. Where there is a high degree of legislative responsibility, the special-charter plan works out well, if the legislature is not too limited in its sessions. In New England, for example, there is something to be said for the special legislation that can be enacted for cities and towns. The legislatures ordinarily meet for as long as they please, and while they have many faults, public opinion has managed to keep them more responsible than has been the case with many legislatures. In a legislature where a session is permitted only every other year for a sixty-one day period and where public opinion is usually dormant, such an arrangement would probably be quite unsatisfactory. At any rate, there is little probability that the special-charter system will be reestablished in most states during the immediate future.

GENERAL CHARTERS

As a reaction against special charters the plan of drawing up one charter to be used by all cities within a state came into some vogue. This made it impossible for one city to receive greater favor than another, and it also freed the legislature to a large extent from the temptation of devoting too much of its time to municipal affairs. But such an arrangement never attained great popularity among cities. For one thing, it did not fit into the American psychology of individual experimentation. Then, too, cities felt that such a charter did not meet their needs; it was either too elaborate in the case of small cities, or it was not extensive enough in large cities. The fact that France has successfully used such a system in connection with local government indicates that perhaps the first argument rather than the second should be regarded as the more formidable. As a matter of fact, cities in states with small urban populations might be no more restricted under the general-charter system than cities in more urban states under the classified plan which is used in Indiana and Pennsylvania.

CLASSIFIED CHARTERS

General Nature.—Dissatisfaction with the special and general types of charter lead to the introduction of a third plan which is still in fairly wide use: the classified system. Under this arrangement the cities of a state are divided into classes, and each class receives a charter, although a number of states permit some leeway to cities within a given class. Professor Benson classifies nine states as "loose classifiers" because "freedom of choice is permitted to certain classes of cities." [1] Four states seem to him to belong to the category of "rigid classifiers" because they allow cities little or no choice as to the form of their government. Indiana, for example, restricts all cities within its five classes to the mayor-council form, while Mississippi, Pennsylvania, and Washington are not much more considerate of their cities, although they make some provision for the commission and council-manager forms.[2]

Classification by Population.—Attempts have been made to classify cities on the basis of geography, but the courts have ordinarily refused to uphold such classifications, saying, "The moment we resort to geographical distinctions, we enter the domain of special legislation, for the reason that such classification operates upon certain cities or counties to the perpetual exclusion of all others." [3] If classification is to be used at all, it can probably be most logically justified when based upon population, although Professor Benson points out that 14 states do not even distinguish between cities and towns in population, to say nothing of classifying cities by population.[4] Sixteen states set up three or more classes of cities on the basis of population, and six other states provide for two classes of cities.[5]

In those states which classify cities on the basis of population there is slight agreement as to the limits of the various classes. In South Dakota the line dividing small cities from the next class

[1] See: "Classes and Forms of Municipal Government," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 168. The nine states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, South Carolina, and Wyoming.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[3] *Commonwealth v. Patton*, 88 Pa. St. 258 (1878).

[4] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 169; and *Wheeler v. Philadelphia*, 77 Pa. St. 338 (1875).

[5] *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 169.

is a population of 500, while Michigan specifies 2,000, Arkansas 5,000, and Indiana 10,000. On the other hand, Pennsylvania cities have to have more then 100,000 inhabitants to get out of the lowest class.

Constitutional or Legislative Basis of Classification.—Some states which provide for a classification of cities place such a system on a constitutional basis: four state constitutions specify four classes, while two constitutions go so far as to fix the number of classes as well as the population limits of each.[1] Other states handle classification through ordinary legislative methods.

Role of the Legislature.—Where the state constitution establishes the number of classes and their population limits, the legislature has only the power of drafting a charter or charters for each. Where there is no constitutional limitation, the legislature may determine the number of classes, change the population limits from time to time, and prepare charters as it sees fit.

Admission of Cities.—In as much as the legislature makes only the charters for the several classes, some provision must be made for admitting new settlements of people to the status of cities. Cities already incorporated come under a classified system automatically, but villages enlarge their populations and desire to become cities. The law usually provides that such places must petition either a local court or the county board. As a rule, after the petition has been received and passed on as meeting the requirements, an election is authorized to ascertain whether a majority of the people residing in the village actually favor city status. If the election results are favorable, the court or the county board will then formally admit the place to the ranks of cities. Sometimes this power still resides in the state legislature, despite the fact that the legislature does not have the authority to make a special charter for the new city.[2]

An Evaluation.—Classified charters appease the psychology of American cities more adequately than one charter for all cities in a state. They require less time from the legislature than the special type, although, taking into account the numerous changes made almost every time the legislature meets, considerable attention

[1] C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 60.

[2] For a good discussion of the creation of cities see: C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. III.

is still the rule. Like the general-charter plan, they are supposed to minimize, if not exclude, favoritism, political manipulation, and corruption. While this may be true to some extent, the deftness with which some legislatures classify cities, especially large cities, still allows much favoritism and political jockeying.

The main argument usually advanced in favor of the classified type is that the needs of the cities are more adequately taken care of than by the general system, while the evils of the special type are obviated. It has already been pointed out that the latter part of the argument is sometimes of doubtful validity; the first part is more accurate, although it may be subject to exaggeration. It assumes that city problems depend upon population. To some extent this is certainly the case, but the particular problems that a city must handle also bear relation to its location and its industrial character. A non-industrial county seat or a residential satellite city will have quite different governmental problems from a city with substantially the same number of inhabitants which depends upon mining, transportation, or manufacturing. A city situated on a navigable lake or the ocean may not have the same concerns as an inland city of the same population.[1]

HOME-RULE CHARTERS

Legislative.—To some extent during the latter part of the nineteenth century and particularly since the beginning of the twentieth century there has been a movement in the direction of giving cities greater freedom from legislative domination. Paradoxically enough this has been accompanied by a trend which has turned over to the state functions which at an earlier time were considered as definitely local in character. As early as 1858 the legislature of Iowa granted a measure of home rule to cities. At the turn of the century Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi joined Iowa, and later Florida and Connecticut added themselves to the states maintaining legislative home rule.

But legislative home rule is an uncertain privilege, for it depends entirely upon the whim of the legislature and may at any time be repealed or modified. There is in addition to this defect the

[1] For a recent statement of the general problem considered in the preceding pages see: Charles W. Tooke, "The Legal Standards of Municipal Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 1 (September, 1938).

question as to whether state legislatures have the legal power to grant such authority to cities. In both Michigan and Wisconsin it has been held by the courts that the legislatures definitely do not have this power.[1]

Constitutional.—The greater part of municipal home rule is of the constitutional variety. Beginning in 1875 Missouri added to its constitution a provision giving home rule to cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants. The other states hesitated to follow the example of Missouri, and, as a matter of fact, only three of them did bring themselves to such a point until the present century. Since 1900 the movement has been somewhat accelerated, and twelve states have granted constitutional home rule to cities in some degree. A total of sixteen states does not seem very impressive, but when the names and populations of the states which have adopted constitutional home rule for cities is added the picture is much brighter. These sixteen states are for the most part important states; they embrace approximately forty per cent of the population of the United States.[2]

The Future of Home Rule.—Dr. Joseph D. McGoldrick in his able book on municipal home rule concludes that the municipal home-rule movement "appears to be fading like all fads." [3] Since 1925 only two states, Utah and West Virginia, have joined the parade. The main trouble Dr. McGoldrick sees is the lack of an adequate underlying concept or philosophy. Instead of basing the plan on a consideration of "what matters can best be handled by local authority and what require state action" home-rule proponents have sometimes regarded the plan as a mere slogan of reform, again as "an avenue of escape from the power of some particular political ring," and, in general, as a panacea for the ills of city government.[4] Professors William B. Munro and Charles M. Kneier admit the shortcomings pointed out by Dr. McGoldrick, but arrive at a less gloomy conclusion. Professor Kneier maintains

[1] *Elliot v. City of Detroit*, 121 Michigan 611; *State v. Thompson*, 149 Wisconsin 488.

[2] The states providing constitutional home rule for cities are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Pennsylvania has authorized the legislature to provide for home rule, but after sixteen years nothing has been done. Maryland provides home rule for counties. Florida considered a home-rule amendment in 1937–1938.

[3] *Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916–1930* (New York, 1933), p. 3.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1–4.

that "Home rule offers the most satisfactory relationship between city and state." [1]

Framing a Home-Rule Charter.—Under constitutional home rule cities in general or cities of a certain population are permitted to frame their own charters. They first set up a charter commission which is charged with preparing a tentative draft of a charter. This commission is usually small enough to escape the unwieldiness which interferes with the efficient functioning of many public bodies—as a rule, at least eleven members are provided, but the number rarely exceeds twenty. Members usually receive their places as a result of election-at-large, but occasionally the wards select representatives or members are named by courts. The calibre of the members tends to be somewhat above that usually encountered in municipal offices, although there is considerable variation. In as much as the movement usually starts as a reform movement, there is considerable effort devoted to placing the responsibility of drafting a charter in the hands of well known members of the community rather than in the hands of agents of the local political machine. Of course, the machine also wants to control and sometimes succeeds in naming at least certain members, although the election-at-large system makes this more difficult than would a system of ward representation.[2]

Charter Commissions.—As a rule, it is easier to interest community leaders in service on a charter commission than in public office in general. For one thing, the assignment is temporary; for another, a good deal of prestige often attaches to membership on such a commission. And then, too, some men of affairs find in city office in general an inadequate scope for their energy: they maintain that they are so hedged about with restrictions that a fifteen-dollar-a-week clerk could do a better job. The charter commission is not free from restrictions, but it has more leeway than many city councils or other public bodies.

Outside Experts.—In some cities charter commissions retain expert counsel to advise them—political scientists, such as A. R. Hatton and Thomas H. Reed, have served in this capacity on many occasions. Competent outside assistance frequently saves many

[1] *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 77.

[2] For a very good description of procedure in one state see: William Anderson, *City Charter Making in Minnesota*, published by the Bureau of Research in Government of the University of Minnesota in 1922.

mistakes, for these experts are informed as to the experience of other cities. They presumably know the court decisions that have troubled some home-rule cities, and they should be familiar with the most approved practices in city government. However able the members of the charter commissions may be, their experience is usually in a field which has little bearing on charter-framing. Therefore, however earnest they may be in their efforts and however diligent they may be, they are likely to make mistakes out of sheer lack of familiarity. Expert counsel usually avoids such errors. But even where such outside assistance is not employed, charter commissions often render fully as effective service in drafting charters as the state legislatures. Legislatures are more unwieldy in size; have less able members in general; work less in the limelight; and their ineptness at charter-building is often marked.

Study of Other Charters.—Even if experts are not employed by the charter commission, an attempt is almost always made to ascertain what other home-rule cities have done. The home-rule charters of sister cities are collected and supposedly studied; unfortunately the members are busy men and sometimes trust their colleagues to carry on the study. Or they may attempt to give careful consideration to the charters without having the background fully to understand. At any rate, this dependence upon charters of other cities sometimes causes strange results. For example, provisions from other charters which have no meaning or no application in the city for which the work is being done are copied blindly.

Submission to the Voters.—After the charter commission completes its work, the proposed charter is published and circulated among the people. Often campaigns of education are carried on by the committee which organized the agitation for a home-rule charter —the newspapers may, and often do, take an interest and run a series of explanatory articles. After this period of publicity the proposed charter is submitted to the voters for approval. Usually an ordinary majority is sufficient to adopt the charter, although occasionally an extraordinary majority, such as three-fifths or four-sevenths, may be required. In a few cases submission to state authorities is specified.[1]

[1] See: Joseph D. McGoldrick, *Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916–1930*, especially p. 83 ff.

ADVANTAGES OF HOME-RULE CHARTERS

1. Attention to Local Needs.—Chief among the potential advantages of the home-rule charter would seem to be the consideration which it gives to local needs. A city does not have to get along with a charter which was planned for no city in particular and hence meets the problems of none very well. Not only is it possible to construct a charter for a given city under the home-rule plan, but the people most concerned—the representatives of the citizens of that city—do the drafting. This offers an advantage over even the special type of charter which is prepared by a legislature frequently not very familiar with the problems of a certain city. Whereas the legislature has many other tasks and gives only a limited time to a charter, the charter commission under the home-rule plan has no other task than the drafting of a charter for its city. Furthermore, while the legislature depends largely upon itself in drawing up a charter, the home-rule charter commission can, and does at least at times, bring in experts, such as those mentioned above, who have had considerable experience at charter-building.[1]

2. Increased Popular Interest in Municipal Affairs.—It is also maintained that the home-rule charter generates a greater interest in municipal affairs among the citizens of a city than any other system. The citizens choose commissioners to act for them in drafting a charter, and then they vote on whether they approve the charter which is submitted to them. In the meantime, some of them at least read the contents of the charter, and others read articles about the proposed charter which appear in newspapers. All of this gives the citizens an interest and a responsibility that are not likely to accompany a charter handed down from above. To the extent that interest is heightened by the home-rule charter a very important service is rendered, for perhaps the most important problem in municipal government in the United States today is to stir up interest in city affairs among the citizens. As long as people remain indifferent to municipal problems, they demand very little in the way of good government. As long as they content themselves with inferior and mediocre city government, there is

[1] See: R. M. Story, "Municipal Home Rule," *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of Illinois Municipal League*, 1914, p. 15.

little incentive for the boss, the machine, and indeed the office-holders to give good government.[1]

3. Reduction of Corrupt Practices.—The home-rule charter is supposed to reduce corruption in government—not only in city government but in the state sphere. Legislatures find no reason for favoring one city over another, and members of legislatures cannot accept bribes for special consideration of the claims of a certain city. City officials do not get into the habit of corrupt dealings in connection with the legislature which they carry over into their conduct of municipal affairs.

DISADVANTAGES OF HOME-RULE CHARTERS

1. Difficulty of Separating Local Interests from State Powers.—Over against the above advantages must be placed a number of defects. It is increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to separate local functions from general state problems. With almost all problems of general interest, the old breakdown of functions into local and state is not satisfactory. With criminals racing from city to city within a state, and indeed from state to state, the apprehending of lawbreakers becomes far more than a local matter. With the need for vast quantities of water for city consumption, the situation becomes one that must often concern the entire state. With widespread contamination of water caused by the careless disposal of sewage by cities, the state must interest itself in municipal sanitation. And so it goes.

Even speed limits on a city street become the concern of a state when the street is part of the state highway system, and the state highway department maintains the street. Unless the city can claim its own sphere of activity, it is exceedingly difficult for a home-rule charter to be drafted and, after it is drafted, for it to operate at all satisfactorily. The trend seems more and more in the direction of central control and state rather than local interest. This would seem to make the success of home-rule charters increasingly problematical.[2]

[1] Professor Benson concludes from an extensive study of the powers granted to cities by states that "The psychological value of home rule is something to be reckoned with, though the psychological value of optional charters seems to be equally great. Further study will be necessary before we can substantiate any conclusion." See: "Sources of Municipal Powers," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 156.

[2] Joseph D. McGoldrick, *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule*, discusses this problem in Chap. XIV Professor Benson concludes that "home rule, with the excep-

2. Legal Complications.—Then there is the legal tangle which often involves a home-rule city for several years after it has adopted a new charter. Home-rule charters may handle only those items which are of local interest; when they conflict with general state laws which affect the state as a whole, then the home-rule charters must give way. Even if the charter commission does its work well, it is almost impossible to avoid conflict with state powers, for as has been noted above, local and state powers are at present closely entwined.

As a result, shortly after the new charter goes into effect, the city finds itself a party to numerous cases at law. Until these have all been decided, the city scarcely knows what its powers are. The sections of the charter which are thrown out by the courts must be replaced with new provisions. They, too, may be the cause of litigation and have to be revised. Then, too, home-rule charters have to be amended from time to time to meet new conditions. In making these changes the city council may proceed with due care and yet even so there is likely to be a question as to the legality of the amendments. Altogether the legal uncertainty which surrounds a home-rule charter is irritating, to say the least, and often causes the city serious trouble.[1]

3. Corruption and Costs.—There is considerable doubt as to whether home-rule charters do make for less graft; theoretically they should, but actually there seems to be grave question whether that is the case. If they do cut down corruption, it has been charged that they encourage extravagance. Critics argue that home-rule cities attempt to carry on too many expensive functions; they spend for necessary functions an unnecessary amount of money.

4. Demagogic Government.—Finally, there are those who maintain that a home-rule charter makes for popular government, but scarcely for good government. The interest which may be developed by home-rule government is superficial, cheap, the "booster" type of enthusiasm rather than discriminating attention which makes for good government. How much basis there is for this criticism it is difficult to ascertain. In general, it seems to

tion of the Wisconsin type, has been helpful but not of great importance in enlarging the zone of municipal activity," See: "Sources of Municipal Powers," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 155.

[1] See: *Report No. 1 of the New Jersey Commission to Investigate County and Municipal Taxation and Expenditures* (1931).

come from those who oppose a progressive city government and who judge a city largely by the tax rate without reference to services rendered. Widespread interest may make it more difficult, perhaps quite impossible, for a powerful pressure group to dominate, as they have been accustomed to doing. They have no logical way of expressing their displeasure; so they brand the interest on the part of the citizens as "superficial" and "cheap."

The two really serious defects of the home-rule charter are the first two; no one can deny their weight. The question is whether the advantages outweigh these defects, and on that point there is a difference of opinion.[1]

The Record of Experience.—Not much help in answering the question is to be obtained from a study of the present status of home rule in the cities of the United States. The fact that only two states have provided for constitutional home rule for cities since 1925 points in one direction.[2] The further fact that only three cities in Nebraska and a handful in Washington make use of home-rule charters does not indicate great enthusiasm. Nevertheless, in Texas, Minnesota, and Michigan well over half of the cities have taken advantage of home rule. In general, it seems safe to say that home rule has been of greater interest and probably a greater success in large cities than in small ones.

OPTIONAL CHARTERS

General Nature.—There is an additional type of charter which is of more recent origin than the others and which for a time seemed to offer more than any one of them: the optional charter. New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and several other states provided this arrangement, with the hope that the dissatisfaction with the other types might be minimized. The optional-charter plan consists of drafting several charters and permitting cities in the state to choose any one of them. Ohio included only three charters in her offering, but other states have set up as many as seven.[3] This plan seeks to avoid the criticisms directed at the general and classified types by giving individual cities a certain amount of

[1] Compare the views of Dr. McGoldrick and Professors Munro and Kneier cited on pages 122–123.

[2] Utah and West Virginia.

[3] See: C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States*, p. 59.

leeway. It claims a certain superiority over the home-rule type in that the litigation so trying in that type is avoided. Furthermore, the state legislature presumably expends great care in preparing the optional charters and thus perhaps reduces the seriousness of the problem of conflict between local and state spheres of interest.[1]

Types Provided.—Where the optional plan is used, cities, as a rule, are offered a choice of the mayor-council form with a strong mayor, the mayor-council form with a strong council, the commission form, and the council-manager form. Sometimes a charter especially designed for small cities will be included. Further variations may provide for a small city council elected at large and a larger city council with some ward representation.

Lack of Popularity.—Despite the early predictions of some reputable scholars that this type of charter would achieve more popularity than any of the others, it is already apparent that such is not to be the case. Like other compromises, this one has attracted a great deal of dislike. Cities feel that they should have more leeway in managing their affairs; they have failed to appreciate the advantages of the plan and made much of the weaknesses.

INTERPRETATION OF CHARTERS BY COURTS

In home-rule charters cases come frequently to the courts for decision.[2] While in the other types litigation is not as common, nevertheless, state courts are more or less always faced with cases involving the powers of cities. Contrary to the liberal attitude of the Supreme Court of the United States which will ordinarily permit broad interpretation of the powers of the national government, state courts usually apply a strict interpretation to the powers of cities. Unless a power is specifically granted to a city, the courts will, as a rule, deny the exercise of such a power. During recent years there has been some tendency to be less strict and powers have in some states been upheld as belonging to cities because they were essential to the exercise of certain specific powers. However, by and large, cities still must expect their powers to be

[1] Fourteen states provide optional charters: Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Virginia, and Washington. Professor Benson includes only 13 states. See: "Classes and Forms of Municipal Government," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 167.

[2] See: Joseph D. McGoldrick, *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916–1930*, p. 310.

strictly viewed by the courts. This situation obviously makes it very important that adequate powers are specifically contained in a charter.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, William, *City Charter Making in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1922).

Benson, George C. S., "Classes and Forms of Municipal Government," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, pp. 166–196.

Benson, George C. S., "Sources of Municipal Powers," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, pp. 149–165.

Elliott, C. B., *The Principles of the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1925), Chaps. III–VIII.

Hatton, A. R., "Free Cities in a Free State," *Illinois Municipal Review*, Vol. 7, p. 84 (April, 1928).

Kneier, C. M., *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. VI.

Lepawsky, Albert, *Home Rule for Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1935).

McBain, H. L., *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule* (New York, 1916).

Macdonald, A. F., *American City Government and Administration* (New York, 1937), Chap. V.

McGoldrick, Joseph D., *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916–1930* (New York, 1933).

McQuillin, E., *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 1, Chap. IV.

Matthews, Nathan, *Municipal Charters* (Cambridge, 1914).

Munro, William B., *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), Chap. V.

National Municipal League, *Model City Charter*.

VIII

THE LEGAL STATUS OF CITIES

General Nature of Municipal Governments.—The city in the United States is a corporation and as such occupies a legal position somewhat different from that of some other units of government. Being a corporation in the eyes of the law the city takes on certain of the attributes of a person: it is created and may be destroyed; it has the power to sue in the courts and in turn may be sued on occasion. However, unlike a human person, a city lives on indefinitely until its creator, the state, brings it to an end, and consequently its life is likely to be long.

Types of Municipal Government.—There are really three legal types of municipal government: (1) the *de jure* form, (2) the *de facto* form, and (3) a provisional type which has no legal status. The ordinary form is the *de jure* one, and this involves creation either by special state law or by some process set up by general law in those states which do not permit special laws for such a purpose. The *de facto* city does not differ from the *de jure* city except in so far as its relations with the state are concerned; only the state may challenge the legal existence and powers of such a city. Ordinarily *de facto* cities arise as a result of "an attempt to comply with the conditions stipulated in a general incorporation act, which attempt fails of actual legal sufficiency." [1]

In rare cases where no provision is made for the general or special incorporation of the inhabitants of a locality, these people may exercise the powers of local government and even call themselves a city. However, they have no legal status, and their acts can be challenged by any one.

Municipal and Business Corporations.—Cities resemble business

[1] Quoted from a letter written by J. A. McIntire, executive director of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, dated February 14, 1939. For more detailed discussions of these forms see: C. B. Elliott, *The Principles of the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1925), Chaps. I and II; and J. F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 1, Chaps. III, IX, and X.

corporations, but whereas the latter may be chartered for a definite period of years, the former type of corporation is given indefinite existence. Business corporations have stockholders and boards of directors. Cities do not have such constituent parts, although the electorate and the city council correspond to some extent to the stockholders and the board of directors of a business corporation. One of the most important differences characterizing the two is that one exists largely to make money for its owners, while the other scarcely displays the profit motive at all. Business corporations render services and concern themselves with a number of matters, but they are usually primarily interested in earnings on their capital. Almost any business corporation which does not pay dividends is regarded with disfavor.

Lack of Profit Motive in City Government.—A municipal corporation, on the other hand, never pays money dividends. Its purpose is to furnish certain services to its citizens, and it is judged largely on the basis of how efficiently it renders such service. Of course, a city must be concerned with financial matters, in as much as it must spend large sums in order to carry on its work. This money has to be raised in large part from various taxes imposed upon the inhabitants, and they are much interested in the amount which they must pay. Hence, one of the criteria used in rating a city is its tax rate in comparison with the rates imposed by neighboring cities of about the same size. Nevertheless, more important than such a criterion is the standard of the services performed by the city. In other words, one city may keep its tax rate down and at the same time may give its inhabitants only the traditional services and even they may be of inferior or mediocre quality. Another city may have a higher tax rate, but it may do more for its people and maintain a higher standard. A fair judge would probably rate the second city as generally superior to the first.

Common Problems of Business and Municipal Corporations.—Despite the basic difference described above business corporations and municipal corporations are confronted with many of the same problems. Both employ various types of trained and untrained workers, often in large numbers; both are obligated to treat these people fairly; and at the same time they may expect to receive from their employes a reasonable amount of work. Cities and

business corporations usually have to purchase supplies, construct buildings, and let contracts, and in both cases methods may advantageously be used which will guarantee satisfactory quality at as little cost as possible. Both types of corporations handle money and therefore must provide accounting systems. Both require accurate and up-to-date systems of records. A large part of the services performed by a city do not differ very much from the routine work of many business corporations.

FUNCTIONS OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS

Governmental Functions.—Generally speaking, cities receive their legal being from a state and consequently act largely in the capacity of agents of a state. They perform those functions which a state delegates to them. These functions are known as *governmental* functions and include the maintenance of law and order, public health, education, sanitation, recreation, the protection of property from fire, and several other items.[1]

Proprietary Functions.—In addition, cities through the years have taken on other functions which at times are scarcely to be distinguished from the governmental functions, but which legally present a different character. These are known as *proprietary* functions. They are not performed by cities as agents of the state and usually are permitted cities rather than required of them by charters or general legislative enactments. At times, although by no means always, cities levy a charge for such services. It is sometimes stated that the proprietary functions are those resulting from an invasion by the city of the domain of private business, but, while this may be true in certain instances, it is not always the case. Among the proprietary functions of a city are: the furnishing of electricity and gas, the running of street cars and buses, and the conducting of theatres and other entertainments where an admission charge is imposed.[2]

Municipal Liability.—The division of municipal functions into governmental and proprietary has given rise to numerous complications when litigation is brought against a city. States cannot be sued without their consent, and, therefore, any function which a

[1] See: C. W. Tooke, "Construction and Operation of Municipal Powers," *Temple Law Quarterly*, Vol. 7, p. 267 (1933).

[2] See: J. F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 4, Chap. XXXII.

city performs as an agent of the state cannot be made the basis for legal liability. This means that cities are not liable for torts committed in connection with the carrying out of governmental functions. However, there is no such bar in the case of torts which grow out of the performance of proprietary functions, for the city does not act as the agent of the state in rendering these latter services and therefore is liable to suit. Of course, this state of affairs is artificial and illogical. The layman can see no reason why the city should be responsible for its carelessness in one type of case and immune from suit in another which seems to him not very different. Hence, he is irritated and concludes that the city government in general is illogical. Such an attitude on the part of the citizens of a city is unfortunate and contributes to the irresponsibility of citizens in public affairs. Moreover, it is quite unfair for one who suffers serious damage as a result of municipal action in one field to receive compensation, while another who incurs just as great injury in a governmental field collects nothing.

Conflicting Judicial Decisions.—The situation is particularly unfortunate because the dividing line between governmental and proprietary functions is not at all clear. Courts in one state will classify a certain municipal function in one category, but in a near-by state the courts will follow the very opposite course. Even within a single state the dividing line is often tenuous, with one court deciding a case one way and another court a similar case the very opposite.[1]

Arguments in Favor of the Status Quo.—Lawyers sometimes defend the confused state of municipal liability on the ground of public interest, arguing that under the present situation cities are freed from many suits and escape claims involving large sums of money. They add that the individual suffering under such a system may be great, but that the public interest must take precedence. Police departments frequently maintain that they have a difficult time as it is and that if the city were made liable for their acts the administration of their duties would be even more complicated. These contentions warrant attention, but they do not seem to many political scientists to be of sufficient weight to justify the

[1] For a good discussion of the conflict between the two types of functions see: D. W. Doddridge, "Distinctions between Governmental and Proprietary Functions of Municipal Corporations," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 23, p. 325 (February, 1925)

current system. There is much to be said for legislation that would make cities liable in all cases of tort.

THE LIABILITY OF CITIES ACCORDING TO FUNCTION

a. Enforcement of Ordinances.—In general, courts are of the opinion that cities are not liable for damages to private persons or corporations arising out of failure to enforce the municipal ordinances. An ordinance may provide that farmyard animals shall not be allowed loose on city streets, but if a bull cavorts on a city street and takes a notion to gore a passerby, the city cannot be held liable for the injury. Again a city ordinance may require chickens to be kept penned up; yet if the officials of the city ignore the ordinance and chickens destroy valuable plants and bulbs in a private garden, the city assumes no liability.[1] An exception to this general rule is made by some states in cases of mob violence.[2]

b. The Police Department.—Almost everywhere the law forbids the use of third-degree methods and instructs members of the police force to take due care in making arrests. Nevertheless, if a person is arrested, held without charge, refused an opportunity of communicating with a lawyer, and subjected to violent handling at the hands of the police, including castigation with a rubber hose, courts have held repeatedly that the city where the damage is inflicted is not liable. The only recourse an innocent sufferer has in such a case is a suit against the policemen involved. Even if a judgment can be obtained despite the collusion of the members of the police department in testifying falsely, as a rule, no satisfaction can be obtained because the policemen have no property that can be attached. Similarly in the case of a student returning home across a darkened campus at night who is shot by a policeman who mistakes the student for a fleeing bandit, the city assumes no liability. Expensive hospital bills and permanent injury must be borne by the boy or his parents unless the policeman by some miracle can be made to pay. Nor in the case of a woman hit by a bullet which a policeman intends for a gangster can the city be made to pay for hospital bills and injury.[3]

[1] See: Joseph Wright, *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1925), Chap. XI.

[2] More than twenty states make their cities liable for mob violence. See: C. W. Tooke, "The Extension of Municipal Liability in Tort," *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 19, p. 97 (December, 1932).

[3] For very good discussions of the liability of cities in case of tort see: E. M. Borchard,

c. The Fire Department.—If the firemen in a certain station refuse to heed a fire call on a cold night in the winter when they are cosily enjoying themselves at a poker game, the owner of the house which is destroyed by fire has no recourse against the city, although he pays taxes to support the fire department. His only hope of compensation is a suit against the firemen themselves. If the firemen in fighting a bad fire start a backfire and destroy property some distance from the scene of the original conflagration, the owners of that property cannot hold the city liable. If a fire truck runs into a parked car, the owner of the car must not expect the city to pay for the damages. Even if a fire truck runs down people who are standing, as they imagine safe from danger, on a sidewalk, the city has usually been held not liable. However, a few states make the distinction between acts of fire trucks on the way to fires and returning from fires and in the latter case classify such a function as proprietary and consequently involving municipal liability.

d. The Health Department.—If the health officer, who fumigates a house after a quarantine for scarlet fever, sets fire to a house and the house is destroyed, the city cannot be held liable. In the case of municipal hospital employes who mistook the number of a house and by force carried a well person to the city pest house where he contracted a severe case of smallpox, the city was held not liable for the loss of time and the suffering incurred by the victim.[1] However, where the city health authorities licensed a person generally known to be insane as a pharmacist and a second person died as a result of a poisonous prescription erroneously filled by this pharmacist, it was held by a court in Tennessee that the relatives could collect monetary damages from the city.[2]

e. Education.—If school authorities injure a child when inflicting punishmen , the city where the school is located cannot be held liable. Nor is a city liable when it fails to maintain proper repairs in a school building and a child falls from a second floor through a defective railing and breaks his legs. Education is invariably regarded as a governmental function of a city.

"Governmental Liability in Tort," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 34, pp. 1, 129 (1924–1925); and "Governmental Responsibility in Tort," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 36, pp. 1,757,1039 (1926–1927).

[1] *Barbour v. Ellsworth*, 68 Maine 294 (1876).

[2] *Cole v. Nashville*, 4 Sneed 162 (1851).

f. Sanitation.—When the garbage and the ash man neglects to collect garbage and ashes and damage results, the city ordinarily assumes no liability unless a fee is specially charged for such a service. The same rule applies to the cleaning of streets and other public places, although Illinois and Minnesota courts have held street cleaning to be a proprietary function.[1] Cities exercise a governmental function when they construct sewers and usually cannot be held liable for failure to furnish such facilities or for defects in the construction of sewerage systems, although there are courts which hold that a failure to provide adequate sanitary facilities constitutes a nuisance, with resulting municipal liability. When it comes to the operation and maintenance of sewers, the general rule is that cities act in a proprietary capacity and that liability may be enforced.[2] Therefore, if a sanitary sewer backs up in a basement despite the efforts of the owner of that property because the municipal authorities have been negligent, the city may ordinarily be held responsible for damage to an automobile which is stored there. The whole field of sanitation is one of the border-line areas in municipal liability for torts, and consequently it is comparatively easy to discover cases that class such a function with governmental activities and other cases that consider it the reverse.

g. Streets and Sidewalks.—Although the maintenance of streets is one of the older functions of cities, under the common law cities have ordinarily been charged with legal responsibility. Therefore, if a street is allowed to become filled with holes and not reasonably safe for transportation, the city can often be held liable for accidents resulting. If the street has been torn up or if an excavation has been made to repair the water mains and if the authorities have neglected to warn motorists and pedestrians of such danger by means of flares or some other adequate signals, the city may generally expect to be assessed damages for accidents resulting from such unguarded places. But if a street is used for recreational purposes, such as sledding in the winter, a city is not liable for obstructions that may cause injury to those who slide down the street.

[1] See: *Roumbos v. City of Chicago*, 332 Ill. 70 (1928); and *McLeod v. Duluth*, 174 Minn. 184 (1928).

[2] See: *Barton v. City of Syracuse*, 36 N. Y. 54.

Courts vary in their decisions as to how much responsibility attaches to a city for maintaining sidewalks in good condition. Some cases have awarded damages to persons who have hurt themselves from slipping on a banana peel. Awards have also sometimes been made by courts for injuries sustained from falling on icy sidewalks.[1] In Indianapolis a court recently ordered the city to pay for injuries which a person maintained he had received because a sidewalk was not level due to upheaval by tree roots. In the case of a teamster engaged in carting goods from a municipal dock who lost his team and wagon because the city had not provided adequate obstructions to keep the team from backing itself and the wagon off the street and into the water, the court ordered the city to pay.[2]

h. Municipal Utilities.—The legal status of a city in connection with the furnishing of electricity, gas, water, and transportation is similar to that of an ordinary utility company. In as much as cities charge for these services, they must expect to assume responsibility for improper actions. Failure to carry out contracts with users of electric current, causing damage to the subscribers, results in liability on the part of the city.

Even where a city may make use of employes ordinarily performing a governmental service, its liability remains. For example, a city temporarily detailed policemen to operate the municipal electric plant during labor troubles.[3] One policeman who was sent to read meters attempted to repair a meter which the occupants of a certain house complained of as registering too great a consumption of current. Shortly after the policeman left, the meter caught fire, and a general fire resulted which destroyed the entire house. The city sought to escape any liability for the damage on the ground that a policeman was a governmental agent and therefore any act performed by him would not be subject to suit. But the court held the city liable on the ground that the character of

[1] A well known case which held a city liable for icy sidewalks is *Parks v. City of Des Moines*, 191 N. W. Rep. 728 (1923). It is only fair to point out that both streets and sidewalks have been held to be governmental functions, although streets especially have been generally held to involve liability.

[2] *Kennedy v. New York*, 73 New York 365.

[3] See: *Pollard v. City of Richmond*, reported in A. C. Hanford, *Problems in Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), p. 31.

the policeman was only incidental to the function of providing electric current.[1]

A woman riding as a passenger on a municipal street-car line suffered injuries as a result of an explosion on the street car caused by a short circuit. In a suit brought against the city the court held that the city must pay not only for hospital and doctor bills, but also for nervous shock and for mental anguish growing out of the disfiguring of the woman's face.[2]

i. Miscellaneous.—Although cities are usually not regarded as legally responsible for anything which happens in a public building, the rule changes if the city rents a public building to a private person or company. A spectator at the municipal auditorium can collect nothing from the city if his seat collapses and he breaks a collar bone as long as the occasion is a public one for which no admission is charged. But if the auditorium has been leased to a theatrical company and such an accident happens to one of the ticket-holders, the city would, in the absence of any provision in the lease specifically freeing it from such liability, ordinarily be subject to suit.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Borchard, E. M., "Government Liability in Tort," *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 34, pp. 1, 129 (1924–1925).

Borchard, E. M., "Governmental Responsibility in Tort," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 28, pp. 577, 734 (May, June, 1928).

Cooley, R. W., *Handbook of the Law of Municipal Corporations* (St. Paul, 1914), Chap. XII.

Cunningham, R. J., "Recent Cases of Vital Importance to Municipalities," *The Municipality*, February, 1938.

Dillon, J. F., *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 4.

Doddridge, D. W., "Distinction between Governmental and Proprietary Functions of Municipal Corporations," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 23, p. 325 (February, 1925).

Elliott, C. B., *The Principles of the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1925), Chaps. XVIII–XIX.

[1] J. F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 4, secs. 954, 966, 968, 975. See also: *Salt Lake City v. Hollister*, 118 U. S. 256 (1885), for a general discussion.

[2] See: Dillon, *Op. cit.*, sec. 985, for a general discussion of the liability of cities in such cases.

Harno, A. J., "Tort Immunity of Municipal Corporations," *Illinois Law Quarterly*, Vol. 4, p. 28 (December, 1921).

Hodes, Barnet, *Law and the Modern City* (Chicago, 1937).

McIntire, J. A., and Rhyne, C. S., *Municipalities and the Law in Action* (Washington, 1938).

McQuillin, E., *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 6, Chap. LIII.

Reed, T. H., and Webbink, P., *Documents Illustrative of American Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), pp. 275–296.

Seasongood, Murray, *Cases on Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1941).

Tooke, Charles W., "The Legal Standards of Municipal Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 1 (September, 1938).

Tooke, Charles W., "Municipal Liability in Tort," *Public Management*, Vol. 14, p. 18 (January, 1933).

Tooke, Charles W., and McIntire, John A., *Cases and Materials on Municipal Corporations* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1942).

Wright, Joseph, *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1925), Chap. XI.

PART IV

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AND POLITICS

IX

MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

Who Can Vote?—For the most part, the qualifications required for municipal voting are the same as those in the state sphere of government. In as much as election procedure is determined by a state rather than by a city, there is slight opportunity for difference. Voters in cities must be citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. Residence of from six months to two years is usually asked in the case of the state; sixty or ninety days are frequently imposed as minimum residence requirements in a county or city; and, finally, thirty days or so ordinarily must be spent in the precinct in which one intends to vote.

Of course, city voters must be twenty-one years of age, and sometimes they must pass literacy tests of a simple type. They must not be inmates of a prison or of an institution for the care of the mentally afflicted. In addition to paying a state poll tax in certain states, they are at times expected to pay a city poll tax. However, if they fail to pay such poll taxes, they do not always lose their vote.[1]

REGISTRATION

Registration Particularly an Urban Problem.—If a would-be voter in a city election meets all of the above requirements, it is not enough for him merely to present himself at the polls on election day. Even if registration is not asked throughout a state, some provision is usually made for cities having sizable populations, for the problem of registration is one that especially concerns cities. In rural districts everyone knows everyone else more or less and the need for registration is, therefore, not always acute. Even in small cities there is general familiarity which makes it difficult for those not entitled to the franchise to vote. However, in the metropolitan centers some system of identification is needed, if the

[1] For a good discussion of the qualifications of municipal voters the reader is referred to C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. XII.

elections are to be carried on in anything like an orderly fashion. Where people living in the same apartment house do not know each other, it is impossible for the watchers at the polls to pick out the unqualified from the qualified.[1]

Permanent versus Periodic Registration.—The traditional system of municipal registration has been one which necessitated registration at frequent intervals. In some cases annual registration was asked of those who desired to cast a vote, but in as much as this imposed a considerable burden upon the electorate some states liberalized the rules and asked for registration at two- or four-year intervals. During the nineteen-twenties a movement developed to substitute permanent registration. The Leagues of Women Voters became very much interested in such a plan and made it a part of their program. As a result, within a short time permanent registration spread rapidly, until, in 1945, thirty-eight states reported full or partial adoption of such a system.[2] As far back as 1933, 63 out of 105 cities questioned by the United States Conference of Mayors operated under permanent registration.[3] Approximately two-thirds of the cities in the United States which are classed by the Bureau of the Census as first- and second-class cities, with populations exceeding 250,000, handle registration on a permanent rather than a periodic basis.[4] Under this plan a voter registers once, and as long as he continues to live in the same place does not have to register again. When he moves, he must, of course, take steps to have his registration transferred or re-register.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Permanent Registration.—Permanent registration serves to remove some of the redtape attached to election procedure and enables registration to be accomplished any time during the year instead of during limited periods before an election. After it has once been set up, it ordinarily sharply reduces costs. The 105 cities studied by the United States Conference of Mayors in 1933 revealed that the highest annual cost per voter among cities operating under permanent registration fell

[1] See: R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), pp. 417–422.

[2] See: *The Book of the States, 1945–46*, published by the Council of State Governments, p. 89, for the list of the states.

[3] Reported under the title *Experience of Cities with Permanent Registration for Voting* (Chicago, 1933). See: the preface.

[4] Compiled from J. P. Harris, *Registration of Voters in the United States* (Washington, 1929), p. 99, and data supplied by Dr. Harris in a letter dated March 2, 1939.

below the least cost among cities using a periodic system. Annual costs per voter ranged from 13.4 cents to 55.4 cents among permanent-registration cities, while among periodic-registration cities the spread was from 58.0 cents to 108.0 cents.[1] The chief disadvantage is that it requires careful attention from public officials, unless the election lists are to be filled with the names of those who have transferred their residence to another place.

By checking on postoffice records, police records, and newspaper reports active officials may check off the names of most of those who no longer qualify as voters. The provision in the laws of some states, to the effect that after a person whose name is on the permament-registration lists fails to vote in two successive elections his name shall be automatically thrown out, helps to some extent. As a matter of fact, in many cases it is the chief device used to keep the lists up-to-date, for officials frequently make little use of the postoffice and police records.[2] It need not be stated that lists filled with the names of those who have departed to other voting areas offer an opportunity for fraud. Dishonest election officials may make use of these names to stuff the ballot box.[3]

Central versus Neighborhood Registration.—If a city is to require periodic registration, it might try as far as possible to make registration convenient to the voter. In a large city it is difficult for most people to go to the city hall during the hours when the public offices are open for business; the men particularly are busy at their jobs or their businesses. Even after they reach city hall, they may have to stand in line a considerable time because of the crowd ahead of them. Large cities, therefore, often provide for neighborhood registration on specified days. This makes it simpler for the voter to visit the registration place and reduces the time required for waiting. Some cities combine central and neighborhood registration: the central office is open for a long period of time, whereas the neighborhood lists may be open for only a few days. If people forget to register when provision is made in

[1] United States Conference of Mayors, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[2] Indiana may be cited as an example.

[3] For an interesting article on permanent registration see: J. P. Harris, "Permanent Registration for Voters," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 22, p. 349 (May, 1928). Fifty-nine out of 63 cities using permanent registration in 1933 stated that such a system was both satisfactory and economical. See: United States Conference of Mayors, *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

their neighborhoods or are absent from the city at that time, they can visit city hall.[1]

The Essentials of an Adequate Municipal Registration System.—While it is important that the burden on the voter be made as light as possible by reducing the frequency of registration and bringing registration facilities near his home or place of employment, it should not be overlooked that the primary purpose of registration is to guarantee the purity of the ballot box. Some registration systems seem to place more emphasis upon the former than upon the real purpose. Of course, no registration scheme will safeguard the ballot box if the election officials happen to be rascals, for they can ignore the registration lists entirely, or they can fail to use reasonable care in checking the information contained therein with the voter. No registration system will do much when election officials permit a bum who has been hired by the political machine as a repeater to impersonate a starchy, well known Episcopal bishop.

But some registration systems scarcely give conscientious election officials an opportunity of refusing ballots to those who are not entitled to them; such systems usually list only the names of those who have registered, together with their addresses. When people present themselves to vote and announce themselves as being so and so and such a name appears on the registration lists, there is little that election officials can do in checking up. Yet it is easy for an unscrupulous precinct committeeman to obtain the names of those registered and to furnish slips containing those names to repeaters whom he has employed.

If a registration system is to be worth much in a large city, it probably ought to require signatures which can be compared with the signatures of those who present themselves at the polls. It may be difficult for untrained election officials to detect fraud even then, but they have a chance. Particularly if registration records furnish information in regard to place of birth, name of mother, date of birth, and so forth, it will be possible for the election officials to check their doubt by asking the would-be voter for such items about himself. Most repeaters are not of such intelligence that they

[1] For an interesting study of registration systems in several cities see: *Registration and Elections in Six Cities*, Public Service Institute of Kansas City (1930).

can master these details about the person whom they are to impersonate, even if they have access to the records.[1]

NON-VOTING

The Problem of Non-Voting.—There has been a great deal of discussion of the problem presented by those who possess the qualifications of voters, but who do not participate in elections. Some people have become quite wrought up over the situation, going so far as to maintain that city governments are based on minority rather than majority rule. Other people see in the lack of participation by numerous qualified persons the main reason for most of the ills of cities. The problem varies a great deal from city to city and from time to time within the same city. During the nineteen hundred and twenties interest in voting reached a low level in the United States generally.[2] In the presidential election of 1920 approximately half of the qualified voters actually took the trouble to vote. This lack of interest was apparent in cities: in some municipal elections no more than thirty-five per cent of the voters manifested enough concern to present themselves at the polls.

During the nineteen hundred and thirties interest increased, and in the 1940 presidential election an all-time high was reached, with more than eighty per cent of the voters taking part. This general heightening of interest in things political has been reflected to some extent in city elections. Nevertheless, there is still much variation; in Indiana, for example, the voting record of cities has recently varied from approximately sixty per cent to approximately ninety per cent of those legally qualified.

Reasons for Variation in Voting Records.—Just why there should be so much greater interest in voting in some cities than in others is not entirely apparent. To some extent local issues undoubtedly enter in, for if an election presents especially burning issues or if there is a bitter contest between two well known citizens for the office of mayor, naturally the proportion of those voting will go up. Conversely, if the election presents no local problems and the candidates display slight enthusiasm, the voting record is likely to

[1] See: J. P. Harris, *Registration of Voters in the United States*, for a very good discussion of this topic.

[2] For an interesting discussion during the period see: A. M. Schlesinger and E. M. Eriksson, "The Vanishing Voter," *New Republic*, Vol. 40, p. 162 (October 15, 1924)

be poor. The desperate fight of a political organization for its very life may increase the voting; at times such elections have seen more votes polled in certain precincts than there were qualified voters in the precincts.[1] If one political party is so powerful that opposition slates have little or no chance of winning, the incentive on the part of many people to vote is not great.

WHY PEOPLE DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS

In Small Cities.—Several studies have been made in an attempt to ascertain why adult citizens have not voted in a given election. Such a study was carried on in a small Indiana city of approximately five thousand inhabitants based on the municipal election of 1934. The contest between the mayoralty candidates reached unusual intensity, and, furthermore, there was a controversial issue indirectly involved as to whether the water system should be acquired by the city. As a result, the interest in voting ran high, and approximately eighty-five per cent of the adult population actually cast their votes.

However, two hundred and fifty-seven persons who had not voted were found and studied in some detail—at least two personal interviews were accorded each of these. The reasons they gave for their failure to vote varied. Almost twenty per cent excused themselves on the basis of lack of legal residence, although this played an even larger role with the men who reported 32.4 per cent not voting for such a reason. Illness explained the non-participation of 17.1 per cent of all of the group, but in the case of the women it entered in to the extent of 20.4 per cent. Absence from the city on election day accounted for 13.2 per cent of all non-voters and 18.3 per cent of the men.

General indifference was advanced as a reason by 12.8 per cent. In the male group, however, it appeared in only 7.0 per cent of the cases, while among the women it accounted for 15.1 per cent. Lack of interest in the 1934 election, as contrasted with general indifference, was given as a reason for non-voting by 5.1 per cent; general disgust with politics by 5.8 per cent—almost entirely among the women; and special disgust with the election of 1934 by 6.2 per cent.

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 314, quoting United States, House of Representatives, *Report 3857* on "George C. R. Wagoner *v.* James J. Butler," 57 Cong., 2 sess., p. 6.

Among other explanations offered by the non-voters were: disbelief in voting by women, accounting for 9.7 per cent of the women; forgetfulness, representing 5.4 per cent of the entire group and 8.5 per cent of the men; disbelief in all political action, with 3.5 percent—almost entirely confined to the women; and ignorance or timidity, with 3.9 per cent—strangely enough fairly evenly divided among the men and women.[1]

In Large Cities.—During the period when there was less general interest throughout the United States in voting a study was made by Professors Merriam and Gosnell of six thousand non-voters in Chicago on the basis of the mayoralty election of 1923. In this election it was estimated that only 49 per cent of the adult citizens participated, although 62 per cent had taken the trouble to register; of the registered persons, 80 per cent, in other words, actually voted. In Chicago physical difficulties played a considerably larger role and lack of legal residence a much less important role than in the small city of Greencastle. Illness accounted for 12.1 per cent of the non-voting; as in Greencastle, this factor was more important among women than among men, entering in to the extent of 13.8 per cent among women and 8.6 per cent among men. In Greencastle the respective percentages were 20.4 and 8.5.

Absence from the city was given as an excuse by 11.1 per cent of the non-voters, while 2.2 per cent reported that they were detained by a helpless member of the family. Insufficient legal residence entered into only 5.2 per cent of the cases, in contrast to 19.5 per cent in Greencastle. Fear of loss of business or wages was offered as an explanation by 5.5 per cent, whereas in Greencastle, only three persons, or slightly more than 1 per cent, used it. Disbelief in women's voting compared favorably with that of Greencastle, with 7.8 per cent in Chicago and 7.0 per cent in the small city of Greencastle.

Disgust with politics explained the lack of participation of 4.3 per cent; lack of interest in the election of 1923 2.5 per cent; forgetfulness 8.4 per cent; ignorance or timidity 7.1 per cent; and general indifference 25.4 per cent. It may be noted that general indifference was approximately twice as important a cause as in the small city and that timidity and forgetfulness also played some-

[1] This study was carried on by the author and his colleague, Dr. Harry W. Voltmer, with the assistance of N.Y.A. students.

what more important roles.[1] The Chicago study indicated that in large cities inertia accounts for more non-voting than in smaller places where the personal element is more of a factor.

THE TYPE OF PEOPLE WHO VOTE UNUSUALLY WELL OR POORLY

In Small Cities.—On the basis of a study of approximately three thousand persons of voting age in the small city of Greencastle, Indiana, it was discovered that certain types stand out because of their active participation in voting.[2] Males with more than ten years of residence in the city voted to the extent of 90.7 per cent. Men in the age groups above 50 also manifested much interest, with 94.3 per cent of the 50–59 year group, 91.4 per cent of the 60–69 year group, and 93.3 per cent of the group over seventy years of age voting. Married men and male heads of families stood above the average, with records of 89.9 per cent and 89.7 per cent respectively. Males inhabiting excellent or good quality dwellings or who owned their homes displayed more interest than the rank and file, with records of 95.2 per cent, 89.9 per cent, and 92.6 per cent.

Males, with high school graduation, some college training, or college graduation or more, and women, with 13–15 years of formal education, all exceeded voting records of 89 per cent. Republican males voted to the extent of 90.3 per cent. Males, with conventional religious affiliations, showed up well with voting records of over 90 per cent.[3] Among the occupational groups male farmers, male carpenters and painters, male and female servants, female clerks, female public officials, female professional women, and males engaged in personal services all ranked well above the average.

Unusually poor voting records were found among all residents of less than two years residence and among women of two to ten years residence in the city. Women not owning their homes, women living in poor quality dwellings, and women who occupied positions as heads of families all displayed poor records. Male boarders and female roomers did not do well, and female political independents and male Socialists took less interest in voting than the

[1] The complete report of this study is to be found in: C. E. Merriam and H. F. Gosnell, *Non-Voting, Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago, 1924).

[2] A similar study, with somewhat similar findings, was made of Delaware, Ohio, in 1924. See: Ben A. Arneson, "Non-voting in a Typical Ohio Community," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 19, p. 816 (November, 1925).

[3] This included the Methodist, Christian, and Presbyterian churches.

average person. Women of from 21–29 years of age and over seventy years of age, women with from 5–8 years of formal education, and both males and females of unconventional religious affiliations all ranked low. Finally, women college instructors, women engaged in industrial labor, unemployed women (not including housewives), male public school teachers, male Negroes, and women of mixed parentage exhibited less than average interest in voting.[1]

In Large Cities.—The Chicago voting study devoted itself to non-voters and made little attempt to discover what elements within the population stand out because of more than average interest in voting. Of course, with such a large population to be handled, a different technique had to be employed. Among the pertinent observations of those in charge of the Chicago study may be mentioned the fact that there were twice as many female non-voters as male non-voters. In comparing this with the small city finding it should be remembered that women had enjoyed the franchise only approximately half as long when the study was made in Chicago as when the study was carried on in Greencastle.[2] The newcomers to Chicago and the women of foreign birth or foreign-language training also exhibited far less than normal interest. Elderly persons of both sexes, housewives, males of foreign parentage engaged in unskilled work, young colored people, and middle-aged foreign-born women who had received citizenship through the naturalization of husbands displayed poor records.

Among the occasional non-voters—people who did not vote in the 1923 election but who frequently participated in elections—there was an unduly large number of native whites of native parentage who inhabited the best residential districts of the city. Negroes and foreign-born whites contributed more than their share of habitual non-voters. Both males and females in the 21–29 age group made a relatively poor showing. "There were more non-voters in 'Hobohemia' than in the settled communities." [3] The Irish and Russian Jews, on the other hand, particularly those living in flats which rented for about $20 per month, made an unusually good showing because of few non-voters. Of course,

[1] The material contained in the above paragraphs is taken from the study referred to above carried on by the author and Dr. Voltmer.

[2] Women first were permitted to vote in Chicago in 1913.

[3] Merriam and Gosnell, *Op. cit.*, p. 226.

the strength of the political organization in a district had a direct relationship to the voting; where strong local party organizations operated the non-voting fell distinctly below that of the city as a whole.[1]

STIMULATION OF VOTING

Should Voting Be Stimulated?—It has already been pointed out that some people regard non-voting as a major municipal problem; get out more voters by hook or crook and that will go far toward solving city evils, they contend. The situation varies so much from city to city that it is difficult to generalize as to the seriousness of the problem. With approximately eighty-five per cent of the adult population of Greencastle voting in 1934 and an additional three per cent disqualified because of lack of sufficient legal residence, there does not seem to be great room for a campaign to get out more voters in that city. Something could be done to attract young voters who belong to the 21–29 age group, and some of the well-educated groups, such as the female college instructors and the male public school teachers, might receive attention. But by and large the situation requires little attention.

On the other hand, in cities where the proportion of non-voters runs to one-third or one-half of the adult population attention may be called for. With only one-half or slightly more of the adult population voting the city officials will usually be the choice of a minority. Perhaps this is a less serious affair than it may seem on its face, because many of those who do not vote must have no serious objection to the officials elected, else they would take advantage of their franchise. While it may theoretically seem unfortunate that a large section of the qualified citizenry does not take any part in elections, actually it is difficult to imagine what contribution many of those who stay away could make if they did vote. Mere votes do not seem very significant unless they indicate a reasonably intelligent choice and some degree of interest in municipal affairs.

Instead of concentrating on getting out the vote, it would seem more logical to emphasize creating interest in municipal affairs among the citizens. Greater interest will doubtless result in more votes cast, especially on the part of those who have something to

[1] For a full report of the Chicago study, see: Merriam and Gosnell, *Op. cit.*

offer when they cast a ballot. If a campaign is to be planned in a city, such as Chicago, it might pay especial attention to the young voters in the 21–29 age group, to housewives, and perhaps to certain of the foreign-born groups. Probably the situation as far as it relates to women has improved noticeably since 1923, when the study relied upon for data was made.

Methods of Stimulating Voting.—In the elections of 1924 and 1925, one a presidential election and the other a local election, Professor H. F. Gosnell of the University of Chicago experimented with vote stimulation.[1] Using carefully worked-out techniques of sampling he discovered that something can be done by sending out notices to the voters concerning registration days; of course, where permanent registration is used, little could be done in this field. But with frequent periodic registration required and not much publicity given to the exact dates and places where the registration must be effected, many voters forget. Professor Gosnell concluded that notifying every voter of the exact time and place of registration would increase registration by ten per cent.[2]

A further step would be to furnish information to every voter in regard to the candidates and issues. The preparation and mailing of a voter's handbook to lists of citizens obtained from the police department or other sources would serve to bring out more voters to the polls. Perhaps more important than either of these are the devices described under Chapter XXXII; if the interest of the citizens in city government can be aroused, they will ordinarily automatically betake themselves to the polls.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arneson, B. A., "Non-voting in a Typical Ohio Community," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 19, p. 816 (November, 1925).

Brooks, R. C., *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chap. XIV.

Gosnell, H. F., *Getting Out the Vote* (Chicago, 1927).

Harris, J. P., *Registration of Voters in the United States* (Washington, 1929).

Harris, J. P., "Permanent Registration for Voters," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 22, p. 349 (May, 1928).

Kent, Frank R., *The Great Game of Politics* (New York, 1930), Chap. XXX.

Martin, R. C., "The Municipal Electorate: A Case Study," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 14, p. 193 (December, 1933).

[1] This study is reported in H. F. Gosnell, *Getting Out the Vote* (Chicago, 1927).

[2] *Getting Out the Vote*, p. 104.

Merriam, C. E., and Gosnell, H. F., *Non-voting, Causes and Methods of Control* (Chicago, 1925).

National Municipal League, "Report of Committee on Election Administration on a Model Registration System," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 16, p. 45 (January, 1927), revised February, 1931.

New York Constitutional Convention, *Problems Relating to Home Rule and Local Government* (Albany, 1938).

Porter, Kirk H., *A History of Suffrage in the United States* (Chicago, 1918).

Public Service Institute of Kansas City, *Registration and Elections in Six Cities* (Kansas City, 1930).

Rocca, Helen M., *Laws Relating to Absentee Voting and Registration* (Washington, 1928).

Rocca, Helen M., *Registration Laws* (Washington, 1925).

Sait, E. M., *American Parties and Politics* (New York, 1927), Chaps. I–III.

United States Conference of Mayors, *Experience of Cities with Permanent Central Registration for Voting* (Chicago, 1933).

X

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

NOMINATION FOR MUNICIPAL OFFICE

Comparatively little needs to be written about the process of nomination for municipal offices, for this is ordinarily regulated by state law and is almost always the same as for state offices. In general, there are three methods: the convention system, the direct primary, and nomination by petition.[1]

The Convention System.—For many years the party convention, with the caucus as an auxiliary, was widely used to nominate candidates for city office. However, it developed such a bad reputation that it has been replaced by the direct primary in most states. Party conventions sometimes took their responsibility seriously and performed a good job, but all too often they became the tools of the worst elements in a party machine and embodied all sorts of evil practices. Most of the conventions were probably better than the one described by R. M. Easley in the *Review of Reviews*, but they were characterized by mediocre delegates and unjustifiable practices. The convention pictured by Mr. Easley which met in Cook County, Illinois was constituted as follows: 17 delegates who had been tried on murder charges; 7 who had served terms in penitentiary for murder or manslaughter; 36 who had served terms for burglary; 2 who had been sent to prison for picking pockets; 1 sentenced for arson; 84 former jailbirds as identified by detectives; 7 keepers of gambling houses; 2 operators of houses of ill fame; 3 who had been convicted of mayhem; 11 ex-prize fighters; 2 pool-room proprietors; 265 saloon-keepers; 14 lawyers; 3 physicians; 2 grain dealers; 148 political employes; 1 hatter; 1 stationer; 4 contractors; 1 grocer; 1 sign painter; 4 plumbers; 1 butcher; 1 druggist; 1 furniture dealer; 2 commission

[1] For a general discussion of nomination for city office see: R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chap. X; C. H. Wooddy, *The Chicago Primary of 1926* (Chicago, 1926); and E. M. Sait, *American Parties and Elections* (New York, 1927), Chaps. XV, XVI.

merchants; 15 ex-policemen; 1 dentist; 2 speculators; 3 justices of the peace; 1 ex-constable; 6 farmers; 3 undertakers; and 71 with no occupation—a total of 723 delegates.[1]

Direct Primary.—The direct primary is discussed in detail in connection with courses in state government and requires little additional attention here.[2] It is now used by most cities for nominating candidates for public office. The closed type is in general use, although raiding is often actually permitted because of the general character of most of the statutes and the psychology of party leaders. In many cases the primary as used in cities recognizes parties and provides official ballots for the use of Democrats and Republicans, but the non-partisan type is also frequently encountered.[3] Direct primaries are sometimes held as early as April and May in preparation for November elections; others come during the summer; and some are not staged until early fall. The spring primaries offer too much time for campaigning, as a rule, and require virtually one year's time from the successful candidates, counting the pre-primary and post-primary campaigns.

The faults and advantages of the direct primary as used in cities are substantially those of the direct primary in general elections, except for the fact that non-partisan primaries are much more common in cities. They theoretically offer an opportunity to everyone to try his hand. When they were first suggested, political bosses became quite excited because they feared that they would deprive political machines of their prerogative; Boss Charles F. Murphy of Tammany Hall fought off the primary in New York for several years. However, bosses have learned that they need not fear, for their power under the direct-primary system has been scarcely impaired at all. Unless a candidate has party support, even the direct primary does not avail him much; yet every now and then candidates not endorsed by the party do nose in. In a recent primary held in Indianapolis, for example, independent candidates won two out of a dozen major nominations.[4]

[1] "The Sine-qua Non of Caucus Reform," *Review of Reviews*, Vol. 16, p. 322 (September, 1897).

[2] For a very adequate discussion of the direct primary see: C. E. Merriam and Louise Overacker, *Primary Elections* (Chicago, 1928).

[3] In 1946, 43.6 per cent of mayor-council cities over 5,000 and 83.5 per cent of council-manager cities elected councilmen on a non-partisan basis.

[4] See: the *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1938.

Nomination by Petition.—Several cities, particularly in New England, permit nomination by petition. Candidates for municipal office circulate petitions among their friends or have agents or party workers perform such a service for them. The number of signatures required depends upon the general importance of the office, but in no case is it especially large; for example, Boston specifies 300 signatures on a petition of one who aspires to the office of city councilor and 3000 signatures in the case of the office of mayor. Frequently successful candidates will not content themselves with the legal minimum, but will present petitions of much greater size which supposedly indicate their strength. Petitions are usually lodged with the city clerk who checks the names of those signing as carefully as possible and then places the names of the candidates who meet the requirements on the ballot.

This plan of nomination saves the city money because it does away with the costly primary. Some candidates like it because it may reduce their expenditures if they do not have to pay for the circulating of petitions. Its main disadvantage is that it involves plurality elections; with the names of several candidates on the final ballot—in Boston the number of candidates for the office of mayor is often especially large—it is difficult for anyone to receive a majority of the votes.[1]

THE CAMPAIGN

In some cities campaigns tend to be short but vigorous, while in other cities they are more drawn out and rarely reach the intensity which characterizes the former. This hinges to some extent upon when the primary takes place. And, of course, much depends also upon the particular election. If there are few issues and the incumbent mayor is likely to be reelected, there is much less incentive for an exciting campaign than where some local issue is uppermost in the minds of the people and there is a hot contest on for the major offices.

Preparations Made by Political Organizations.—The most effective campaigning is carried on by the local units of the political organizations. The house-to-house visits of the precinct committeemen and their helpers, together with their other preparations, have been described in some detail in Chapter XI. Such efforts are often not

[1] See: A. C. Hanford, *Problems in Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), p. 57.

apparent to the casual observer and hence may be underestimated, but their importance is very great.

VISIBLE CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

a. Rallies and Public Meetings.—In most municipal campaigns that attain any vigor at all a number of rallies and public meetings are scheduled. These may be either comparatively informal and small affairs held in neighborhoods or they may be monster city-wide occasions where thousands turn out and elaborate preparations are made; in a large city both types of meetings may be expected during the course of a campaign. There is some difference of opinion among politicians as to which variety of rally is most worthwhile. It may be interpolated that some politicians, who have had rich experience in organization work, distrust all such meetings and maintain that they accomplish little.

By and large the informal neighborhood meeting has proved more popular during recent years than the more elaborate affairs staged in the municipal auditorium or some other large hall. For one thing, more people can usually be contacted in that way. It is easier for people to come a few blocks to a neighborhood rally than to journey downtown, and, in addition, they may feel more obligation to attend such a local gathering where their presence will be noticed or their absence observed. These informal rallies give an opportunity to get down to the voter's level, if the speakers have the ability to do that; discussion can be carried on and questions answered. The expense of such meetings is almost negligible, and the preparations required are not great. Several of these neighborhood gatherings can be visited by the candidates in a single evening.[1]

General Rallies.—The downtown meeting attracts, of course, more press notice and gains more superficial publicity.[2] But preparations have to be made some time beforehand, and careful attention must be paid to getting out a capacity crowd. If the political captains can be counted on, perhaps the matter of a crowd will take care of itself, for every precinct committeeman will round up his quota of attendants. Otherwise, newspaper display ad-

[1] See: R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chap. XII.

[2] For a discussion see: C. H. Wooddy, *The Chicago Primary of 1926* (Chicago, 1926), Chap. IX.

vertisements may be purchased; placards will be distributed in large numbers for display in store windows and in public places; posters will announce the meeting from telephone poles and bill boards; and giant canvas banners at strategic places will catch the eyes of thousands of passersby.

A galaxy of speakers will have to be recruited—some of whom at least are well known and will attract the curious; frequently other preparations will have to be made. Large halls present a chilly and dampening appearance unless some attempt is made to decorate them. Music and other entertainment may be considered necessary.

How many votes will be garnered by all of this expenditure of time and money is always a question. The people who come as a result of effort on the part of the precinct committeemen usually need no attention, because they are already definitely committed to the organization. The curious who often turn out in large numbers can scarcely be counted upon at election time. Perhaps the chief importance of such an occasion is to step up the enthusiasm among the faithful and to present a public appearance of some impressiveness.

b. Young Voters Meetings.—Increasingly during recent years an attempt has been made to organize the young voters into some form of effective association. Young Democratic and Young Republican Clubs have been formed throughout the United States in both urban and rural sections. In small cities there may be a single organization of this type, but there may be a number of them if the city is a large one. These clubs have a comparatively loose organization, with the traditional officers. Almost anyone can belong, even if age would seem to present a barrier. As a matter of fact, some of these clubs of "young" voters seem especially to attract people who have attained ages of fifty years or more.

These young-voters clubs combine politics with pleasure. Regular meetings may be scheduled for every two weeks or every month, particularly during campaign time. A political speech or two will be provided, and then the members will proceed to dance or otherwise entertain themselves; refreshments almost always feature such meetings. Some of these organizations seem to serve a useful purpose as far as stimulating voting is concerned.

c. Parades.—In certain cities at least there seems to be a tendency

to revive the old political parade, with plenty of red fire, noise, banners, and what not.[1] Whether such a revival is a mere fad or whether it represents some permanence is a question. These affairs certainly add color to a campaign, and they also provide an outlet for surplus enthusiasm. Probably they have more significance as devices to "pep" up the party members than as vote-getters.

d. Shows and Entertainments.—Some municipal campaigns have made much use of what may be designated "political shows and entertainments." To some extent these might be classified under the head of rallies and public meetings, but their methods are so different that it seems logical to discuss them under a separate division. Usually they feature one man rather than a group of candidates, and instead of the traditional kind of political speeches these affairs present a sort of vaudeville act with a political theme. The meetings are often held in theatres; instead of one appearance, as is common with ordinary rallies, there may be a show several times each day or at least once each day for several weeks.

Chicago has probably done more to develop the technique of such political shows than any other city. "Big Bill" Thompson had a strong claim to the title of champion showman, with Lew Shank of Indianapolis runner-up. Loud speakers and sensational banners may be used to attract a crowd to the theatre; usually no admission is charged; and after a crowd has been assembled the political showman proceeds to employ every variety of political sensationalism and exhibitionism that he can devise. He may hire minstrels to assist in entertaining the crowd which has far less party loyalty than the ordinary political gathering and has to be kept amused constantly. Exhibits may be used to depict a certain situation. "Big Bill" Thompson once displayed a cage containing two rats which he said represented his two arch enemies —"Poor Swede" Lundin and "Doc" Robertson. When he threatened to release the rats in the theatre, there was a great commotion.

More or less meaningless phrases, such as "Swat King George," may be made a text, or books may be burned because they are supposedly un-American. The most vicious mudslinging usually

[1] Indianapolis may be cited as an example.

featured "Big Bill" Thompson's shows. Incidentally he dressed the part of a showman, with a sombrero and other colorful accoutrements. To what extent a device of this kind proves effective in a political campaign depends largely upon the city and upon the time. Few politicians have the ingenuity to keep such shows from getting out of hand or to maintain the crowds. "Big Bill" Thompson could do both. He was convinced that such methods paid political dividends and invariably depended upon something of the sort. Despite the corruption and criticism that attended his administrations as mayor and despite the violent opposition of members of his own party, he repeatedly elected himself mayor of Chicago until his fiasco in 1939.[1]

e. The Radio.—More and more candidates for political office in large cities are making use of the radio. With local stations available and a large proportion of the voters owning receiving sets, such a method offers a very convenient method of reaching large numbers of voters. No attempt has to be made to recruit a crowd—the voters remain comfortably at home; no halls have to be rented; and a smaller amount of publicity is usually required.

Of course, the cost of radio time is an item which undoubtedly deters greater use. Furthermore, speakers have to plan their speeches more carefully: certain stations will not permit any broadcast which has not been reduced to writing beforehand. Extreme types of sensationalism and mudslinging are impossible under the rules of the Federal Communications Commission. Less use can be made of shouting and physical display. But despite these drawbacks in the eyes of certain politicians the radio is popular and seems likely to continue and even increase its importance as a campaign device.

f. Street and Window Displays.—Almost every candidate for political office makes large use of posters, banners, and window cards. Posters and window cards often present a photographic likeness of the candidate to the voters. Apparently there is a feeling that personal appearance has a great deal to do with attracting support, although it might be supposed that some of the candidates would scarcely regard their personal looks as an asset. All of the displays usually voice a plea "Vote for John D.

[1] For additional details of Thompson's methods see: John Bright, "*Hizzoner Big Bill*" *Thompson* (New York, 1930).

Doe" and add that he is the friend of the people. The posters are tacked to poles and pasted on fences and buildings—often without the consent of anyone; the window cards are placed in the windows of friendly—or at least suffering merchants; and the banners, with huge colored lettering, are stretched across a busy street. The psychology back of much of this display advertising is that if the people see a face or an appeal often enough, they will be influenced to cast a favorable vote. In as much as many, if not most, voters know virtually nothing about the qualifications or experience of the candidates, such psychology apparently works.[1]

g. Personal Cards.—In small cities and to some extent in large cities candidates distribute thousands of small cards, bearing their name, the office they seek, and an invitation to the voters to support their candidacy. House-to-house canvassers leave these personal cards when they call. Sometimes these cards serve for display purposes in places where the ordinary poster or window card would not be permitted; they frequently appear stuck into convenient cracks in public buildings. Usually candidates also provide for the distribution of these personal cards on election day. If the law permits, a voter may be almost deluged with these offerings as he approaches the polling place. The psychology back of this device resembles that of the more ambitious display posters and banners: get your name firmly fixed in the mind of the voter, and he will vote for you.[2]

h. Newspaper Advertising.—In both large and small cities cards or display advertising—often both—are inserted in the newspapers. The cards contain about the same information that appears on the personal cards described above, although sometimes only the name of the candidate and the office for which he is running will be noted. Display advertising resembles the posters and window cards already discussed. The photograph of the candidate is flanked by his name and an appeal for support in large letters. Sometimes groups of candidates club together to run these display advertisements; or a city central committee may purchase space to bring the entire party ticket to the attention of newspaper readers. In large cities the cost of such a device is usually high, and consequently less use will be made by individual candidates.

[1] See: C. H. Wooddy, *The Chicago Primary of 1926*, Chap. IX.
[2] See: R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, Chap. XII.

The psychology behind newspaper advertisements is for the most part the same as that already discussed in the cases of posters, banners, window-display cards, and personal cards. How valuable it is, considering the considerable cost that may be involved in a large city, is controversial.[1]

i. Mail Campaigning.—Candidates for public office often make use of the mails to contact the voters; or the city central committee may send out letters, pamphlets, circulars, postcards, and other appeals. In the first case, there may be a personal touch; in the latter case the material is likely to be of a form variety. In as much as many people do not bother to open second-class letters, there seems to be considerable doubt whether campaigning of this type is worthwhile. However, in poorer residential districts where mail is relatively scarce, more attention may be paid to such appeals than is usually believed.

First-class mail will, as a rule, at least be opened—whether it will be read will depend largely upon the cleverness with which the material has been prepared. Much of the material is of such an obvious and uninteresting character that it seems probable that little attention is paid to it. Considering the cost of preparation, printing, addressing, and mailing the effectiveness of this device would appear to be doubtful, unless unusual care is taken in preparing the copy.

The Time of Municipal Elections.—City elections sometimes occur in the fall and in other cities in the spring. The particular time of year is probably of less importance than the matter of separation from other elections. At one time city elections were carried on at the same time as county and state elections, but such an arrangement involves serious disadvantages. It serves to confuse local issues with state programs, and all too often a city ticket finds itself subordinated to a state ticket—so much interest may attach to the governor's office that little or no attention remains for the city candidates.

More than that, a successful state ticket will carry along to election a slate of city candidates who otherwise would in all probability meet defeat. Such a situation encourages political organizations to put up inferior and even corrupt candidates for municipal office, and it makes any satisfactory presentation of

[1] See: C. H. Wooddy, *The Chicago Primary of 1926*, Chap. IX.

local issues almost impossible. As a result of the defects inherent in such a combination of elections, a movement developed to separate city elections from state elections. This has made considerable headway, although some ground was lost during the depression years 1930–1936 on the plea of economy.[1]

Election Precincts.—Cities are divided into election precincts which usually follow the same lines as the precincts used as a basis for party organization. Each precinct includes, as a rule, from two hundred to eight hundred voters, but smaller precincts sometimes are encountered in outlying areas or in downtown sections where large population exoduses have taken place. The newspapers played up a precinct in New York City during an election of a few years ago which contained but a single voter—a Jewish rabbi.[2] A once populous district had become the location of office and business buildings, and inertia prevented any rearrangement of precinct lines—with the result that an entire set of election officials and the expenditure of a sizable sum of money were provided for one voter. At times precincts in congested residential sections will contain a thousand or more voters, but such an arrangement makes it difficult for all to vote conveniently.

Election Machinery.—Election machinery is ordinarily provided by state law. In small cities there may be little election machinery which differs from that of rural districts. Each voting precinct will have at least three officials whose duty it is to supervise the conduct of the election in their precinct. Returns go to the city clerk, and canvassing will be done as far as necessary by the city council.

Larger cities frequently have a more elaborate machinery. In addition to the precinct election officials, they have canvassing boards whose duty it is to canvass the election returns. The members of these boards may receive two or three hundred dollars for their services which run over a period of a few days or a few weeks. In New York City the members of such a body are supposed to be full-time city employes and receive comparatively large

[1] Indiana may be cited as an example of a state that provided separate city elections prior to 1932, but which then combined such elections with general county and state elections. Subsequently, separate municipal elections were restored.

[2] *New York Times*, November 9, 1938. This was the 42nd election district of the Tenth Assembly District. It cost the public approximately $500 to record this single vote.

salaries, but in other large cities the members may be expected to devote several weeks or months to such matters in an election year.

Where election boards exist, they often have general responsibility for an election. They supervise registration, prepare ballots for both primary and final elections, appoint the precinct officials, receive the returns, canvass the vote, and furnish certificates of election. The members of such bodies usually come from both major political parties, with the majority party enjoying the balance of power. They may be appointed by the mayor or receive their positions in some other manner.[1]

CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN PRECINCTS

Polls open at six or seven o'clock in the morning in most cities, and remain open until at least four o'clock in the afternoon and usually until six o'clock or later. Polling places may be located in public structures or on private premises. School buildings, fire stations, police stations, and other public buildings may be employed; occasionally temporary structures are erected for voting. Privately owned business buildings, houses, or garages not infrequently are made use of as polling places—such places may be rented from their owners because no public buildings are available or because of political considerations. During recent years there has been a distinct tendency in the direction of greater use of public structures.[2]

Whether public or private premises are used, various equipment is brought in from downtown. Voting booths, ballot boxes, voting machines, tables and chairs for the election officials, pencils, blank ballots, forms for making election returns, and various other supplies are provided. A runway may be roped off leading to the entrance of the polling place so that undue crowding will be avoided. Posters containing election instructions to the voters are tacked on convenient walls, doors, and trees where they may be easily consulted by those who are interested.

Election Officials.—The number of election officials varies from state to state: at least three are always provided, and the number

[1] For a detailed discussion of election administration, see: J. P. Harris, *Election Administration in the United States* (Washington, 1934). See also: Edward B. Logan, *The Supervision and Conduct of Elections and Returns with Special Reference to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1927).

[2] E. M. Sait, *American Politics and Elections* (New York, 1927), pp. 580–581.

may run as high as seven or nine. These election officials receive their appointment nominally from the election board, the mayor, or the city council, but they are actually chosen, in most cases, by their party organizations. Each major party is represented, with the party in power enjoying the balance of power. These precinct officials receive compensation from the public purse varying from three to ten dollars per day, depending upon the city and also upon the particular position which they hold. Party workers are ordinarily not permitted by law to frequent the polling places, unless it be as challengers or watchers, but as a matter of practice many of them do because the election officials are indebted to them for their positions.

Party Workers.—Outside of the polling place watchers from the various parties station themselves. If they see repeaters or other persons not qualified to vote, they may challenge them. In such cases these suspected persons may desist from any attempt to vote or they may take steps which will override the objections of the party watchers. This may consist of taking an oath that they possess the legal qualifications, satisfying the officials in charge of the polling place in the precinct that they are entitled to vote, or obtaining an order from the election board, a judge, or the city clerk, depending upon the nature of the case and the law of the state. In many cases a policeman is detailed to maintain order, and occasionally special deputy sheriffs or even representatives of the federal government will be present, if there is reason to expect fraud.

Disorder at Polling Places.—Despite the presence of a policeman serious disorders sometimes break out. Either the policeman disregards the situation because he favors a certain political organization which in desperation seeks to employ illegal methods, or he may be unable to cope with a general rumpus. On occasion an unscrupulous machine which fears for its life may employ plug-uglies to terrorize opposition voters. During the heyday of Boss Butler in St. Louis toughs, known as "Butler's Indians," put in an appearance at the polling places located in the prosperous residential districts. After the identity of certain anti-machine voters in the line waiting to vote had been pointed out to them, they proceeded to shove these voters out of their places; if the voters persisted in rejoining the line, the toughs knocked them down

In one such election the president of a very prominent shoe manufacturing concern, Mr. Brown, was so injured that he had to have hospital care. During all this intimidation the police paid scant attention and took no action.[1] Fortunately such conduct is now rare in municipal elections. General disorder is at present definitely the exception, although in certain polling places, located in congested sections inhabited by the poor and foreign-born, individual fights may still be common occurrences.

Arrangements within the Polling Places.—The polling place itself is not allowed to become crowded, and hence voters stand outside in line until there is room for them within. One of the election officials usually handles the inflow of voters, while another is in charge of the poll books or voting records. As the voter enters the polling place, he announces his name, his address, and perhaps furnishes other information to the clerk in charge of the voting lists. He may have to sign his name at this stage as a means of identification.

If the officials are satisfied that he is a qualified voter, he is then handed paper ballots or conducted to a voting machine. If paper ballots are employed, a vacant voting booth, usually rather roughly constructed out of boards and canvas curtains, will be pointed out to him. If he cannot read, the laws of some states permit assistance. Professor Salter points out that such a provision in Philadelphia has been much abused and that a large proportion of the voters in certain precincts request the assistance of the division leader or his representative. This amounts to controlled voting by the political machine.[2]

Depositing of Ballots.—After the voter has marked his ballot or ballots with a blue pencil, he emerges from the booth and hands the ballots to an election official in charge of the ballot box or boxes. The ballots must be folded to obviate knowledge of how the voter has marked his ballots. One corner is initialed by one or more election officials usually before being given to the voter. The voter is required by law in some cities personally to place the marked ballot in the ballot box; however, officials often prefer to do this for him, particularly where more than one ballot is used.

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 306, for an account of conditions prevailing in St. Louis during the Butler regime.

[2] *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935), p. 149.

If voting machines are substituted for paper ballots, an election official must prepare the machine for each new voter in order to avoid repeating.[1] Despite the care taken by the law to avoid dishonest practices, various tricks may render such provisions futile. Dishonest election officials may not place the marked ballots in the official ballot boxes, but instead may destroy some of them that come from the opposition.

Chain Voting.—A favorite fraudulent device is chain voting. The representative of the machine acquires a blank ballot from a friendly election official or from some other source. He marks this according to the desires of the machine and hands it to someone who has sold his vote. This man takes the marked ballot with him into the polling place, goes through the motions of marking the ballot given him by the election official, deposits the marked ballot in the ballot box, and brings the unmarked ballot to the party worker who uses it for another vote-seller.[2]

Ballots and Voting Machines.—Cities make more frequent use of voting machines than rural areas. There are several types available—with a machine for proportional voting in prospect. For the most part these machines are mechanically dependable and fraud-proof. Voters may not like them to start out because they are strange, but after they have used them for a few years, they often prefer them. One advantage of voting machines is that no ballot can be spoiled by careless or double marking, for, as a rule, no vote is recorded until all candidates have been indicated and the voter leaves the booth and voting for two candidates for the same office is mechanically impossible. Another advantage of the voting machine involves the speeding up of returns: instead of hours of weary counting of votes after the polls close, the voting machine enables the election officials to unlock the tabulating dial and copy down the results. Cities sometimes hesitate to purchase voting machines because of their initial cost, but they find that they probably save money over a period of years.

If ballots are used, they are of the traditional varieties as determined by state law. Some cities make use of the party-column type under which it is very easy to place a mark at the head of the

[1] T. David Zukerman, *The Voting Machine* (New York, 1925).

[2] For a more detailed discussion of this problem see: Peter H. Odegard and E. A. Helms, *American Politics* (New York, 1938), pp. 708–709.

column and thus cast a straight vote for all party candidates. Other cities prefer the type which arranges candidates under the various offices to be filled. These ballots may require attention to each office, or provision may be made for voting for an entire party slate.[1]

Election Returns.—After the polls have closed, the election officials record the vote totals from the voting machines, or, if paper ballots are used, proceed to the laborious task of counting. Dinner is brought in to them, and they may enjoy some social merriment as they work. The time required for counting the votes depends upon the number of ballots cast and the complexity of each ballot; often it will be midnight or after before the count is completed. It is during the counting of paper ballots that unusual opportunity is given dishonest election officials to tamper with results. They may destroy valid ballots; they may introduce spurious ballots which they have marked themselves; they may invalidate ballots by placing marks on them; or they may ignore the actual ballots in their count and put down inaccurate totals.

Considering the fact that these election officials are supposed to be bi-partisan, it may seem strange that such practices are possible; the explanation is that actually they are not always bi-partisan. Some of them may be theoretically members of the minority or opposition party, but actually they are supporting the majority party and owe their positions to that fact. During the Butler days in St. Louis a congressional investigation discovered that more than two-thirds of the so-called Republican election officials voted themselves for the Democratic candidates.[2] A similar situation in Kansas City during recent years finally lead to a federal investigation in 1937–38 which resulted in numerous indictments and convictions of election officials.[3]

After the voting machine figures have been copied or the paper ballots counted, the results are set down on special forms provided for the purpose. Multiple copies of these returns must be made and are duly signed by the election officials in charge of the voting. One copy usually goes to the city clerk, another to the election board, and so forth.

[1] See: R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, Chap. XV.

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 314.

[3] See: the *New York Times*, March 16, 1937, March 21, 1937, March 28, 1937, April 15, 1937, April 25, 1937, May 30, 1937, and June 12, 1937.

Informal Returns.—As soon as the precinct results are known, they are transmitted unofficially by messenger or telephone to the two party headquarters where the leaders have gathered together to listen to election returns. Each party headquarters in a large city purchases special telephone service and maintains a battery of clerks to copy precinct returns. Sometimes the final result will be apparent early in the evening, if a landslide occurs, but again it may require the early morning hours to determine the outcome. In the case of proportional voting several days or even weeks may be required.

Canvassing and Recounts.—Official returns go to the board of elections, the city clerk, or some other agency as provided by state law. The ballots also go to such a destination for safe keeping until it can be determined whether recounts will be ordered. The canvassing authority compiles the vote totals from the official returns as filed by the election officials in the precincts. In case of dispute over the returns requests may be made by interested persons for a recount. The person asking the recount may be required to post a bond to pay at least a part of the cost of a recount if his contention is not borne out by a second check of the ballots. Recounts are, as a rule, made under the supervision of the election board, the board of canvassers, the city clerk, or whatever agency receives the sealed ballot boxes from the polling places.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, R. C., *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chaps. X, XV.

Bruce, H. R., *American Parties and Politics* (New York, 1936), Chap. XVII.

Hanford, A. C., *Problems in Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), pp. 54–64.

Harris, J. P., *Election Administration in the United States* (Washington, 1934).

Kent, F. R., *Great Game of Politics* (New York, 1930), Chaps. II, X, XI.

Kurtzman, David H., *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), Part 2.

Logan, E. B., *The Supervision and Conduct of Elections and Returns with Special Reference to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1927).

Merriam, C. E., and Overacker, Louise, *Primary Elections* (Chicago, 1928).

Ray, P. O., *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics* (New York, 1924), Chaps. IV, XIII.

Sait, E. M., *American Parties and Elections* (New York, 1927), Chaps. XV, XVI, XXI, XXII.
Wooddy, C. H., *The Chicago Primary of 1926* (Chicago, 1926).
Wright, Joseph, *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1925), Chap. XIII.
Zukerman, T. David, *The Voting Machine* (New York, 1925).

XI

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES

Should Cities Have Political Parties?—The question is sometimes raised as to whether cities should be the scene of action of political parties. Distinguished students of municipal affairs have differed in their views, with some arguing for non-partisanship in city affairs and some holding that political parties serve a useful purpose.[1] In general, the question is one of academic rather than of practical importance. It is true that a number of cities in the United States have adopted non-partisanship, at least for certain purposes—approximately 57 per cent of all cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants elect councilmen on such a basis.[2] However, in some non-partisan cities—how many it is impossible to state—political parties have persisted in their maneuvering despite lack of official sanction; they have put up candidates; and their candidates have received the greater part of the votes.[3]

Numerous other cities have political parties in the open, and there seems to be little probability especially in large cities that parties will disappear in the near future. Therefore, instead of debating the merits and weaknesses of political parties in municipal government it would seem more profitable to devote attention to the understanding and control of the existing parties.[4]

National Parties versus Local Parties in Cities.—Logically if cities are to have political parties, they should have parties which concern themselves primarily with municipal affairs.[5] Platforms ought to be based on local interests rather than on state and

[1] For example, see: Charles A. Beard, "Political Parties in City Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 6, p. 201 (March, 1917).

[2] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 46.

[3] Winnetka, Illinois may be cited as a city where non-partisanship has apparently worked over a number of years.

[4] Mayor T. L. Holling of Buffalo defends a different point of view in his "Non-partisan, Nonpolitical Municipal Government," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 43 (September, 1938).

[5] See: R. E. Cushman, "Non-partisan Nominations and Elections," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 106, p. 83 (March, 1923).

national problems. But political parties in the United States do not in general hold logic in high appreciation; they interest themselves to a greater extent in the more complicated and colorful item which may be designated human psychology or human nature. Some attention has been given to the separation of municipal parties from national party organizations, and a few cities call their parties "Citizens Parties," "Progressive Parties," and "Charter Parties" rather than "Republican Parties" and "Democratic Parties." Occasionally such a system really works with at least reasonable satisfaction.

However, there is slight evidence of any considerable movement in this direction. Moreover, it is alleged by some observers that most of these local parties are local only in name: they maintain that the Republicans organize under one designation and the Democrats under another, and that the local parties really for all practical purposes receive their orders from the national and state organizations. If this be the case, there seems to be little reason for their existence.

While the bringing of national and state party lines down into the city may be unfortunate as far as the local issues are concerned, something may be done by holding local elections and general elections in different years or at least different times. Furthermore, it is not always true that city Republican or Democratic organizations exhibit greater interest in state and national affairs than they do in home problems. Local organizations, such as Tammany Hall, the Republican machine in Philadelphia, and the Pendergast machine in Kansas City, usually concern themselves far more with city affairs than with state or national programs.[1] The indifference of Tammany Hall to other than local affairs has at times been notorious. Nor do these local Republican and Democratic organizations always take their orders from state and national committees; in some cases they attempt to control the state political machinery, and if they fail in that they may adopt a very independent attitude.

Party Organization in Small Cities.—It has sometimes been assumed that all cities in the United States present about the same picture of party organization—that the precinct, ward, central committee,

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, Part 2, Chaps. III, IV, V, VI, X, XI.

and perhaps boss pattern is common to all. In cities boasting sizable populations there is much similarity, and the political organizations do follow in general the precinct, ward, and central-committee system or its equivalent. However, in the multitude of small cities with populations of five, ten, twenty-five, or even fifty thousand a less uniform and a more informal type of set-up frequently prevails.

These cities are divided into election precincts and wards, but the precinct committeemen and the ward chairmen do not assume either the responsibilities or the authority of their counterparts in larger cities. For one thing, the precinct committeemen belong primarily to the county organization, although they may also interest themselves in city affairs. Usually there are not enough of them to perfect more than a shell of a ward organization—if there is any ward machinery at all. Often there will be no more than one or two or at most three precincts in the wards of a small city. The half dozen or more precinct committeemen to be found in the entire city exert some influence in party councils and usually may be counted upon to get out the vote in city elections.

There is frequently no formal city central committee at all in small cities; the actual authority may be lodged in an informal group of party leaders who hold no official positions in the party machinery. Some of them are officeholders—if their party happens to be in power at the time, while others have held office in the past, perhaps as mayor, member of the city council, or local postmaster. Prominent business men and lawyers frequently are to be found in these inner circles. These groups may rarely meet as a whole; instead one or two of their number may go about conferring with the others in private or semi-private conversations.

Finally, a slate of candidates is drawn up to be presented to the voters at the primary. At times the party leaders may be divided, with the result that more than one slate will be prepared; or because there is disagreement, no slate will be drafted at all, and the primary will be thrown open to all aspirants. In the final election the party will ordinarily support whatever candidates are named at the primary—at least in a nominal fashion. In contrast to the elaborate and hierarchical political machinery in larger cities, political organizations in small cities are characterized by informality, simplicity, personal character, and lack of uni-

formity. Their methods, however, are frequently far from simple and may involve all sorts of tricks and trading.

PARTY ORGANIZATION IN LARGER CITIES

a. The Precinct.—In sizable cities the precinct or division, or a unit which corresponds to these, ordinarily constitutes the foundation of the political organizations.[1] The number of voters in one of these units varies considerably within a city and from city to city, but usually there will be not less than two hundred nor more than eight hundred. However, at times precincts may be much smaller because of population movements which have taken place since the establishment of the current arrangement, or they may include within their borders a thousand or even more voters, although such large precincts, as a rule, are not suitable for political cultivation. Cities are usually divided into precincts by municipal ordinance and not by political parties, although the parties may have influence in determining the action of the city council.

Precinct Committeemen.—Party affairs in each precinct are handled by precinct committeemen. There may be a committeeman and a committeewoman in each precinct; sometimes a committeeman and a vice-committeeman are provided, with one usually a woman; and at times two committeemen may be in charge, with one more experienced in politics and the other a sort of apprentice or junior official. In theory these precinct officers are usually elected by the party members in the precinct at the primary election. However, in some cities they may receive their positions through formal appointment—in New York City, for example, they are appointed by the district captain who corresponds to the ward chairman in other cities.[2]

Actually precinct committeemen frequently are the choice of the higher-ups in the party organization despite the provision for popular election. Party support is thrown behind the candidacy of one who has been selected by the organization; it is denied to anyone not enjoying such favor. In the case of a precinct committeeman who has not pleased the organization there may be no funds from the party treasury available; revolts and opposing candidates may be encouraged by the organization.

[1] See: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935), p. 14.
[2] R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, p. 184.

Not infrequently ambitious young men will get themselves elected as precinct committeemen despite the desires of the organization. The party leaders will watch these neophytes, and if they seem likely to prove able organizers will make peace and extend to them the party blessing. In some cities such a scheme offers the best opportunity for a young man who wants to get started in politics. He can't get a public job until he can show party service, and he can't show party service until he manages to break into the organization as precinct committeeman. Of course, in very large cities he may volunteer to assist the committeeman and after a time perhaps be rewarded by selection as precinct committeeman himself when there is a vacancy.

Importance of Precinct Committeemen in the Political System.—It has been said that the precinct committeeman is the key to the whole political set-up in the United States.[1] He theoretically chooses the ward officials, the ward officials choose the city party leaders, and in the same process county leaders are often chosen. They in turn select the district officials, and the district leaders name the state leaders. Finally, the state organization chooses the members of the national party committees. If the system worked as it is supposed to, the importance of the precinct committeeman would be enormous. As it is, his importance is great and has not been sufficiently recognized. There has been far too much emphasis on electing a good mayor; not enough on getting honest and intelligent precinct committeemen.

Nevertheless, it is scarcely realistic to assume that the system always works as simply as it is supposed to. As has been pointed out, precinct committeemen actually are frequently named by the party organization. The party members in a given precinct may revolt and elect their own committeeman, but if they do, they may find that they have virtually been read out of the party.[2]

[1] See: the very good discussion of the precinct committeeman, called "division leader" in Philadelphia, in J. T. Salter's *Boss Rule*, pp. 17–71.

[2] Professor Salter adds the following comment on this point, "The basic point here, or in any party organization, is that sooner or later one has the essence of the merit system in operation. The ward leader may hate the guts of Ivan Bordoni, but if Ivan carries his precinct again and again, and in spite of the leader's opposition, then the leader must recognize him—especially if he will go along with the leader. Nick Fishbourne's leader hates Nick. Nick told me that he wanted to knock hell out of the leader, but Nick remains as leader of his district because he can get the votes—and Charlie needs the votes. Here it is not a matter of love, but of goods delivered." Quoted from a letter to the author.

Their representative may receive no party recognition and no party aid; he may not even be called to attend party meetings.

In certain cities the party leaders have even greater power in controlling the choice of precinct committeemen. Under the law they are given the power to declare the position of precinct committeeman vacant and name new incumbents until the next general election if the elected committeeman does not comply with certain detailed requirements. In as much as precinct committeemen do not usually take the trouble to meet these seemingly unimportant and artificial rules within the three-day period allowed by the law of Indiana, for example, in case of necessity desperate bosses or party leaders may remove elected committeemen in wholesale lots. In Indianapolis on two occasions during recent years this power has been invoked by party bosses who found their power challenged. Through this and other devices "Cap" Coffin, the boss of the Republican organization in Indianapolis, kept himself at the head for approximately ten years despite the fact that he won no elections, suffered a reputation for corruptness and even party disloyalty, and was vigorously opposed by able elements in the party.

THE FUNCTIONS OF PRECINCT COMMITTEEMEN

Some descriptions of the work of precinct committeemen have confused their readers because of unwarranted generalization. In truth, there is almost infinite variation in the services performed by these political henchmen. A great deal depends upon the type of person who holds the position: some take their jobs much more seriously than others. Probably even more is determined by the type of precinct.[1]

Functions in Well-to-do Residential Precincts.—In general, there are at least two kinds of city precincts: the well-to-do residential and the crowded-poor or foreign-group. Each of these has many sub classes. The functions of the precinct committeeman in the two types are very different. In the well-to-do residential precinct the committeeman frequently has little to do except around election time. Then he arranges for assistants or goes himself about the precinct calling on the inhabitants, making lists of

[1] An excellent discussion of the functions of a precinct committeeman is to be found in J. T. Salter's *Boss Rule*, pp. 17–71.

members of his party, filling out report sheets indicating the probable voting strength of his party in the approaching election, and generally cultivating the precinct in the interests of his party. He may have women to talk to women voters and men to present the case to men. Often he will have a telephone squad whose duty it is to follow up the personal calls, especially in the case of those voters who have not decided how they will vote.

As election day nears, the committeeman often has the privilege of naming the election officials in the precinct for his party. He also may appoint several party workers as watchers and election-day assistants, with remuneration varying from three to ten or more dollars per day. He sees that sample ballots which have been marked to indicate the candidates of the party are distributed, and on election day he arranges cars to transport the aged and indisposed to the polls. He may have in his charge one of the two keys to the voting-machine tabulator, if voting machines are employed.[1] If he is shrewd, he will keep himself or have his assistants keep a record of those voting, and early in the afternoon those who have not put in an appearance at the polls will be called by telephone or reminded by personal messenger that they have not as yet voted.

Characteristics of Precinct Committeemen in Well-to-do Precincts.—The precinct committeeman in the prosperous residential section is likely to be fairly well off himself. He may be a lawyer or a business man; usually he is not interested in a small job on the public pay roll himself. Often he does not have to worry very much about getting jobs for party workers in his precinct. Probably he has some political ambition and hopes some day to receive a seat on the city council or some other position to which prestige is attached and which will not unduly interfere with his profession or his business. This type of precinct committeeman may receive twenty-five dollars or so from headquarters to meet election expenses, but on occasion he receives nothing at all and has to pay bills out of his own pocket. However, expenses are not likely to be heavy, in as much as friends and neighbors with leisure will usually volunteer to assist without compensation.

The precinct committeeman in the well-to-do residential sections does not often resort to corrupt and dishonest practices.

[1] This is provided in Indianapolis

although, as the late Lincoln Steffens has pointed out, in some economically-prosperous neighborhoods voters have had a bad reputation for selling their votes.[1] In most cities the character of the committeemen themselves and the political mores of the voters in the well-to-do residential sections do not encourage open fraud. What dishonesty there is will, as a rule, take the form of undue consideration for the precinct in connection with the location of parks, boulevards, and public improvements.

Functions in Congested Precincts.—The burdens of the precinct committeeman in a slum neighborhood inhabited either by the poor or by foreign racial groups are much heavier. At times he spends virtually all of his time on his political job, and in any case a considerable part of his time and energy will be required not only at election time but the year around. The voters in such a precinct base their voting behaviour far less on the party affiliation of their fathers and far more on the services which a party renders than their fellow citizens in the more prosperous precincts.

If the committeeman in such a precinct wants to keep his job in the party organization, he must turn out the votes on election day, for nothing can excuse a failure at such a time. If he expects to receive the support of a majority of the voters in his precinct, he must often render such service as would shame almost any professional or business man. In many cases he cannot leave the precinct on Sundays, holidays, or for a vacation, for these times may bring in the most demands for assistance. As a rule, he must be on call day and night.[2] He may be in debt and unable to provide himself with an automobile or good clothes, but he must install a telephone, usually with an extension at his bedside, so that at any hour of the night he can be summoned.

Changes during Recent Years.—During recent years the duties of a precinct committeeman in the crowded districts inhabited by the poor have undergone considerable change. In one respect his burdens have been diminished because charitable relief has been largely assumed by the government, but in another respect his position is more difficult than ever, for he must continue to control the votes in his precinct with less in the way of services to offer.

[1] *Autobiography*, (New York, 1931), Vol. 2, p. 464.
[2] For examples see: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule*, Part 2.

Perhaps at the present time his greatest burden is connected with the police department and the courts. Some precinct committeemen devote approximately half of their time to such service, although there is a tendency in some cities to reduce this type of demand. In the past traffic violations have pestered the life out of committeemen, but with the campaigns being waged by many cities to reduce traffic accidents and fatalities some courts and some judges will no longer pay any attention to requests from political workers.[1] Where municipal courts have supplanted the old magistrate and police courts, political influence often is reduced.

Functions in Connection with Violation of the Law.—Nevertheless, there are still very many requests made to precinct committeemen for aid in connection with violations of the law. Violators of criminal laws, both of the felony and misdemeanor varieties, get in touch with the precinct committeeman almost at once after arrest; or their parents and relatives may appeal to the committeeman. Whatever the hour of day or night, they want him to come at once to intercede with the police or to arrange bail. If the committeeman is on good terms with the police—and it is important that he be—he may secure the release of young roughnecks who are first offenders before they have been booked.

Most of the serious cases must go before a judge, but if these judges are of the old police-magistrate type, they usually can definitely be influenced by a plea from the party organization.[2] They come up for election at intervals and sometimes have ambitions for higher political posts; in almost every case they depend upon the party workers to get out the vote for them. Therefore, when the precinct committeeman from one of the precincts within their division of the city comes to them with a request that a certain case be handled leniently, it is entirely probable that the case will receive such treatment. The committeeman may see the magistrate before the trial; or he may talk over the telephone;

[1] Testimony of two precinct committeemen in Indianapolis to the author. Professor Gosnell found that 52.8 per cent of 542 Chicago precinct committeemen in 1928 helped in cases of traffic violation, but by 1936 this had been reduced to 26.6 per cent of 274 committeemen. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), p. 71.

[2] For a very good discussion of this technique in Philadelphia see: David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), Part 2, Chap. III. Professor Gosnell found that 38.5 per cent of Chicago precinct committeemen in 1928 and 53.2 per cent in 1936 rendered such service. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

and sometimes, although not often, he may write a letter. Not infrequently he accompanies the relatives to the hearing before the judge and impresses them by speaking a word into the ear of the judge which results in a "not guilty," a suspension of sentence on good behaviour, a release on parole, or a purely nominal punishment.

If the precinct committeeman happens to be a lawyer, he may act as defense counsel in myriad cases without imposing a charge.[1] It is only fair to say that the practice as regards charging for services varies. Some lawyer-precinct committeemen do charge for their professional services, but this usually makes a bad impression on the prospective vote donors and hence is of questionable wisdom.

If the case comes before a magistrate in another part of the city and the committeeman does not intimately know the sitting judge, he will often attempt to work through a friendly precinct committeeman in that district.[2] Committeemen either of the precinct or ward variety often render such services to the brothers in other political divisions because they want their support for some office. The successful nominee of the majority party for the office of prosecuting attorney of a large metropolitan county in the Middle West spent approximately half of his professional energy in such free service for several years in order that he might gain the good will and consequent support of numerous committeemen who in that particular place constitute the city and county central committees. Sometimes this assistance is given by one precinct committeeman to another on an exchange basis: "I'll help you now; you help me when I need aid later."

As a general rule, this assistance is not automatic—not every precinct committeeman can call on his fellows in other parts of the city for aid and expect to have his request granted. It is largely handled on a personal basis. If a precinct committeeman wants to climb the political ladder, he will seek to cultivate as many brother committeemen as possible and hence be able to render especially efficient service to the people of his precinct.

[1] Young lawyers frequently serve in such a capacity and ordinarily give large amounts of their time without charging a fee. At least this is the case in Indianapolis.

[2] Professor Gosnell found that 64.6 per cent of a large group of Chicago precinct committeemen furnished legal aid in 1928 and 62.3 per cent in 1936. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

Miscellaneous Official Favors.—Precinct committeemen are frequently asked to handle matters which involve dealing with departments of the city or officials in the city hall. If a certain business man regards his tax assessment as too high, he may sue the precinct committeeman for aid in getting it reduced. If the committeeman properly cultivates the key people in important departments of the city government, it is sometimes possible to get such action. Or another resident may want a permit or a license to carry on a business or to have special privilege in connection with his business. The precinct committeeman may be called upon to help secure this if more than mere routine is involved. Professor Salter found that some of the committeemen in Philadelphia were adepts at securing assessment reductions and special permits for their followers.[1]

Charitable Assistance.—While the burden of charitable assistance which formerly constituted in many cases a serious drain on the personal pocketbooks of precinct committeemen has been distinctly decreased, committeemen still find themselves active in such a field. In the first place, there is still need in certain cases for immediate relief before the public authorities can get around to investigating—or at least so the committeemen claim. In general, they look upon social workers as lacking in the milk of human kindness. George Washington Plunkitt, one of the most colorful figures in Tammany Hall, used to say that the welfare people were so slow that the needy would starve to death before relief arrived, but that Tammany provided assistance within an hour or two—this was before the government went into relief on the present large scale.[2]

At Christmas time the precinct committeemen still feel that baskets of good cheer are worthwhile in certain cities or parts of a

[1] The most illuminating study of the work of precinct (division is the term employed in Philadelphia) committeemen is that presented by Professor J. T. Salter in his *Boss Rule, Portraits in City Politics* (New York, 1935). Every student of municipal party organization should read this informing and interesting book which is largely a series of case studies of precinct and ward committeemen. Professor Gosnell found that 70.4 per cent of numerous precinct committeemen in Chicago helped secure tax adjustments in 1928 and 36.1 per cent in 1936. In the field of permits the respective percentages were 44.0 and 43.0. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

[2] Another especially interesting book which throws much light on the work and psychology of local party officials is W. L. Riordon's *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1905). Unfortunately this book is out of print and not readily available.

city.[1] But probably the most important function now performed in connection with charitable assistance is in connection with hastening consideration on the part of the public welfare department. Many welfare departments are understaffed and with huge case loads must necessarily be slow in getting to certain cases that do not involve desperate need. In those cities where welfare is connected with politics—as it is in all too many cases—the precinct committeeman may be able to secure special consideration for his followers. Although it might ordinarily require weeks to get a family on the relief rolls, the committeeman can get a friendly welfare official to put the certification through almost immediately.

This is also true in the case of various pensions. In some cities applications for old age pensions may not receive action for months or even a year or more, but if the department in charge of the pensions has political loyalty, it is frequently possible for a precinct committeeman of the majority party to cut down the time required by several months. Of course, in all of these cases the committeeman must be of the majority party; otherwise he has no lever with which to work. Professor Gosnell found that 65.8 per cent of 275 Chicago precinct committeemen rendered such service in 1936.[2]

Securing Jobs on the Public Payroll.—At one time precinct committeemen acted as employment agencies for both public and private jobs. If they are representatives of the party in power, they still interest themselves very vigorously in public jobs.[3] A survey of twelve cities in Indiana varying from a few thousand to almost four hundred thousand inhabitants, conducted in 1937–38 by the League of Women Voters, assessed this patronage as the source of a "tremendous amount of power."[4] On the basis of interviews with 123 precinct committeemen and vice-committeemen the League reported that virtually all applicants for jobs of a

[1] Professor Gosnell found that 55.7 per cent of numerous Chicago precinct committeemen gave Christmas baskets in 1928; by 1936 only 39.2 per cent engaged in such activity. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

[2] See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71. In contrast to 1936 few or no precinct committeemen rendered such service in 1928.

[3] Professor Gosnell found that 54.7 per cent of 548 Chicago precinct committeemen helped their followers obtain government jobs in 1928; in 1936, 50.7 per cent of 211 rendered this service. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

[4] Mimeographed summary issued by the state office of the League in 1938.

nontechnical character on the public payroll have to secure first of all the endorsement of the precinct committeemen of the party in power. Single committeemen stated that during a period of slightly over a year they had given as many as sixty such endorsements. Except in a few cases the Indiana precinct committeemen declared that their recommendations had been effective in obtaining public jobs.

This situation would probably not be entirely typical, for in some cities precinct committeemen do not like to refuse to sign the application for a job on the public payroll of anyone who is not obviously worthless to the party. In Indianapolis, for example, thousands of applications which have been endorsed by precinct and ward officials are filed with the Democratic city headquarters. In general, this file remains inactive unless the committeemen who have recommended go in person to the city chairman and follow up their endorsement with a request for action.[1] In other words, there are so many endorsed applications that the limited number of available jobs does not permit consideration in most cases. It is known by the committeemen that they do not sacrifice anything, and indeed build up good feeling, when they pursue a generous policy of giving endorsements to seekers of positions on the public pay roll. The actual awarding of a job depends upon a second step—their visit to headquarters.

What Is Required in the Way of Qualifications by Precinct Committeemen? One Thing—the Ability to Get the Votes.—The precinct committeemen want to dispose of their patronage as effectively as possible. Anyone who can deliver five to ten votes on election day is entitled to some consideration whether he has performed any other service or not. Often such a person can expect a minor appointment on election day—at least if he belongs to the party in power; these jobs pay from three to ten dollars in most cities. In Indiana, for example, the League of Women Voters discovered that in the twelve cities noted above election officials appointed by the precinct committeemen received from $5 to $9.50 per day as judges, $3 to $4.50 as sheriffs, $4.50 to $6 as clerks, and $8 to $9 as inspectors.[2] Then

[1] Information obtained from precinct and ward officials in private conversations.

[2] See: the mimeographed report issued in 1938. The cities involved are Culver, Elkhart, Gary, Hagerstown, Hammond, Indianapolis, Kokomo, Logansport, Michigan City, Richmond, South Bend, and Lafayette.

there are party workers who may drive automobiles or render other nominal service.

To secure a more permanent appointment greater political activity is required, although a person who can deliver votes because of family, social, or racial connections need offer no other qualifications, provided the number of votes be large enough. A person who can control twenty-five or more votes almost always is entitled to serious consideration. Jobs often go to workers who perform general services in canvassing, although they may have no definite bloc of votes at their command.

The Indiana League of Women Voters found a great deal of what they termed "violent disagreement" among precinct committeemen as to what constituted adequate political activity. A few stated that they would require no more than that a person be known as a party member who had voted for the party candidates in the last election; however, most of the committeemen expected more than that. One reported that he required five years of party work, but most of the committeemen paid more attention to the amount of activity in the last election. About one-sixth of the 123 precinct committeemen interviewed in Indiana stated that they considered personal qualifications as well as party service. Usually precinct committeemen know the people in their precincts so well that they do not have to investigate or call upon others for references before they decide upon whether or not to recommend for a public job.

Type of Job Disposed of.—As a rule, the jobs which precinct committeemen dispose of are places paying not over $100 to $200 per month.[1] Many of them involve manual work in the department of public works or the park department; occasionally an appointment is made to the police department or the fire department. Some of the jobs involve minor clerical work: filing, typing, copying, and sorting. Seldom is there an opportunity to handle a technical position or one of the highly paid executive or administrative posts; these are disposed of by the higher-ups in the organization rather than by the precinct committeemen. In the Indiana study already referred to virtually none of the 123 precinct commit-

[1] See: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule*, and the report of the Indiana League of Women Voters already cited.

teemen reported that they had had to do with executive or technical jobs.

Private Employment.—While precinct committeemen still sometimes can find private employment for their faithful workers and vote-getters, this function is much less important than in the old days. The number of vacancies is decidedly less for one thing. Then, too, the establishment of public employment agencies in which the national government and states coöperate in most cities has relieved the party official of much responsibility; he can refer cases to these offices which have better facilities than he can offer.[1]

Relief Jobs.—To what extent the precinct committeemen can obtain relief jobs for their friends, it is difficult to ascertain. In some cities the relations between the W.P.A. offices and the party organization appeared to be both cordial and intimate. There seems to be little question that in some cities precinct committeemen can obtain preferred treatment for their supporters—jobs in the welfare offices and on particularly desirable assignments.

Characteristics of Precinct Committeemen in Poor Precincts.—Personal characteristics of precinct committeemen in these crowded areas probably vary more than in the case of those who serve the party in well-to-do districts. Ordinarily they are closely identified with the precinct. If the inhabitants are Negroes, the precinct committeeman may be a Negro.[2] If a Little Italy or some other foreign neighborhood is involved, the committeeman may belong to that dominant racial group. Professor Salter skilfully portrays at least three of this type in presenting Tony Nicollo, David Nelson, and Rosie Popovits.[3]

Then there is the illiterate, not very intelligent committeeman who succeeds by sheer hard work and violent energy. He has no future in politics because he does not have the ability to perform more complicated tasks, but sometimes he is very successful in his precinct. Not infrequently he has held the position for many years

[1] For a good discussion of the role of these officials in getting jobs on both public and private payrolls see: David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), Part 2, Chap. II. Professor Gosnell reports that 69.1 per cent of numerous committeemen helped secure miscellaneous jobs in 1928 and 46.5 per cent in 1936. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 71.

[2] See: H. F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: the Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1936).

[3] *Boss Rule*, pp. 75, 179.

and having nothing else in politics to look forward to expects to hold on as long as he can. Another type, perhaps increasingly common, is the ambitious young university man.[1] He has come up from poverty and therefore has his background in the precinct. He possesses ability and does not expect to remain a precinct committeeman all of his life, but this offers a good way to get started on the political ladder.

Compensation Received by Precinct Committeemen in Congested Sections.—Generally speaking, there is more prestige attached to the position of precinct committeeman in those sections inhabited by the poor and the foreign-born than in well-to-do districts. Consequently there is more rivalry for the posts. Whereas in a wealthy neighborhood it may almost be necessary to draft someone to serve as committeeman, that is rarely the case in these sections. Among other things this means that a precinct committeeman in such a section must be on his toes to a greater extent than his counterpart uptown; he must do a better job unless he wants to be replaced.

In contrast to the uptown committeeman who usually does not hold a job himself on the public payroll, these busy party henchmen downtown frequently do hold public jobs; not that they spend much of their time and energy on the public jobs—for they have more or less full-time jobs with the party.[2] But they have to be supported from some source; the party has no money to pay them; they almost never have private means; and the solution is to give them a job in some city department where they will have little to do except collect their salary checks. Sometimes they may spend some time in the nominal performance of their public duties; frequently they do not even make a pretense of working in such a capacity. Usually they receive anywhere from $150 to $250 per month—occasionally a little more.

Few of them do more than barely get by on this income. Profes-

[1] Professor Gosnell found that 16.3 per cent of 570 Chicago precinct committeemen had college or professional training in 1928 and 20.3 per cent of 212 in 1936. Professor Mosher reported that 11.7 per cent of 3,999 committeemen of 18 New York cities in 1932 belonged to this group. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 57.

[2] See: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule*, pp. 29–34. Professor Gosnell found that 59.2 per cent of 584 Chicago precinct committeemen in 1929 were government employes and that 48.3 per cent of 199 in 1936 fell in that category. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), p. 54. Professor W. E. Mosher reported that only 19.3 per cent of 3,618 committeemen in 18 New York cities in 1932 held government jobs. See: "Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 24, pp. 16–18 (January, 1935).

sor Salter discovered that some of the precinct committeemen in Philadelphia were deeply in debt.[1] They do not live richly, but they have many demands made upon their purses. The party is supposed to meet general expenses, but a committeeman is fortunate if he receives fifty dollars from the party treasury at election time. Often twenty-five dollars will be all that he gets, and it is not rare that nothing is forthcoming. Even with the best management certain expenditures must be made, and these must often come from the personal pocket of the committeeman.

Justification for Such an Arrangement?—There is a controversy as to whether there is any justification for a system under which the city pays for party activity—that is, of the majority party—and receives little in direct return. Some students of politics maintain that the precinct committeeman performs so much work of a socially valuable character in the poor sections of a city that the small salary which he receives from the city treasury for rendering purely nominal official services is money well spent. Others argue that important as such services may be they should be paid for directly by the city and not through the guise of nominal appointments. The suggestion has been made that the city pay every precinct committeeman a salary for his party service. Other students, especially from the field of social work, regard the service rendered by the ordinary precinct committeeman in the field of social activity as largely wasted and even vicious. They declare that the courts have been perverted, professional pauperism encouraged, and the entire city government placed on a basis of personal favor rather than of good service.

Corruption in Downtown Precincts.—There is more likely to be corruption of a sort in the downtown precincts inhabited by the poor and foreign racial groups than in the uptown precincts.[2] For one thing, there is more rivalry on the part of precinct committeemen to get out the vote. Their very livelihood, to say nothing of their prestige in the party organization and in the neighborhood, may depend upon winning the election. Therefore, if they have to buy votes and tamper with the ballot boxes, they will do so.

Furthermore, standards of conduct may differ; among certain racial groups, for example, there is little opprobrium attached to the

[1] See: *Boss Rule*, pp. 202, 207.
[2] See: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule*, pp. 45–51.

purchase of votes. Negroes sometimes literally pester the life of a precinct committeeman with demands for whiskey, ice cream, cigars, and other treats; they see little wrong in asking for these good things.[1] The poor may feel that life is largely a racket—they maintain that business men succeed because they are shrewder in their racket than the poor. Therefore, when the poor can get a dollar or two for selling a vote or ten dollars for service as a repeater, why should anyone blame them?

Likewise among election officials in these downtown precincts, stuffing the ballot box, destroying valid ballots, and otherwise interfering with honest elections is not viewed as it is in certain quarters. They may reason that they have a hard time living; their jobs depend upon keeping a certain party in power; and if they have to manipulate the election returns, they contend that that is no more than the rich are doing in another sphere.

As a rule, corruption does not rear its head in these precincts unless the election is hotly contested, for while some precinct committeemen believe in dishonest methods on general principles, most of them do not resort to improper practices unless they are hard pressed. Even in the case of those committeemen who might justify corrupt tactics as a general practice, there are curbs. For one thing, such conduct usually takes money which is not, as a rule, plentiful. Then, too, the higher-ups in the party will often frown on such practices. If the party has to resort to such means to win, these higher-ups may close their eyes and pretend that all is well, but they have enough common sense to realize that the criticism that will result is unnecessarily odious and costly unless a high stake is involved. If one can win and be honest, by all means be honest.[2]

b. The Ward.—Every ward in a large city usually has a ward organization, the essential parts of which are a ward chairman or captain and a ward committee. Often there are two chairmen or a chairman and a vice-chairman—one of whom is usually a woman.

The Ward Committee.—The ward committee represents the several precincts that comprise the ward. At times the party members in

[1] Information furnished by a precinct committeeman in a precinct inhabited by Negroes in Indianapolis.

[2] For an interesting discussion of precinct politics, see: H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), Chaps. III & IV.

each precinct elect special representatives to the ward committee, but, as a rule, the precinct committeemen automatically serve in that capacity. The size of these ward committees varies considerably from city to city and even within a single city, in as much as not all wards have the same number of precincts. Committees of twenty or more members are not uncommon in large cities. The ward committees plan the work of the party in the ward; they may allot the party funds to each precinct; and they may adopt certain plans regarding the carrying on of an election campaign. Much depends upon the character of the members. If they are individualists who brook no interference with their precinct affairs, the ward committee is likely to confine itself to purely routine matters. However, if they are more like cogs in a wheel and are willing to coöperate with associates in a general endeavor, the deliberations of the committee may be quite important.

The Ward Chairman.—As a rule, the ward chairman performs more valuable services for the party and is generally more active than the ward committee. In New York City, where the district leaders name the local henchmen, such a situation is especially true. But even where the ward chairman is supposedly elected by the members of the ward committee, it is still frequently the case. As in the choice of precinct committeemen, the theoretical plan of election is not always followed. At times the political boss or other higher-ups in the organization will have a finger in choosing the chairman of a ward: the ward committee may favor a certain candidate, but so much pressure may be exerted that they will name the candidate of the boss.[1]

Ward chairmen have usually started out in politics as precinct workers and precinct committeemen. If they succeed in that role and stand out above all other party workers in the ward, they are likely to be chosen after a time as ward chairman. Often they entertain even greater political dreams and hope to climb from the position of ward chairman to perhaps that of city chairman or boss or some other influential post. Ward chairmen, of course, on the whole are more able as politicians and more generally intelligent than precinct committeemen; otherwise they would not have survived the grilling competition and emerged as ward chairmen.

Functions of Ward Chairmen.—As in the case of precinct committee-

[1] See: H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, Chap. II.

men, there is some difference between the chairmen of well-to-do residential wards and downtown wards. However, the difference is not, as a rule, as pronounced. For one thing, wards are likely to be less homogeneous in character than precincts; a millionaire row may be located in the same ward as a very poor slum area. Again ward chairmen have a wider scope than their wards for political action, for they are usually members of the city central committee. In some cities the ward chairmen handle the political affairs of the ward with the advice of the ward committee, and separate representatives are named to sit on the city central committee.[1]

The work of a ward chairman in his ward requires more tact and greater managerial ability than is the case with the precinct committeeman. Whereas the latter deals with political neophytes and the rank and file of the voters, the former has to have some contacts with these people and in addition must weld the several precinct committeemen into an effective political unit. In some cases the power and prestige of the ward chairman is sufficiently greater than that of the precinct committeemen to make this achievement relatively easy. But if the ward chairman is new, young, and a bit uncertain in his position and if he has to deal with long-established, proud, and ambitious precinct committeemen—particularly if he has been imposed on the ward from above—a great deal of tact, understanding of human nature, and executive ability are required.[2]

Quarrels involving two or more precinct committeemen come to the ward chairman for adjudication. Dissatisfied underlings in the precinct may present their grievances against the precinct committeeman to the ward chairman. In many of the cases undertaken by the precinct committeemen involving special favors or unusual consideration at the hands of a judge or a city department, the ward chairman has to assist because of his greater influence. Almost all applications for jobs on the public payroll have to pass through his hands—he approves after the precinct committeemen have signed and then forwards the applications to the party headquarters or to the appropriate city department.

[1] For a good discussion of the role of the ward chairman see: David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), Part 1, pp. 16–25.

[2] See: J. T. Salter, "Party Organization in Philadelphia: The Ward Committeeman," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 27, p. 618 (August, 1933).

Moreover, it may be up to him to push these applications and see that each precinct committeeman receives consideration.

If there are not enough jobs to go around, it is the ward chairman who may have to apportion them among the various precinct committeemen, deciding which are most deserving and which need to be spurred to greater action by the award of a few bits of patronage. The ward chairman also must confer with the precinct committeemen in laying general plans for the elections and for the general activity of the party. He may receive grants of money from the central treasury which he has to distribute among the precincts. If this money is not forthcoming or if it is hopelessly inadequate in amount, it may be up to him to raise a campaign fund in the ward.[1]

Rewards of Ward Chairmen.—Ward chairmen may or may not hold public office themselves. Often they are members of the city council; sometimes they head city departments; and again they may desire contracts for supplies, paving, or the construction of buildings. At times they are lawyers who want legal business that may flow from such a political position. Sometimes they desire public positions for sons or relatives, but do not care to hold office themselves. In a large city their rewards often prove quite large—they may receive salaries of five thousand dollars per year or more. Official favors may be even more valuable to them as business or professional men.[2]

c. The City: Organization.—At the top of the political hierarchy stand the city central committee and the city chairman—at least in theory. Actually a machine, a ring, or a political boss may occupy that position. Central committees are usually, as has been pointed out, made up of the various ward chairmen. They may be comparatively small and workable bodies of ten or a dozen members, or they may be assemblages of fifty or more members. Chicago, with fifty wards, must naturally have an unwieldy central committee. If committees do not exceed fifteen or so members, they usually function as a whole rather than by organizing themselves into an executive committee and a number of special subcommittees which in reality carry on most of the work.

[1] R. C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, p. 188.

[2] Professor Gosnell reports that 16 out of 50 ward committeemen in Chicago had no other occupation than politics in 1928 and 12 in 1936. In 1936, 21 were lawyers, 13 realtors, 12 insurance agents, 6 contractors, 11 traders, etc. See: *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, p. 47.

The large city central committees are almost compelled to work through smaller subcommittees and usually have subcommittees on finance, publicity, and various other matters. An executive committee receives the general responsibility for looking after party interests. The smaller central committees may meet very frequently around election time, although at other times a meeting every month may be the rule. The large committees, having delegated their authority, content themselves with formal meetings at infrequent intervals. However, their executive committees may hold almost daily meetings when campaigns are at a climax.[1]

Authority of the Central Committee.—How much real authority will be exercised by a city central committee depends to a large extent upon whether the committee has freedom in handling party affairs or whether it largely exists as a front to the power of a machine or a political boss. If the committee actually wields the power, it may play an important part in the activities of a party, discussing and adopting general policies, making plans for a campaign, throwing party strength back of certain favored candidates, and receiving and dispensing sums of money which are contributed to the party campaign chest. Of course, if the committee is merely a screen behind which the boss conceals himself or an automaton to which he gives orders, its importance cannot be great.[2]

Officers of Central Committees.—One of the first acts of a newly chosen city central committee will be the selection of a city chairman, vice-chairman or vice-chairmen, and other officers such as a secretary and a treasurer. The committee in naming the chairman may give attention to the claims of its own members, for it is a common practice to advance a ward chairman who has shown unusual ability to the post of city chairman. In as much as the city central committee acts through its chairman on many occasions and indeed frequently delegates a good deal of its authority to him, it is very important that a man of sagacity, common sense, attractive personal qualities, and strong organizing ability be chosen. This man will have to weigh the claims of the ward organizations for patronage and monetary grants; he will have to iron out difficulties involving two or more ward chairmen; he may have to assume

[1] See: D. W. Brogan, *Government of the People* (New York, 1933), pp. 252–259.

[2] See: Roy V. Peel, "The Political Machine of New York City," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 27, p. 611 (August, 1933).

personally some of the burden of party finance; he probably will have to confer constantly with city, state, and even national leaders of his party; and he may have a great deal to do with deciding the exact plans of his party in an election.

At times the city chairman devotes himself to routine work which consumes a great deal of time and energy; for example, he may make it a point to see all callers who wish to see him. This will involve giving interviews to the press, discussing appointments and contracts with party members, listening to the complaints of disgruntled party workers, and in short concerning himself with a thousand items of minor importance. Unless he is careful, he may exhaust himself with this petty sort of work and find little energy to devote to more significant matters. However, many city chairmen have prided themselves on personally interviewing all applicants for public jobs and apparently have found it worthwhile.[1]

If the committee is not its own master and receives orders from a boss, it usually does not pick its own chairman—that is, if the chairman is to have any real power. It will be notified that Mr. X is to be the chairman and will then go through the motions of electing him to that office. The chairman who has to function under the aegis of a political boss is not to be envied. Either he is the most patent figurehead who does little more than preside over the routine meetings of the city central committee, or he must take orders from the boss and be constantly responsible to that worthy for his actions. In as much as many political bosses like to exercise all the real authority themselves, city chairmen under such a set-up very frequently are no more than puppets.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, R. C., *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chap. VIII.

Bruce, H. R., *American Parties and Politics* (New York, 1936), Chap. XVIII.

Fisher, M. J., *Parties and Politics in the Local Community* (Washington, 1945).

Gosnell, H. F., *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), Chaps. II–IV.

Gosnell, H. F., *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1936).

[1] See: C. E. Merriam, *Chicago, A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* (Chicago, 1929), Chaps. IV, VII.

Holling, T. L., "Nonpartisan, Nonpolitical Municipal Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 43 (September, 1938).

Jones, O. Garfield, "National Parties in Municipal Politics," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 18, p. 609 (October, 1929).

Kent, Frank R., *The Great Game of Politics* (New York, 1930), Chaps. I–XXII.

Kurtzman, David H., *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), Part 1.

McKenzie, Charles W., *Party Government in the United States* (New York, 1938), Chap. X.

Merriam, C. E., *Chicago, A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* (New York, 1929), Chaps. IV, VII.

Merriam, C. E., and Gosnell, H. F., *The American Party System* (New York, 1930), Chaps. IV–VII.

Mosher, William E., "Party and Government Control at the Grass Roots," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 24, p. 15 (January, 1935).

Odegard, Peter H., and Helms, E. A., *American Politics* (New York, 1938), Chaps. XIV, XV, XVII, and XVIII.

Peel, R. V., "The Political Machine of New York City," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 27, p. 611 (August, 1933).

Sait, E. M., *American Parties and Elections* (New York, 1927), Chaps. XIII–XIV.

Salter, J. T., ed., *The American Politician* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1938).

Salter, J. T., *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935).

Salter, J. T., "Party Organization in Philadelphia: The Ward Committeeman," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 27, p. 618 (August, 1933).

XII

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CITIES

POLITICAL RINGS

Definition.—At times cities in the United States have harbored political rings which have been superimposed upon the apex of the political structure described in the preceding chapter. In such cases the final power resides in the ring, and the regular organization is relegated to a position scarcely more than that of an appendage. These political rings include three or four or more political adventurers who usurp the rightful authority of the party organization. Sometimes they barge in from the outside to capture the organization, but more often they come up through the organization. At the head of one of these political rings is usually a political boss; the mayor of the city, members of the city council, the city comptroller, as well as cronies of the boss, may make up the other members. The chief purpose of such rings is not the welfare of the party but personal aggrandizement of the members. Quite frequently they develop some sort of scheme for robbing the city either directly or indirectly of large sums of money.

The Tweed Ring.—The most famous ring ever to fasten its tentacles around a city is known to every school child—the notorious Tweed Ring. Organized in 1869 by Boss Tweed, Mayor "O. K." Hall, Comptroller "Slippery Dick" Connolly, and Peter "Brains" Sweeney this ring, although it carried on its plundering for only three years, succeeded in robbing New York City of amounts estimated at from twenty to two hundred million dollars. It devised a scheme of "padded bills" under which any merchant desiring to sell supplies to the city or any contractor anxious to construct public buildings had to turn in vastly enlarged bills. When the bills were paid by the comptroller, a member of the ring, the recipient had to turn over fifty-five and later sixty-five per cent to the ring for personal enrichment. The most remarkable trans-

actions came to light when the iniquities of the ring were partially revealed. Coat hooks for the new court house cost the city six dollars each; forty chairs and three tables were listed at $175,729.60; plastering repairs in a new building during the course of two days amounted to $138,187; and furniture and carpets for a single building were billed at $5,691,144.26.[1]

The Philadelphia Gas Ring and Other Rings.—Another ring almost as famous as the Tweed Ring was the Gas Ring in Philadelphia which managed to fatten itself on that city for more than twenty years following the Civil War. Other well known rings have flourished in St. Louis, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. "Old Man" Butler got his ring going during the closing years of the nineteenth century in St. Louis. Composed of himself, his sons, and members of the city council, this ring disposed of all sorts of valuable city franchises and property at terms highly remunerative for the members of the ring but very disadvantageous for the city. "The Genial Doctor" A. A. Ames constructed a ring, composed of himself, his brother, and several officers of the police department in Minneapolis, at about the same time Butler operated in St. Louis. The Ames Ring drew its revenues largely from organized vice and crime. A few years later "The Curly Boss," Abe Ruef, built a ring in San Francisco which preyed on the public service corporations and the underworld.[2] Political rings are not uncommon now, but they have taken on a new terminological guise. Instead of being known as rings, political bandits are now referred to as members of "political machines."

POLITICAL MACHINES

Definition.—The term "political machine" is currently given several meanings. It may refer to the regular party organization which has been described in the preceding chapter. If the regular organization functions with exceptional efficiency so that it may be said to resemble a mechanical device in the smoothness and precision of its operations, then it justifies the designation "political machine." Sometimes there may be superimposed upon the regular political structure an informal group of political leaders,

[1] Dennis Tilden Lynch, "*Boss*" *Tweed* (New York, 1927), pp. 338, 364–365. See also: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 108–109.

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, Chap. XX, for additional details.

often including a political boss. The regular organization will be managed with such shrewdness and built up to such efficiency and power by this little group of self-constituted authorities that it may be known as a machine.

Or there may be a political boss alone in control of a political organization, and he may succeed so well in winning elections and running the government that this system will be called a political machine. In every case political success, concentrated control, and smoothness of operation are usually characteristics. Some people prefer to regard a political machine as synonymous with a political organization. Such a use may have certain advantages, but it also makes for ambiguity.[1]

Political machines may be reasonably honest; they may be distinctly corrupt; or they may stand somewhere in between these limits. Usually they are unmoral rather than moral or immoral. They are interested in power and political success and will employ whatever means seem likely to realize such ends. Tammany Hall has been the classic example of a municipal political machine through the years, although its recent lack of success and consequent disorganization scarcely deserve that name. The Kelly-Nash Machine in Chicago is a good example of the second type of political machine which is dominated by a small group of men. The Pendergast Machine in Kansas City or the Hague Machine in Jersey City may be cited as examples of the third type of political machine.[2]

THE POLITICAL BOSS

Definition.—At times a single man seizes so much power in a party organization and exercises this power for such ends that he is known as a political boss. He occupies no official position in the party organization—or if he does, such a position is largely a front. Instead he makes the entire system his tool in controlling

[1] See: Peter H. Odegard and E. A. Helms, *American Politics* (New York, 1938), Chaps. XIV and XV; and D. W. Brogan, *Government of the People* (New York, 1933), pp. 217–222, 238–251, for very good discussions of political machines. For a discussion of a single machine which is of more than local interest see: George M. Reynolds, *Machine Politics in New Orleans 1897–1926* (New York, 1936).

[2] For an illuminating discussion of a political machine see: H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937). Much valuable information is also to be obtained from David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935).

the party and as far as possible the city government. The political boss of a city resembles in many particulars the dictator of a totalitarian state; in both cases the real power is lodged not in the government and its officers, but in the boss or dictator.

Political bosses are not unknown in other countries, despite the prevailing assumption that they are a unique product of the United States. They are to be encountered in many of the Latin American countries, including Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. There are good examples in Japan also. Just how long they have been operating in the United States is a controversial matter which hinges to some extent upon one's concept of a boss. Like many other terms, the term "political boss" is not easily defined. Some people speak of almost anyone who occupies a prominent position in politics as a political boss. The important thing to them is the influence wielded—not how the power is derived in the first place nor how it is exercised.

A more accurate use of the term will place the emphasis on source and methods rather than upon extent of control. An elected official, such as Mayor La Guardia, may have at his command very great political power, but he is not a political boss. He derives his power from his office, from the public opinion which he creates, and to a certain extent from his own vigorous person. He functions fairly openly, makes use of his office and its powers, and, while he may have personal ambitions, is motivated at least to a considerable extent by the public good.[1]

Distinction between a Political Boss and an Elected Official.—The political boss seizes his own power. He may be formally recognized as boss by the ward chairmen and other party officials, but election comes after he has successfully put himself in control and in every sense is a nominal affair; often there is not even the form of election. Ordinarily he never is elected to any office, although he may hold appointive office. The boss not only then attains his authority through extra-legal and unofficial application of sheer will and physical force, such as might prevail in a pirates' crew, but he exercises his power through equally unofficial and irregular means. It is not the case of a duly elected official giving orders by virtue

[1] See: William B. Munro, "The Boss in Politics—Asset or Liability?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 169, p. 12 (September, 1933), and *Personality in Politics* (New York, 1925), Chap. II.

of his position, for the boss has no legal authority to give orders. Nevertheless, he gives them to the extent that an elected officer would scarcely dream of doing, and they are carried out because of the consequences which will result from disobedience.

A political boss may operate more or less in the public eye, or he may choose to function behind the scenes. In any case he carries on as one who has received his mandate from no one other than himself. While it is a mistake to assume that a political boss is always corrupt and invariably oblivious to the public good, it is fair to state that personal aggrandizement ordinarily bulks larger in his motives than in the case of elected officials or party leaders. He may not seek financial reward to the point of avarice, but he almost always derives great personal satisfaction from the possession and exercise of large amounts of power.[1]

Hybrid Politician-Bosses.—One reason for the confusion which frequently surrounds the term "political boss" is the fondness of certain elected officials for the techniques and motivation of political bosses. A mayor, for example, may not be satisfied with the powers and perquisites which are given him by the charter and ordinances. Being vigorous and daring he proceeds to seize additional authority. He may appeal to the people to back up such an exercise of extra-legal authority, and to the extent that popular opinion justifies this action on his part, it may be that he can still claim to be merely an elected official. However, in many cases such a mayor takes on something of the character of a political boss. This complex admixture of types naturally leads to confusion in the popular mind.

Again an elected official may be more interested in filling his coffers with honest graft than he is in carrying out his legal duties. Or he may be intoxicated by the wielding of authority, and hence may display more interest in gratifying his lust for power than in his official duties. Such public officials also take on to a certain extent the character of political bosses and hence cause confusion.[2]

In as much as it is often difficult to weigh accurately the importance of the official part of such a man in contrast to the boss part, there is much difference of opinion as to whether a given person classifies as a political boss.

[1] See: Joseph Wright, *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1925), Chap XVI.

[2] Huey P. Long of Louisiana may be cited as a good example.

Evolution of a Political Boss.—City bosses usually come up from the ranks; almost invariably they are natives of the city which they dominate, or at least have resided there since early childhood. Usually they indicate their daring and love of power at tender ages by putting themselves at the head of boyish gangs. In their middle or late teens they turn to politics and perform minor services for the party organization in their precinct. As soon as they reach their majority, they are likely to become precinct committeemen and perhaps also receive election or appointment to a political office or job—the city council or even the state legislature may offer them a seat, or they may have a berth in almost any of the city departments.

Being ambitious and energetic they climb rapidly from precinct position to ward office; but here there is more competition, and they usually have to pause longer in their ascent. By this time they may have graduated from public office, or they may occupy more important positions. Finally, they stand out as more powerful than the other ward leaders and by various means find it possible to thrust themselves upward until they emerge as boss of the party. If their party is in power, they also may claim to be boss of the city.

Because there are so many ambitious people in a party organization, the rise from precinct worker to party or city boss involves a violent struggle for existence and a ruthless process of the survival of the fittest. Not only must the hopefuls match shrewdness with greater shrewdness, ingenuity with greater ingenuity, and organizing ability with greater organizing ability, but they must, as a rule, possess both ruthlessness and energy to an unusual degree. In addition, it is only fair to point out that luck plays an important part. Some get the breaks, and others who may be more deserving meet misfortune.[1]

Local Political Bosses.—Some of the exceptionally able contestants who do not make the top goal develop into local bosses. A precinct leader may stand out among his fellow precinct committeemen because of his success and boldness. Circumstances may be such that he never goes farther, but after a time his hold on the precinct may become so great that he attains the status of political boss in that area. This does not mean that he can ignore the higher-ups entirely. However, his authority in his precinct is so great that he

[1] For additional discussion see: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 42–46.

can afford to be quite independent in his attitude, and the higher-ups will have to work with him as best they can.

Usually a really capable man who aspires to the position of boss will get as far as the ward, or he may be able to extend his authority over a group of wards. A man who can fasten his chains securely on a ward or series of wards attains the position of ward or district boss. Some of the most colorful figures in the city politics of the United States have belonged to this category. At times they might have gone higher, but they have become so attached to their wards or districts that they have preferred to remain in the capacity of overlords of such areas. Some of these men maintain a very independent attitude toward the big boss or if there is no city boss toward the city chairman and the city central committee.

One of the most famous of these local bosses, "Big Tim" Sullivan of the New York City Bowery, had the temerity to tell Boss Richard Croker that it was easy to secure votes for the Sullivans in the Eastside of New York City but hard to get them for Croker.[1] Croker might fume at such an attitude, but there was very little that he could do about it. The Sullivan control in the Bowery attained such proportions that "Big Tim" worried himself over three opposition votes cast in a certain election. He said that he knew the identity of two of the traitors, but he couldn't figure out who had had the treachery to cast the third ballot. These ward bosses are often thorns in the side of the city boss, but despite all of the attempts of the big bosses to put them in their places, they sometimes survive.

The Final Step.—If the process is complete and one of the contenders gets to the top, something like fifteen years of struggle is the average time required. It should be pointed out that the rise of certain bosses has been considerably faster than that—no more than five or seven years being involved in certain cases—and that others have emerged only after thirty or more years of endeavor.

Sometimes a new boss clambers to the top through sheer might and main and shrewdness. There may have been no one who could claim the power that accompanies such a position, and the new boss represents more or less of a revolution involving the transfer of power from the regular party organization to the person of the boss. At times men become bosses by succession—they attach

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 94.

themselves to the inner circle of a reigning boss and when he dies or retires, they receive the blessing and step into his shoes. Such a method is tricky, for unless the new incumbent really possesses ability and experience, he is not likely to remain long as boss, in as much as the position is scarcely an hereditary one.

More often a boss is made when one of the powerful ward bosses places himself in the vacancy created by the death or retirement of the old boss. His success usually depends upon the support of a majority of the ward leaders and bosses, although if he be sufficiently daring, ruthless, and able, he may sometimes hold his position despite great opposition, particularly if he can win a major victory for the party. Sometimes the chief lieutenant of an ageing boss may stage a successful rebellion and supplant his former master.[1]

The Work of a Political Boss.—The work of a city boss is, as a rule, arduous. Nevertheless, it is perhaps not as demanding day and night, Sundays and holidays, every day in the year as the job of precinct committeeman. At least city bosses do find time to leave their cities on occasion, even to tour Europe. Richard Croker established a reputation as an inveterate traveler and during the latter half of his rule over New York City spent more than half of his time on trips to Europe. However, the same Richard Croker neglected the affairs of Tammany Hall, contributed to its defeat, and, in general, could scarcely be held up as a model boss.[2] Some bosses have refused to leave their posts for more than a few days at a time when they have attended state and national conventions or otherwise carried on political business.[3]

A great deal depends upon the personal likes and dislikes of a boss. Some bosses devote much time to details; they receive many callers and pride themselves upon their availability; they talk over the disposal of patronage with numerous henchmen, even of a minor variety; and they even discuss appointments and contracts with the multitude who constantly seek such favors in almost any city of size. "Old Boy" Cox of Cincinnati stood on the street at a certain

[1] For additional discussion of this point see: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 44–46.

[2] See: L. Stoddard, *Master of Manhattan* (New York, 1931); Gustavus Myers, *The History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917); and M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1928).

[3] Martin Lomasney may be cited as an example.

place every night in order to watch and greet the people. Later in the evening he could frequently be found in a beer garden in the German section of the city, maintaining his contacts with that important element of his constituency. Boss Cox also interviewed seekers of public favors as well as workers in his organization.[1] Other bosses have gone almost to the other extreme. They see only their principal henchmen; they have nothing to do with the almost endless callers; and they rarely appear in public places. They depend upon the workers in the organization to maintain the personal contact, listen to requests, and handle the details. A medium policy in this respect seems to offer advantages, although so much depends upon the personal character of the boss himself that it is difficult to generalize.

Certainly the boss will decide, either alone or after conference with advisers and lieutenants, the major policies of his strategy, the disposition of the most important appointments and contracts, and the identity of the candidates for the key public offices. He will usually, whether he wants to or not, have to pay some attention to rivalries, fights, and troubles within his organization. As a rule, there will be plenty of these problems, for as Boss Croker once said, "the position of boss is no bed of roses," and he must iron out the difficulties if the organization is going to present a united front and consequently win at the polls. Of course, the chief concern of any boss is to win elections. If he doesn't win the majority of the votes, he will have little power to wield with his party out of power. Moreover, the difficulties of his position will be multiplied many times, for he will be blamed for the defeat, and there will be no patronage to feed the hungry mouths of the workers. An organized attempt is almost bound to be made to displace him.

Tenure of City Bosses.—Political bosses who dominate cities do not have great security of tenure. The average period of control of twenty well known city bosses ran to about twelve years. This may seem to compare favorably with the average service of clergymen, public school teachers, and even city managers, but it should be remembered that the clergymen and teachers usually move on to another church or school and even the city manager can often secure another post. However, when the boss loses out, he is done for in politics. Obviously he cannot move to another city and

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 269–270.

assume the control there. Within his own city he is regarded as discredited and hence will have slight importance. Occasionally a boss will continue to wield some influence, as "Poor Swede" Lundin has done since his displacement as Republican boss of Chicago, but that is not the rule.[1]

Rewards of a City Boss.—While the city boss maintains himself in a seat of authority, he can count on substantial reward—that is, assuming that his party wins the elections. If he wants an appointive job in the city, he has only to indicate that wish to the mayor or whoever has the nominal disposition of the appointment. However, if he should decide to ask the voters for an elective position, his fate would be different. For some unexplained reason voters will support the boss's general career by keeping his party in power, but they refuse to vote for the boss himself as the incumbent of an office. Perhaps they feel that it is scarcely sporting for one person to want so much. At any rate where city bosses have offered themselves as candidates for elective office, they have nearly always met defeat at the polls. Mayor-Boss Hague of Jersey City is a notable exception to this rule.[2]

Power.—As far as power is concerned—and that seems to be the greatest desire of most political bosses—the reward will not lack as long as the organization can win at the polls. Of course, there are the temperamental stars who occupy positions as ward bosses to serve as flies in the ointment; a certain type of boss will have his life made miserable by the antics of these lesser lights. But if the boss be sensible, he will see that his power is still great enough to satisfy almost any man. A few bosses apparently seek publicity and notoriety; needless to say, such a boss does not usually have to go unsatisfied. Political bosses almost always made good newspaper copy, and there are all sorts of public occasions at which they may be prominent. If they but open their doors, they will not lack for attention from all manner of callers, for if the word goes out that they appreciate attention and flattery, the party henchmen and the office-holders will deluge them.

Business Opportunities.—Along with power most city bosses seem to have an appetite for money. Nevertheless, this desire is probably

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 55–56.

[2] For a more complete discussion of this point see: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 49–50.

less inordinate than is popularly assumed. The opportunities of a boss who dominates a large city are literally enormous when it comes to making money; in general, they are not less than those of the business leaders and industrialists of the city. Let the bosses engage in almost any business and customers will throng to them. Boss Curry of Tammany Hall had an insurance business—he almost had to refuse business offered without any seeking on his part.[1]

Judge Olvany, another boss of Tammany Hall and New York City, practiced law on a small scale before he became boss. At that time he maintained a very small suite of modest offices, but as soon as he became boss, the clients multiplied again and again, and he was forced to take over large amounts of office space to accommodate the business showered upon him.[2] Boss Croker acquired an interest in a real-estate auction room, and almost immediately the business of this concern mounted immensely.[3]

If a boss is known to have trade connections, a large number of people and corporations will throw business to that concern on general principles. The boss does not have to solicit the business, for the numerous people and companies seeking official favor feel that it is wise to patronize the boss's firm. Of course, that does not mean that political bosses do not solicit business for their concerns either directly or indirectly. Croker seems to have arranged to have the public auctions, sheriffs sales, and so forth shifted to the real-estate auction room in which he had an interest. Action of this sort can be pointed out in other cases, but the point is that bosses do not have to do this in order to receive large patronage. Much of the business comes to them without solicitation.

Almost all bosses receive frequent offers of business connections, for business men are well aware of the tendency noted above. The latter will give bosses an interest in their business without any payment on the part of the bosses, simply to capitalize on this custom which will flow in to them. Most of these proffers are not accepted by bosses, although on occasion they are.[4]

[1] *New York Times*, July 31, 1938.

[2] *New York World-Telegram*, September 2, 1932.

[3] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 136.

[4] Much additional material is to be found in the chapter entitled "Municipal Bosses and Business" in the author's study cited above.

Peculation from the City Treasury and Graft.—If they see fit, political bosses can steal from the public treasury, as Boss Tweed and his associates did so notoriously, but usually they do not embrace such opportunities. Again they may sell appointments, nominations, and contracts; many people will pay handsomely for such favors which may often be exceedingly valuable. To what extent bosses engage in such transactions, it is difficult to ascertain. Charges have been made on numerous occasions that judges have had to pay five or ten thousand dollars for positions and other office-holders in proportion and that contractors have had to pay large sums for public contracts. The reply almost invariably has been made that these were not payments but contributions and that they went to pay the expenses of the organization—not to line the pockets of the boss. Probably by and large that has been true, but there are doubtless occasions when the boss has profited personally.[1]

Underworld Tribute.—There is some reason to believe that political bosses have received some share of the immense sums which have been levied on the underworld for protection. Policemen usually collect these moneys, and it is not clear where they go after that time. Some of the money remains in the hands of the police department, but probably by no means all. Some of it comes to rest in the treasury of the political organization and is used for campaign and other party expenses. In certain cases some of it probably goes to the boss himself, although that seems to be the exception rather than the rule among bosses. The Lexow Committee of the New York Legislature brought the tribute levied on the underworld in New York City very near to the door of Boss Croker, but it failed to establish entirely the connection.[2]

Honest Graft.—Honest graft has been a lucrative source of income for bosses. They are in a position to know when a city improvement will cause the value of real estate to increase, and they know when an official action will bring about an increase in the value of certain stocks and bonds. If they use their knowledge, they can make large sums of money without difficulty, notoriety, and without

[1] See: the testimony involving J. J. Hines of Tammany Hall in connection with the policy racket in New York City, *New York Times*, August 20, 1938.

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 141.

actually breaking the law. Boss McLaughlin of Brooklyn profited largely from this type of investment.[1] If the truth were known, many bosses would be classified in this category.

Total Wealth of Political Bosses.—Nevertheless, considering the temptations, the opportunities, and everything else it is perhaps strange that the bosses, being human, have not taken greater advantages than they have of chances to make money. In general, their opportunities are as numerous as the business leaders and their ability is probably no less great than that of the business men. However, a careful study of the estates left by deceased city bosses will reveal that they have not been exceptionally wealthy men.[2] They fall far behind the business men in the amount of wealth accumulated.

Some have left estates of more than a million dollars. Boss Flinn of Pittsburgh, the great contractor, tops the list with more than eleven million dollars, but probably the greater part of this came from contracts, such as building the tunnel under the Hudson River. While many bosses have left substantial fortunes, some of them have had sizable accumulations before they became bosses. Other bosses have died with virtually nothing. Tweed, despite his peculation, had to be buried at public expense; Boss Ames left only a few hundred dollars; and Boss Sullivan died insolvent.

Bosses rarely receive anything from their organizations in the way of salary. Not being officially a part of the organizations how can they be paid? Besides political organizations have great demands made upon their limited funds. Some bosses have claimed to pay large sums out of their own pockets to meet the expenses of their organizations; "King" James McManes of the Philadelphia Gas Ring is a case at point.[3] It is the fact that no salary is attached to the position of boss that has been used by some bosses to justify their activities in business and even their honest graft.

Is There a Typical Boss?—The cartoonists and to some extent the journalists have been fond of depicting city bosses as belonging to a type. Hence, a great many people continue to picture a boss as a large man, with protruding paunch, coarse features, heavy

[1] See: *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 36–38.
[3] See: *Ibid.*, p. 37.

jowls, and inpenetrable eyes, who invariably has a stogey hanging out of the corner of his mouth, always wears checkered suits of a loud variety, and delights in displaying massive jewelry. Moreover, they think of a boss as illiterate, ruthless, corrupt, and the possessor of few social graces.

Actually there is no such thing as a typical city boss. Some bosses dress conservatively, while others like more or less flashy apparel. Some never wear jewelry, although others carry about their persons large quantities of valuable and sometimes gaudy adornments. Not a few city bosses do not use tobacco in any form and if they partake of liquor at all do so with extreme moderation. Despite the common conception, city bosses at times have unusually well established social positions. The Flinns in Pittsburgh belonged to most of the best clubs, maintained a fine house at which they entertained many of the celebrities who came to town, and for years had their names in the *Social Register*.[1] Almost everything that may be written by way of description of city bosses is subject to exceptions.

QUALITIES FREQUENTLY ENCOUNTERED AMONG CITY BOSSES

Physique.—Although there is no such creature as a typical boss, a few observations are possible which may serve to throw some light on the general character of city bosses. For one thing, they tend to be large as far as stature and weight are concerned; while there are numerous exceptions, the majority of them reach two hundred pounds in weight and attain a height of six feet. Nevertheless, they are rarely obese, for the rough and tumble of precinct and ward politics has ordinarily taken care of that. Altogether it is not strange that city bosses should be large men, considering the severe process of survival of the fittest which they have to go through.

Formal Education.—By and large, it may be stated that city bosses are self-made men. Occasionally one of the older ones was a graduate of a college and even of a professional school, but most of them terminated their formal educations with the grammar grades and after that could boast of only the schools of experience and hard knocks. Nevertheless, some of these bosses, with very limited formal education, cultivated a taste for serious reading

[1] See: *Ibid.*, p. 246.

and perhaps altogether were as well educated as most college graduates. The more recent city bosses have naturally had more formal education.

Family Backgrounds and Business Connections.—As a rule, city bosses have come from comparatively poor homes. Many of them have had to assume heavy burdens as breadwinners for mothers and younger brothers and sisters when they were still youngsters themselves because of the premature death of a father. They have gone to work at a tender age and frequently have had a wide range of experience in various kinds of business before they devoted themselves primarily to politics. Many of them have maintained intimate contacts with business after they have commenced large-scale operations in the realm of politics. Indeed it is not too much to say that city bosses depend quite largely upon the business men of their cities for support and in return serve them in a number of different ways.

Racial Stock.—The Irish have contributed far more than their share of city bosses in either first- or second-generation sons. There is something about an Irishman that seems to promise success in politics; in short the Irish have a flair for politics. Couple that with the fondness of the Irish for city life and the loyalty which they manifest toward fellow-countrymen and it is not strange that so many city bosses are of Irish background, if not natives of Ireland.

Moral and Religious Characteristics.—It is not exceptional to find a boss who neither drinks liquor nor indulges in vice. Occasionally a man is able to hold his liquor so well that his political efficiency is not impaired. This type of man may succeed as a boss, but, as a rule, city bosses have to be temperate and self-controlled; otherwise they cannot survive the grilling which they receive as part of their apprenticeship. Much to the surprise of many people, city bosses frequently display interest in religious affairs. Being Irish they tend to be of the Catholic persuasion, although there are numerous examples of Protestants. Boss "Honest John" Kelly probably always regretted that he had not entered the priesthood and throughout his life spent long hours at religious study. Incidentally he delivered public lectures on religious topics in cities all over the United States.[1] Martin Lomasney stood out as one of the leaders

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 119.

of his church in Massachusetts.[1] "King" James McManes spent some time in the work of the Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania.[2]

Other Personal Traits.—It need scarcely be stated that city bosses are capable of strenuous endeavor, and that as a matter of habit they work far longer than the regulation day. Generally speaking, they get along with people very well, although some of them are not superficially attractive in social graces. Usually they possess more than the average ability in judging men, and by and large they treat their followers loyally and pride themselves on carrying out promises.

POLITICAL CLUBS

Small cities usually do not have political clubs, although the Young Democratic and Young Republican groups may occupy such a position to a certain extent. However, as a rule, the latter do not have permanent clubrooms and tend to confine their most vigorous activity to election periods. In large cities a complicated system of political clubs almost always exists—with some cities more given to such associations than others. To some extent, these clubs fit into the regular political structure described in the preceding chapter. They are frequently controlled by the precinct and ward committeemen or leaders, but they usually always maintain their own independence to some extent at least. Many of them exhibit considerable pride in their traditions and influence, and while they contribute largely to the success of the political organization they refuse to be absorbed by it.

Professor R. V. Peel differentiates political clubs from political organizations on the ground that the former are associations and the latter institutions. Clubs, he points out, stress association of like-minded people, while organizations emphasize function.[3] Political clubs, as a rule, possess certain marks that distinguish them to some extent from subdivisions of a political organization. They have permanent headquarters or clubrooms; they may emphasize personal leadership to a greater extent; and they divide membership on sex lines. Professor Peel is convinced that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[3] *Political Clubs of New York City* (New York, 1935), pp. 14–19.

political clubs play a much larger part in the politics of large cities than has been commonly realized and goes so far as to maintain that they have been "vastly more significant in the operation of political machines than issues, or bosses, or election laws." [1]

Clubs came into their heyday during the years 1920–1933 when prohibition laws drove the saloons out of business, nationality clubs revived following the World War, and there was plenty of money to be secured for charitable and social activities. Since 1933 they have declined somewhat because of the rebirth of the poor man's club: the saloon and the elaborate public relief and social security program.

Clubrooms and Membership.—The clubrooms of political clubs are usually conveniently located in the district covered by the association. Depending upon the type of neighborhood, houses, apartments, old factories, street-floor rooms usually occupied by mercantile establishments, second- and third-floor rooms above business houses, and buildings erected especially for the use of a club may be acquired. The dues average five to six dollars per year, but members ordinarily do not forfeit their privileges if they are unable to pay. Political clubs, as a rule, enroll only males of twenty-one years or more as members; however, some of them confine their membership to women. The male clubs often permit women to enjoy certain standing and privileges as members of auxiliary organizations, and children also may be attached to the club through the formation of affiliates.

Uses of Clubrooms.—Some members of a political club rarely ever frequent the clubrooms—however attractive they may be; these members take out membership for business or political reasons. But other members make a great deal of use of the clubrooms; some of them virtually live there at least during waking hours. They talk to their friends; they engage in games of cards, pool, checkers, and poker; they hear the latest news and gossip; they speculate and argue on political matters; and they even nap there.

Among the persons regularly to be found at the club headquarters will, of course, be the local political leader—often he keeps stated office-hours there. Subordinates come there to report

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

and to receive orders, while petitioners for public jobs and official favors present themselves to offer their petitions. In the old days at least, the poor, the unemployed, the sick, and the unfortunate might be found there in lines waiting to see the leader who dispensed meal tickets, food baskets, lodging-house tickets, medical assistance, and private employment.

On occasion the most important members of the club or influential politicians from other districts will gather at a certain clubhouse to discuss political matters. It is here that decisions are sometimes made as to candidates for public office, promotions within the political organization, and general political policies. In other words, clubrooms often play an important role in the plotting, the manipulation, the compromise, and the give-and-take that in the last analysis determine political action. Professor Peel and his assistants visited six hundred of these clubs in New York City. They found Democratic clubs approximately ten times as numerous as Republican clubs and Socialist clubs very rare indeed.[1]

Names of Political Clubs.—Political clubs invariably have names. The Democrats seem fond of Indian names in New York City, New Orleans, and perhaps in other cities: the Choctaws, Iroquois, Hurons, Comanches, Senecas, Osceolas, and Miamis are only a few of the braves. Both parties apparently like to honor distinguished national party leaders. Hence, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Coolidge clubs are encountered. Or a club may be especially devoted to its leader and may therefore assume his name. Clubs that lack a romantic appreciation may simply dub themselves the Second Ward Republican Club, the Tenth Assembly District Democratic Club, or the Stony Island Democratic Club. If the club enrolls Italians, Poles, or Germans, such a fact may be evident from the use of the names of national heroes or even of the racial name itself as a club appellation.

Organization of Political Clubs.—The political clubs which use Indian names are likely to have a ritual of more or less elaborateness, supposedly patterned after Indian tribal customs. But whether a club has fancy names, ritual, and passwords or not, it is almost bound to have an elaborate organization of nominal im-

[1] See: *Op. cit.*, p. 89. For interesting descriptions of several clubrooms see: Peel's Chap. VIII.

portance. People like to feel that they are somebody, and the political clubs capitalize on this human weakness by providing numerous offices which usually have slight duties attached.

Programs of Political Clubs.—Many political clubs sponsor colorful events of a socio-political character. It was the old Timothy D. Sullivan Association that staged every year the most exciting social event in the entire Bowery. This was its annual outing and picnic which served to replenish the club treasury, furnish entertainment for members, and bring into association the leading Democratic politicians and office-holders of the entire city with the officers and members of the club.

Tickets, sold at five dollars each to the local business and professional men, brought in a sizable revenue. Anywhere from two or three thousand to five or six thousand people turned out on these occasions—many of them the most prominent Democrats of New York City. Brass bands furnished music for the parade which lead the participants decked out in fancy caps and other regalia to the steamers which had been chartered to take them to some resort. After arriving at their scene of merriment divers games were staged with prizes for the winners. An abundance of hearty food and an average of twenty-five drinks of liquor for each person in attendance were provided.[1]

Most political clubs can scarcely compare with the Sullivans in their social offerings, but, nevertheless, they do well. They may arrange oyster suppers, picnics, dances, bridge parties, dinners, costume balls, children's outings, excursions for tired mothers, parades, dedications, corner-stone layings, and many other affairs. Most of these combine politics with pleasure. Often political speeches are a feature; the club may honor an important holder of public office; but fundamentally these occasions are intended to attract votes for the party. Even the outings for children and excursions for tired mothers hope to draw in the votes of parents and women.[2]

POLITICAL REFORMERS

Fusion, Reform, and Citizens Organizations.—Periodically a party which has enjoyed long success will find itself the object of storms

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 89–90.

[2] Much additional interesting data in regard to political clubs may be found in R. V. Peel's *Political Clubs in New York City.*

of criticism. An exposure may have revealed widespread corruption in party and city affairs, or a party office-holder may have become involved in an odious episode. Municipal services may be so neglected and inferior that protest develops on a wide front. In order to capitalize on such popular resentment against the party which has been in power, various organizations of a more or less temporary character spring up with programs of reform. Public-spirited citizens may form a Citizens Party whose purpose it is to name candidates for city offices and elect them in the face of the slate put up by the machine which has been in control of the city government.

Or it may seem wise to unite two or more minority groups into a fusion party, because the minority parties may all be so weak that no one of them would have a chance of defeating the dominant organization. A combination of their forces into a fusion organization may realize success. The defeat of Tammany Hall in two successive mayoralty elections—an unprecedented feat—has been achieved recently by a fusion organization in New York City. The Republicans, the American Labor Party, and certain reform Democrats went together to name F. H. La Guardia as a candidate for mayor, together with a slate of candidates for other offices. La Guardia was put in office in the first election, but Tammany kept its control over the board of aldermen, the prosecuting attorney's office, and the comptroller's office. In the second election the Fusion Party added to the mayor's office control of the prosecutor's office, by electing Thomas E. Dewey, and the comptroller's office, by electing Professor J. D. McGoldrick of Columbia University's Department of Government and Public Law. Tammany still claimed control of the board of aldermen although the adoption of proportional representation made such a claim doubtful.[1]

Weaknesses of Reform Organizations.—As a rule, a reform organization will win control—if it is successful at all—for a single administration. Then public opinion dies down; criticism flares up in those quarters that resent a business-like city government; and the fusion organization is defeated. After its repudiation by the voters it loses face and, as a rule, goes to pieces. Perhaps the

[1] Thirteen of the twenty-six members of the city council elected under the new charter in New York City were Tammany Democrats.

chief weaknesses of these organizations are: that they lack the detailed organization in the precincts and wards which plays so important a part in ordinary political triumph; that they depend so largely upon a tricky public opinion; and that they include minor party groups which have their own axes to grind and only join a fusion because they see no other possible prospect of winning at the polls.

Nevertheless, the success of two of these reform groups has been impressive. The feat of the Fusion Party in New York City in defeating Tammany at two successive elections has already been noted. The other group is the Charter Party of Cincinnati which was largely responsible for the displacement of the Rud Hynicka control and the adoption of the city-manager charter.[1] The future of the Charterites has been much discussed, and many observers have predicted a short life for it. But although it has had some narrow escapes, it has finally always succeeded in maintaining the council-manager charter. Other groups of this kind might seem to be the Socialist Party in such cities as Milwaukee, Wisconsin and Bridgeport, Connecticut. In the case of Milwaukee, however, it was Mayor D. W. Hoan rather than the Socialist Party which held on to the government through the years. Indeed, except for Mr. Hoan, the candidates of the party were usually defeated at the polls.[2]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Robert S., *et al.*, editors, *Our Fair City* (New York, 1947).

Brogan, D. W., *Government of the People* (New York, 1933), pp. 217–251, 252–259.

Flynn, E. J., *You're the Boss* (New York, 1947).

Gosnell, H. F., *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937).

Kurtzman, David H., *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935).

Loth, David, *Public Plunder—A History of Graft in America* (New York, 1938).

Lynch, D. T., *"Boss" Tweed* (New York, 1927).

McKean, Dayton D., *The Boss; The Hague Machine in Action* (Boston, 1940).

Milligan, M. M., *Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine* (New York, 1948).

[1] See: Charles P. Taft, *City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933).

[2] For additional information in regard to the Milwaukee situation see: D. W. Hoan, *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936).

Munro, William B., *Personality in Politics* (New York, 1925), Chap. II.
Munro, William B., *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1928).
Myers, Gustavus, *The History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917).
Odegard, Peter H., and Helms, E. A., *American Politics*, (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chaps. XIV and XV.
Orth, S. P., *The Boss and the Machine* (New Haven, 1919).
Peel, R. V., *Political Clubs of New York City* (New York, 1935).
Penniman, H. R., *Sait's American Parties and Elections* (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chaps. XIII–XIV.
Reynolds, George M., *Machine Politics in New Orleans 1897–1926* (New York, 1936).
Riordon, W. L., *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1905).
Salter, J. T., *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935).
Schattschneider, E. E., *Party Government* (New York, 1942), Chap. VII.
Steffens, Lincoln, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), Vol. 1, part 2, Chap. IX; Vol. 2, part 1, Chap. XVIII.
Stoddard, L., *Master of Manhattan* (New York, 1931).
Van Devander, C. W., *The Big Bosses* (New York, 1944).
Vare, W. S., *My Forty Years in Politics* (Philadelphia, 1933).
Werner, M. R., *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1928).
Zink, Harold, *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1930).

XIII

MONEY AND GRAFT IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS

PARTY FINANCE

The Problem of Party Finance.—In small cities the expenses of political organizations may be comparatively insignificant. Few workers have to be paid in money because of the abundance of volunteer help; advertising is cheap and may sometimes be dispensed with almost entirely; and campaigning is informal and largely on a person-to-person basis. The court room or some other public place may be secured for political rallies at no cost or at least for a very small fee. However, in large cities the situation is quite different, for considerable amounts of money are required to maintain a political organization in anything like a prosperous condition.[1]

Secrecy Surrounding Party Finance.—Just how large-city political organizations spend and raise money is not very well known, for, as a rule, they make no public accounting as organizations, although the various corrupt practices acts may require the divulging of incomplete data. Not only do political organizations publish no reports as to their income and outgo, but they often exhibit a great deal of sensitiveness on the subject. Newspaper reporters and students of politics find it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain really adequate information.

REVENUES

Contributions from Candidates.—It is a general practice to ask candidates for public office to contribute; at times a definite schedule is prepared for each office, or a percentage system may be used under which every candidate must give a certain percentage

[1] For a general discussion of this problem see: J. K. Pollock, Jr., *Party Campaign Funds* (New York, 1926), pp. 51–55. Another source of information is F. R. Kent's *The Great Game of Politics* (New York, 1930), Chap. XXI.

of the annual salary paid by the office which he seeks. In Indianapolis, for example, candidates are expected to pay into the party treasury as a primary contribution ten per cent of whatever salary is attached to the office they desire. Of course, not all candidates will meet this expectation, especially if they do not look for organization support. Then in the election itself the successful party nominees are asked to give another ten per cent of their hoped-for salaries. In other words, the candidates of the organization in Indianapolis give twenty per cent of the salary attached to the office they seek whether successful or not. In cities where an organization is firmly entrenched and nomination amounts to election, the required contribution may be larger. In New York City something like fifty per cent of a year's salary is required in certain cases. For example, judges may be asked to hand over five thousand dollars or more to Tammany Hall.[1]

Assessments on Public Employes.—Many political organizations which control cities expect the city employes to help fill the party chest—they argue that the employes receive their jobs from the party or on the recommendation of the party leaders. They also maintain that the employes have a vital interest in winning an election because their jobs depend upon party success at the polls. Therefore, assessments of one kind and another are imposed, and collectors are named in each city department to see that the money comes in.

At times a lump sum is asked of every employe just before each election, the amount to be roughly determined by the salary received. Some organizations realize that it is difficult to squeeze a lump sum from people who do not receive large salaries and who spend almost to the limit from month to month. So they impose a monthly or a semi-monthly levy—depending upon how often salaries are paid—of two, three, or five per cent. This is collected by regularly appointed agents of the organization and guarantees a substantial sum when election time comes around. Such revenue is estimated by Frank R. Kent at $250,000 in New York City, $150,000 in Chicago, and $100,000 in Philadelphia for an ordinary campaign.[2]

[1] For additional discussion of sources of party funds see: J. K. Pollock, Jr., *Party Campaign Funds* (New York, 1926), pp. 51–55; and Peter H. Odegard and E. A. Helms, *American Politics* (New York, 1938), Chap. XIX.

[2] *The Great Game of Politics* (New York, 1930), Chap. XXI.

Contributions from Business.—Those businesses which depend upon favors from the city government are usually expected to help defray expenses of the winning party. Because it is difficult to ascertain beforehand which party will win, some business executives give to the funds of both parties—the late Samuel Insull, for example, followed such a policy in Chicago as a sort of insurance. Public utilities, public contracting firms, insurance and bonding agents, and the purveyors of office supplies, coal, groceries, and sundry other items depend to a greater or less extent upon the favor of the holders of public office. To secure this favor, they help pay party expenses. If the party, they count on as winning, does not receive the majority of the votes, then these businesses are in a flurry. If the winning party chances to have a deficit, they will hasten to take care of it. The brewers and saloon-keepers of Chicago did not favor the candidacy of "Big Bill" Thompson for mayor when he first ran, but after he was elected and confessed a considerable expense deficit, they gladly paid off the outstanding bills.[1]

Gifts from the Underworld.—There is little absolute proof but a good deal of reason to believe that political organizations at times receive substantial contributions from the underworld.[2] Houses of prostitution, gambling palaces, receivers of stolen goods, narcotic peddlers, racketeers, and gangsters all depend upon a certain amount of protection. The investigations of Prosecutor Dewey of New York indicate that the relations between some of these operators and party leaders are intimate. The policy racket in New York City contributed $30,000 to Tammany Hall in the election of 1933 according to sworn testimony.[3] What is more natural than that the party leaders should intimate in time of need that gifts would be welcomed? Ordinarily such contributions are not turned over to the treasurer of the political organization in the form of checks, but they are tendered the political leader himself as cash or securities not easily traced. The leader then gives all or a part of these funds to the organization or uses such moneys for paying the expenses of the party in his precinct or ward.

The Seabury probe into the depths of New York City politics

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 286.

[2] See: *Report and Proceedings of Lexow Committee of New York Legislature* (5 vols., Albany, 1895), *passim*.

[3] *New York Times*, August 20, 1938.

revealed that prominent party officials bank large sums of money which in many cases do not come from their own earnings or investments.[1] Thus, Thomas M. Farley, sheriff and an assembly district leader in the Tammany organization, had $360,660 in a "tin box" which he could not clearly explain to the investigators. Sheriff James A. McQuade, a political power in Kings County, banked $510,597. City Clerk Michael J. Cruise, highup in Tammany, deposited $217,246, and his deputy, James J. McCormick, also a Tammany worthy, $358,000. It is entirely probable that a considerable part of this money represented contributions made by the underworld for the carrying on of party work. This type of revenue is likely to be especially large when the organization faces a desperate fight for control. On such occasions expenses mount rapidly, and new sources of income must be tapped. The underworld may be notified of the need, or pressure may be exerted upon various operators of such activities to help out.

Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue.—Small gifts from party members may help swell the total, but it is doubtful whether they constitute any large amount in themselves—the observation that contributors to party funds always expect a return with generous interest added probably contains much truth. Fairly large sums may be earned by various entertainments and sales. Tickets to dinners and various parties may sell for from five to twenty-five dollars each and bring in a substantial sum over the expenses incident to the occasion. Pictures, books, and various items of that kind may be sold by the party workers at a profit to the political treasury. A few party officials may contribute out of their own earnings because the money has to be forthcoming and no one else will give. But, as a rule, if party leaders give, they merely transmit what they have received from others. However, Professor Salter discovered that some of the district leaders in Philadelphia actually were deeply in debt because of party expenses which they had met.[2]

EXPENDITURES

The expenditures of a successful party organization in a large city in an election year will often reach tens or even hundreds of

[1] See: the summary of the *New York World-Telegram*, September 2, 1932.
[2] *Boss Rule*, pp. 202, 207.

thousands of dollars. In New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other of the largest cities expenditures during a particularly hard-fought campaign will run from $100,000 to $1,000,000. During normal times when there is no election of consequence in the foreground, the expenditures will, of course, not be as great.

Hiring Party Workers.—One of the largest items of expense when the situation is not especially perturbed is compensation for party workers. Judge Seabury discovered that of $73,200 withdrawn from the New York County Democratic campaign fund as of November 5, 1928, $59,600 went for party watchers, messengers, clerks, and employes of the county committee.[1] Assume a large city of one thousand precincts; in some cities the standard number of party employes in each precinct averages ten. Pay each worker five to ten dollars, and a total expenditure of from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars is involved. In some elections more will have to be paid out for such services.

Tammany Hall on occasion has imported several thousand mattress voters from Philadelphia and surrounding cities.[2] These men have to be paid for several days' time; they are usually fed and housed; and their transportation has to be met. At times party organizations employ repeaters. These persons may receive larger pay than the ordinary workers because of the danger attached to their jobs. Other types of personal service that have to be compensated are: detectives who report on activities in the opposition camp, speakers, musicians, journalists, and bill posters.

Other Campaign Expenses.—Quantities of printed matter almost always involve fairly large amounts of money. Pamphlets, handbills, letters, posters, window cards, banners, automobile stickers, lapel buttons, ribbons, and cards are by no means all of the types of printed matter which must be prepared, printed, and circulated —sometimes by the hundreds of thousands. Halls must be rented and public rallies staged. Even if the speakers receive no compensation, their expenses have to be met. If music is used, the musicians, as a rule, receive the union scale of pay. Newspaper advertisements run into large sums where they are made use of on a large scale. Time on the radio, increasingly purchased by party organizations in large cities, is costly. If parades are planned,

[1] *New York World-Telegram*, October 22, 1931.
[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 130.

automobiles may have to be rented, decorations purchased and red fire provided.

In those districts where votes are bought, it does not take long to exhaust a thousand dollars at from two to ten dollars per vote. If plug-uglies are used to intimidate the opposition voters, they have to be paid. If treats are provided, the party organization may have to pay, although in many cases the candidates themselves take care of this item. However, precinct committeemen and other party workers at times furnish whiskey either by the pint or by the drink, ice cream, cigars, and other sundries that run into money. Bribes to election officials are fortunately not common, but they are still resorted to by desperate political machines. A single bribe, if of the money variety, may amount to anywhere from ten to several hundred dollars.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

There are at least two general kinds of corruption and graft to be found in cities. One involves the office-holders; the other the organization officials. In as much as organization workers usually either hold the public offices themselves or enjoy intimate relations with the office-holders, this distinction is more artificial than real. In short, if a political organization or machine is corrupt, the city government will probably be corrupt and vice versa.[1]

During the nineteenth century cities in the United States were known for their widespread corruptness. At the turn of the century came the era of the muckrakers when exposures publicizing the evil conditions in cities were almost daily occurrences. Lord Bryce bitingly portrayed the graft that prevailed in cities of the United States during the late nineteenth century in his *The American Commonwealth.*[2] Fortunately during recent years there has been a great improvement; that is not to say that graft is lacking in municipal government, but it is certainly less common than heretofore.

Corruption in cities is at present periodic rather than endemic. For that reason it is very difficult to generalize in regard to conditions prevailing in a given municipality. Under one administration

[1] See: R. C. Brooks, *Corruption in American Politics and Life* (New York, 1910).
[2] Vol. 2, Chaps. L–LVIII.

there may be comparatively little graft—obviously where thousands of persons are employed by cities or recognized as officials by party organizations petty graft must always be occasionally expected. Two or three years later the situation in that city may have changed almost radically and corruption may be rampant.

The Situation in New York City.—New York City may be cited as an example. In the late days of the Murphy regime there was relatively little corruption in that city. In the middle of the nineteen-twenties Professor Thomas H. Reed delivered a panegyric in which he sang the praises of the city for honest conduct of its affairs.[1] Then came the Walker administration, and conditions soon changed.[2] Mayor Walker himself was found by the Seabury investigation to have banked $291,195; the mayor's brother Dr. William H. Walker, a mediocre physician, $432,677; and the law firm headed by Tammany's boss, Judge George W. Olvany, the tremendous sum of $5,283,032.[3] Mayor Walker decided that it would be wise to resign after Judge Seabury had lodged charges against him with Governor F. D. Roosevelt. Then after a short interval fiery F. H. La Guardia was elected mayor of New York City on a Fusion ticket. With unbounded energy, immense courage, and high standards of public service Mayor La Guardia proceeded to give New York City one of the most thorough housecleanings it has ever received. The result was that corruption and graft in New York City became quite uncommon following 1933 and where they stuck up their ugly heads they received summary treatment.

The Situation in Kansas City.—Prior to the prosecution of Boss Pendergast by the national government in 1939, corruption in Kansas City seemed to have attained endemic status, for despite prevailing evil conditions Pendergast managed to pile up handsome pluralities at the polls election after election. An investigation carried on by a federal district attorney during 1937–1938 revealed wholesale election frauds. Two hundred and seventy-five persons were subsequently indicted, thirty-five entered pleas of guilty, and sixty-five persons were convicted and either sentenced to prison or placed on probation, but the citizens of Kansas City

[1] *New York Times*, August 17, 1927.

[2] See: Norman Thomas and Paul Blanshard, *What's the Matter with New York* (New York, 1932).

[3] *New York World-Telegram*, September 2, 1932.

indicated their fealty to the boss by giving him another fine margin of votes in the election of 1938.[1] Finally, the federal Department of Justice entered the picture and, in 1939, sent Pendergast to penitentiary on a charge of evading his income tax. The boss had neglected to pay a federal income tax on a large "fee" which he had received in connection with a scandalous insurance "deal." It turned out after his removal to prison that there had been no independent audit of city accounts for eleven years; that a large-scale dope ring had been a partner of the machine; and that serious irregularities in many departments of the city government were involved. The conviction of Boss Pendergast gave encouragement to those who had despaired of good city government for Kansas City and promised a considerable improvement in the standard of municipal services.

FORMS OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN CITIES

Embezzlement and Bribery.—Every now and then there is a case of embezzlement in city government. The significance of such direct forms of graft is not, however, very great at present; at least they are ordinarily caused by the failings of single people rather than by any general tradition of dishonesty. As a rule, the guilty ones are speedily found out, tried, and sentenced to prison.

Much more common is the accepting of bribes by members of the city council or city executives in return for some special favor extended. Owners of property who desire rezoning so that they can use their land for certain business purposes pay sums to the appropriate city authorities for such a purpose. Public contractors want their shoddy workmanship which fails to meet specifications passed over and are willing to pay generously for such consideration.

Operators of gambling casinos and houses of ill-fame want protection from police raids and the enforcement of the ordinances which forbid them.[2] They pay large amounts to the police and indirectly to other city officials, as well as to organization leaders, for this protection. There is a constant temptation dangled before the eyes of officials and party leaders in one or more of these

[1] See: the *New York Times*, March 16, 1937, March 21, 1937, March 28, 1937, April 15, 1937, April 25, 1937, May 30, 1937, June 15, 1937, June 12, 1937, and November 29, 1938.

[2] See: D. W. Brogan, *Government of the People* (New York, 1933), pp. 238–251.

forms. The officials receive comparatively small salaries; it seems easy to cover up such transactions; and the result is that such actions are likely to become commonplace unless the public opinion, the mayor, the head of the police department, and the leaders of the dominant party organization frown severely.[1]

Corruption of the Ballot Box.—Another variety of corruption involves the party organization. Here appear the buying of votes, intimidation, the corrupting of election officials, repeating, the padding of election lists, and similar practices. The prevalence of such forms of corruption depends upon public opinion, the attitude of the legal officers, and the stakes for which the political organization plays. The latter is especially important, for political organizations have little incentive to indulge in such activity if they can win honestly. Where the organization is desperate, such practices will occur unless public opinion rises to an unusually high stage and law-enforcing officers are constantly vigilant. Even then, they may sometimes be common, for they are not easy to detect. Election administration has made great improvement in recent years, and as a result this type of corruption is less of a problem than it has been in the past.[2]

Honest Graft.—The most persistent type of corruption to be found in present-day city government in the United States is honest graft. Both city officials and organization henchmen fall before honest graft in most cities. The law does not forbid such practices; public opinion is easy-going; there is little risk; and the returns are large. As a result, the sinners are many. Appointments are made on a partisan or personal consideration rather than on the basis of qualifications. Contracts go to friends and followers, even where inferior quality results and a high price is paid. Contracts are broken up into numerous small sections to avoid the requirement of advertising for bids. Contracts are awarded to the lowest *responsible* bidder—which means in many cases the lowest bidder that belongs to the organization. Specifications are prepared in such a fashion that only party contractors can submit bids.

[1] A somewhat sensational discussion of politicians and graft is to be found in E. H. Lavine, "*Gimme,*" *or How Politicians Get Rich* (New York, 1931). A less exaggerated study is that of D. T. Lynch, *Criminals and Politicians* (New York, 1932).

[2] David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 126–136, and appendix E.

Advance knowledge of city improvements is made use of to acquire land which can be disposed of at a fine profit. City improvements are planned in such a way as to benefit the residences and property holdings of city officials and organization leaders. The varieties of honest graft are legion; they cost the city much in money, in efficiency, and in general morale. While it is difficult to generalize, honest graft seems to be the rule rather than the exception in all but the best governed cities in the United States—both large and small. Honest graft constitutes one of the three or four major problems in municipal government in the United States at the present time.[1] It has more to do with mediocre standards, high costs, and inefficiency of government departments than peculation, bribery, or any of the more notorious outright forms of corruption.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, R. C., *Corruption in American Politics and Life* (New York, 1910).
Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth* (New York, 1910 edition), Vol. 2.
Lavine, E. H., *"Gimme", or How Politicians Get Rich* (New York, 1931).
Loth, David, *Public Plunder in America* (New York, 1938).
Lynch, D. T., *Criminals and Politicians* (New York, 1932).
Odegard, Peter H., and Helms, E. A., *American Politics* (New York, 1938), Chap. XIX.
Pollock, J. K., Jr., *Party Campaign Funds* (New York, 1926), pp. 51–55.
Rankin, Robert S., *Readings in American Government* (New York, 1939), "Plunkitt's Distinction between Honest and Dishonest Graft," p. 588.
Riordon, W. L., *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1905).
Salter, J. T., *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935).
Steffens, Lincoln, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), Vol. 1, part 2, and Vol. 2, part 1.
Thomas, Norman, and Blanshard, Paul, *What's the Matter with New York?* (New York, 1932).

[1] The most eloquent disquisition on honest graft which has ever been written is probably contained in W. L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1905).

XIV

MUNICIPAL PRESSURE GROUPS

General Importance of Pressure Groups in Cities.—The activities of pressure groups are often less apparent in the field of city government than in either state or national government, for the organized lobbies which are a feature of every state legislative session and of congressional sessions do not usually appear in cities.[1] Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to assume that the importance of pressure groups is negligible in city government. In many cities the influence of these groups does not fall below the level encountered in the states and national government. It is not rare to find a city where the power of pressure groups even exceeds that of more elaborate groups in the state or national domain.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CITY AND STATE-NATIONAL PRESSURE GROUPS

a. Reliance of Municipal Groups on Non-Professional Agents.—At times the same interests which operate in state and national government train their guns on the government of a city, but, generally speaking, the pressure groups which are effective in cities are of more local character. They may be groups which have no interest in state and national affairs, or they may be the constituent elements of the larger groups to be found in the state and nation. In contrast to the full-time professional lobbyists maintained in every state capital and especially in Washington, city pressure groups usually designate ordinary executive officials or employes or volunteers to handle a specific matter.[2]

b. Greater Interest of City Groups in Executive-Administrative Departments.—Then, too, municipal pressure groups are less likely to devote so much of their attention to the legislative branch. State

[1] See: E. P. Herring, *Group Representation Before Congress*, Institute for Government Research, Studies in Administration, Vol. 22 (Baltimore, 1929).

[2] See: E. B. Logan, "Lobbying," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 144, supplement (1929).

and national pressure groups exert their force on administrative departments and commissions and upon executive officers, but they perhaps aim themselves most vigorously at the legislature. City groups are active in the city council, but they usually find it more profitable to cultivate executive and administrative officials and agencies. This is particularly the case in the administration of justice.

c. Tendency of City Groups to Work behind the Scenes.—It seems probable that city pressure groups work somewhat more behind the scenes than their counterparts in the state and nation. Letters, telegrams, petitions, dinners, parties, and delegations are all at times employed by city groups, but they are, in general, less common than in the larger areas of government. Telephone calls and individual conferences play more of a part in cities, and that is quite natural considering the smaller geographical area involved and the more personal character of local community affairs.

d. Degree of Selfishness.—Whether local groups are more or less ruthless in their methods and in their demands than similar interests in the state and nation is problematical. Certain local groups, such as the underworld and organization henchmen, do not hesitate to make use of any device, however vicious it may be.[1] Nor do they often seek anything that is not entirely selfish and contrary to the public good. Few pressure groups in the state and nation descend to the low levels of such city groups. On the other hand, many city groups spend little or no money, content themselves with a more or less straight-forward request, and have programs which are not in conflict with the general public interest. It would seem that there is more variation among local pressure groups, both as to ruthlessness and justification of programs, than in the case of state and national groups.

SOME EXAMPLES OF TYPICAL MUNICIPAL PRESSURE GROUPS

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Pressure Programs.—In many cities, particularly of small and medium size, no other pressure group exerts as much influence as the chamber of commerce. Although chambers of commerce have diverse interests, not infrequently their primary reason for existence is their pressure program. They almost always have committees

[1] See: D. T. Lynch, *Criminals and Politicians* (New York, 1932).

on municipal affairs, and at times they employ a special secretary who devotes himself entirely to handling pressure activities. Even in the absence of such an agent the regular secretary is likely to spend much of his time on such matters.

Occasionally, as in Indianapolis, a chamber of commerce will maintain a bureau of governmental research.[1] Such bureaus are not entirely given over to pressure politics, but it is probably fair to say that they devote themselves to the study of the problems which are of especial interest to the members of the chamber. These problems usually are connected with the expenditures or borrowing of a city and consequently involve the tax rate. Furthermore, the materials collected and organized by such bureaus are used to develop public opinion in support of the program of the chamber. Or they may be used in persuading city councils, tax-adjustment boards, school boards, and other public agencies that a certain course is desirable.[2]

Interest in a Low Tax Rate.—Almost always chambers of commerce are interested in keeping the tax rate as low as possible, and hence their studies are of such a character that they can be used to emphasize the importance of keeping expenditures at a low or at any rate a moderate rate. Some chambers of commerce adopt a niggardly policy and fight on general principles any proposal which involves an increase in the tax rate. Other chambers pride themselves on being more objective and oppose only unjustifiable appropriations and borrowing. Nevertheless, however eager a chamber may be to attain a reputation for objectiveness, it is very difficult for it to escape a greater interest in economy than in the general public welfare. The members of chambers of commerce are, for the most part, local business concerns; they pay the cost of running the chamber; and most of them are definitely hostile to anything that will involve an increase in the tax rate.

General Pressure Techniques of Chambers of Commerce.—Chambers of commerce formulate general programs of a public nature which they constantly work toward, and, in addition, they frequently interest themselves in special projects which from time to time

[1] There were seventeen such bureaus in October, 1938. See: *The Government Research Association Directory, 1938–1939*, Supplement No. 1.

[2] It is recommended that the studies of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Bureau of Governmental Research be consulted as examples of what an alert organization of this character may do.

present themselves. Some chambers hold meetings for the discussion of these general or special programs, for it is hoped that enthusiastic support for the programs can be developed through such methods among the members. Quite frequently chambers publish periodicals or mimeograph bulletins which also seek to generate interest and support for certain measures among the members. Personal letters are addressed by the secretary to influential members requesting assistance, or the telephone may be used as a device for enlisting aid.[1]

Techniques before City Councils and School Boards.—When the city council and the school board are in the process of adopting their annual budgets, chambers of commerce are almost always very active. The secretaries and members of the public-affairs committee regularly attend the sessions devoted to such a purpose. If they are alert, they usually take with them elaborate records, charts, and other materials which may be presented to the members of the budget-making authority as evidence of the reasonableness of their demands. This documentary material may show what other cities are spending for similar purposes, and it may indicate how much more the city is spending for a certain purpose than has been the case in the past.

Less intelligent chamber-of-commerce representatives do not bother to prepare and take with them such documentary weapons; they content themselves with mere attendance at the sessions of the budget-making body and opposing on general principles any increase in appropriation or any item which seems to them unjustifiable. The more effective method is that adopted by the former type of agent. Even though they may have the same general opinions, it creates a favorable impression when they can demonstrate their ideas by means of charts and comparative data. The representatives who categorically oppose every proposal to increase an appropriation often impair their effectiveness.

Techniques before Boards of Review.—Now that tax-adjustment boards enjoy increased authority in many places, chambers of commerce often concentrate a great deal of attention on that quarter. At the hearings carried on by such boards no one is more active than the representatives of the chamber of commerce.

[1] Compare such techniques with those employed by the pressure groups described in Belle Zeller, *Pressure Politics in New York* (New York, 1937), Chap. III.

They occupy a prominent place in the meeting-place; they follow every item with care; and they frequently confer with the members of the boards. They raise objection to items which they regard as unwarranted in the budgets adopted by the city council or school board, and in general they frequently give the impression of knowing more about the whole affair than the members of the board themselves. Needless to say, their influence in these bodies is likely to be very great.[1]

Indirect Techniques.—If the chambers of commerce fail to accomplish their desires through the efforts of the secretaries and public-affairs committees, an appeal is made to the members to assist in the battle. Members are asked at such times of crisis to call on their city councilmen or school-board members either in person or by telephone. At times this individual pressure proves effective, and public officials will change their attitudes or swing from a position of uncertainty to a position favorable to the interest of the chamber of commerce.

Activity in Elections.—In small cities chambers of commerce often take a very keen interest in elections. They may put up either openly or secretly candidates for mayor, the city council, and other elective offices. If they are successful in electing these candidates, their task is obviously very much simplified. Instead of having to persuade, cajole, coerce, or threaten, they merely have to suggest a certain course of action to the mayor, councilmen, or other officials, and the matter is taken care of.

Character of Programs.—Chambers of commerce do not, as a rule, exert a vicious influence in municipal affairs, but they are not infrequently short-sighted. They will not bribe or seek dishonest favors; however, they are so concerned with a low tax rate that they will oppose measures to improve the schools, sanitation, or such measures of definite public interest. Perhaps the greatest weakness of the chambers of commerce is that they are so largely negative in their programs relating to public affairs, particularly where the expenditure of public funds is involved.

[1] See: the issues of the *Indianapolis News*, *Indianapolis Times*, and *Indianapolis Star* for September, 1937, and September, 1938, for reports of the very effective work of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce before the Marion County Tax Adjustment Board.

PARTY OFFICIALS

In large cities the officials of the majority party frequently constitute the most powerful local pressure group. So intimate are the relations existing between these political lieutenants and captains and the city government that there is a question as to whether they should be classed as a pressure group. It might be more accurate to consider them a part of the government itself. At times these political officers are members of the city council; again they sit as police magistrates; and not uncommonly they head city departments. Theoretically the party organization is outside of the governmental structure in the United States, and therefore these officers belong to the ranks of pressure groups. Actually the party organization in some cities is so tied to almost every part of the city government that it is impossible to separate the two.

The role of political organizations in city government is considered in detail in a separate chapter.[1] Suffice it to say here, that if these organization officers do not hold offices in the city government, they usually can exert enormous influence on those who do. The political organizations have elected the city officials and on that basis can claim their support. The pressure exerted by the organization officers will usually take one of two forms. Either requests are made for official favors which will enable the organization to live and prosper, or individual officers, usually of the higher ranks, will demand special consideration which may serve to enrich themselves personally.[2]

Patronage Demands.—Among the first type of pressure will be: requests for offices or jobs, petitions to be freed from criminal charges in a local court, special permission to operate concessions or business ventures, and favorable attention to relief cases, either on the basis of speed or amount of allowance. Most of these demands involve either the city administrative departments or the lower courts. Most of the individual favors are of comparatively minor importance, but they are very numerous and in aggregate assume considerable significance in relation to the efficient operation of city government. Some of them are in keeping with the

[1] See: Chapter XI.

[2] Robert C. Brooks, *Political Parties and Electoral Problems* (New York, 1933), Chap. IX.

public interest, and most of them are more or less essential to the prosperity of the majority party organization. Nevertheless, they cost the city much in both money and effectiveness. The question is whether the service performed by the party organizations is great enough to justify the cost. Some competent students are of the opinion that the service rendered does more than balance the cost in money and efficiency, but numerous other observers either express doubt or are definitely of the opposite opinion.

Desire for Public Contracts.—The second type includes: contracts to pave streets, construct public buildings, and dispose of garbage. These are awarded to the higher-ups, not infrequently to the bosses themselves. While on the surface these favors are more selfish than the minor ones described above, there is some question as to whether actually there is much difference. A study of these political officers will indicate that some are compelled to make large expenditures out of their own pockets to maintain their organizations.[1] Hence, although the money from the favors goes at first into the coffers of the officers themselves, it may finally find its way into the budgets of the organization.

Individually this second type is of much greater importance than the relatively minor favors described under the first classification. Thousands and even millions of dollars are frequently involved. Often higher prices are paid for paving, buildings, or garbage disposal than a non-political contractor would charge. Or if the price is reasonably low, the quality of service rendered is likely to be below standard. To the extent that these contracts are given to organization commanders for their own personal profit, they can scarcely be justified at all. To the extent that they are given to run the organization through the official, the same controversy arises that has been noted above.

Much has been printed about the viciousness of the Vare contracts in Philadelphia, the Flinn contracts in Pittsburgh, and the Tammany contracts in New York City.[2] However, these notorious cases have probably had less effect on the conduct of city government as a whole in the United States than the multitude

[1] See: J. T. Salter, *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935), p. 207; and the author's *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1930), p. 37.

[2] As an example see: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, Chaps. III, IV, V, VI, XI, and XIII in Part 2.

of minor items described above. In contrast to the first type of pressure this second type often involves the city council.

Techniques of Organization Officers.—The techniques employed by organization officials are somewhat different from those noted in the case of chambers of commerce. This is largely the result of the intimacy which characterizes the relations of organization leaders and the men who run a city government. All that is usually required to operate successfully this pressure is a telephone call, a whispered word, or a private conversation. Letters are sometimes used, but they are frequently employed as an easy way out. Someone seeks a job from the organization; it isn't easy to say no; instead a letter of recommendation to the appointing officer or the city central committee is given. This letter will be filed by the appointing officer or central committee, but no appointment will result unless a telephone call or conference backs up the letter.

BANKS

General Pressure Programs.—In many small cities and to some extent in large cities, too, banks exert great influence in municipal affairs. During the early nineteen-thirties the banks of New York City laid down certain policies which must be followed by the city administration before loans for relief would be granted. These requirements related not only to the administration of relief but also to the general conduct of city government.[1] In certain smaller cities the banks virtually run municipal affairs, making of the city officials mere puppets and errand boys. In some cases banks are powerful enough to put up their own slates of candidates *sub rosa* and, what is more, get them elected. This, of course, makes their control of the city particularly easy.

More commonly banks interest themselves only in certain matters relating to municipal government. They may want the deposit of public funds or the floating of municipal bonds. If they hold city bonds, they may desire a policy on the part of the city which will maintain the price of the bonds. Perhaps they

[1] *New York Times*, September 17, 1933, September 29, 1933, October 28, 1933, November 1, 1933, July 13, 1934, and December 1, 1934. By 1938 the credit of New York City had improved so materially that Mayor La Guardia was dictating terms to the banks.

will go so far as to demand that the appropriations for schools be slashed so that there will be sufficient funds to pay their claims in full. Or they may oppose the construction of new buildings or the expenditure of capital sums because the credit of the city would be weakened and consequently their investments would be threatened.[1]

In the Real Estate Field.—At times banks have dictated the location of public improvements, such as parks and boulevards, so that their property would be increased in value. They have been known to oppose zoning ordinances on the ground that property which they owned or held mortgages on would be reduced in value because it could not be used for unrestricted purposes. Or they have used the city street department or rubbish removal service to fill up swamp lands which they have bought up for almost nothing and thus have multiplied their investment many times, particularly if they have persuaded the city that a park or other attractive improvement should be located in the vicinity of their filled-in land. On occasion banks have been prone to make use of city governments as agents for relieving them of unprofitable investments. Land, which banks have had to take in on mortgages, but for which they have found no market of promise, has been forced on a city for school buildings, parks, airports, and other public purposes, even though the location has made the land unsuitable for such purposes.

Legitimacy of Banking Pressure Demands.—Some of the projects which banks push as pressure groups are legitimate. Banks can scarcely be blamed for wanting a city to follow a sound financial policy when they own securities which depend upon such a policy, that is unless such action on the part of a city government seriously interferes with the necessary services rendered by the city. Banks sometimes have a peculiar psychology when it comes to protecting their own interests: they consider that they are entitled to preferred status if there isn't enough money for all purposes. Hence, they see nothing out of the way in demanding that the salaries of teachers in the public schools or that appropriations for libraries be cut in order that they may receive their full claims or that their investments may be protected. At times banks are entirely selfish

[1] For a discussion of the programs of banks in Milwaukee see: D. W. Hoan, *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936), Chap. XI.

in their aims. When they oppose zoning restrictions because they want to make as much money as possible out of certain property or when they unload their problem investments on the city, it is difficult to excuse them.

Techniques of Banks.—In pushing their interests banks use many techniques. Perhaps the simplest is the device described above where they elect the city officials and consequently have only to indicate their wishes to have them carried out. Sometimes banks send representatives to the council or to certain departments to place the facts in a certain case before the proper authorities. Of course, there can be little criticism of such conduct unless threats and other improper pressure are exerted. Many banks do not like to come out into the open when they act as pressure groups—they talk to key city officials privately either in person or by telephone. Or they arrange to have other prominent persons talk to the officials. Here, too, as long as they merely present their arguments and lay the facts before the officials, there is little ground for criticism. But when banks give officials to understand that their very jobs depend upon capitulation; or that the mortgages on their homes will be foreclosed; or that their personal loans will be called; or that they will not be extended credit, then banks subject themselves to serious criticism.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Scope of Pressure Activities.—Among other business groups which are frequently active as pressure groups in cities the several public utilitics stand out. Now that these businesses are regulated by state commissions, they may not be as interested in city affairs as in the past, but there is still much to concern them in the city government. Many of them sell services to the city, such as water and electricity. They usually have contracts running for several years, and when these approach expiration, the utilities are anxious to have them renewed at favorable terms. Some utilities, such as street-car and bus companies, depend upon the city for franchises which permit them to use the city streets for operation.

Techniques.—In the past public utilities have sometimes resorted to the most iniquitous tactics in achieving their purpose. City councils have been *organized* in such a fashion that the utilities could be granted very valuable franchises at terms distinctly

unfavorable to the public. Utilities have not hesitated to pay bribes of as much as five or ten thousand dollars to council members for their corrupt support. St. Louis, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and many other cities have suffered the most notorious experiences of this nature in the past.[1] At present such practices are much less common than they have been in the past, but milder methods, tinged with corruption, are still at times employed.

While direct bribes are still sometimes resorted to, a more common device is to take care of a key official in a less obvious and dangerous manner. Lawyer members of the council may be offered lucrative briefs as counsel for a utility if they see their way clear to vote for a certain franchise. Numerous other favors, usually not prohibited by law but ethically improper, are at times still offered by utilities for the support of city officials.

Franchises and Their Enforcement.—Now that the era of new street-car lines is largely over, bus lines seem to be engaged more actively in pressure politics than most other utilities. However, the older utilities want their franchises extended when they expire, and if cities possess such a power, there is almost certain to be vigorous pressure politics. Utilities are constantly interested in avoiding what they regard as burdensome requirements. They do not want to pay part of their revenue into the city treasury as a franchise tax; they may resent having to maintain the part of a city street between their tracks.

If they can't bring enough pressure on the council to omit such provisions from a franchise, public utilities sometimes resort to attempts to prevent administrative officials of the city from enforcing such requirements. Streets may not be kept in repair nor payments made to the city treasury, but because the utility bribes or in some other manner controls the enforcing officers nothing is done about the matter. Of course, by no means all public utilities are dishonest in their dealings with cities—perhaps the majority of them employ pressure tactics which are at least fairly justifiable. On the other hand, many of the programs of the public utilities are selfish, and this fact, together with the notorious record which many have achieved in the past and certain ones still maintain, gives them a far from enviable reputation.[2] Doubtless

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 311–313, 355–357.

[2] Compare the activities of utilities in cities with their program in the national sphere

in many cases the people assume that corruption has characterized the relations of a public utility with a city government, when as a matter of fact the dealings have been aboveboard.

OTHER BUSINESS GROUPS

While banks and public utilities perhaps have been more active than most other businesses in the field of pressure politics, it would be a mistake to assume that they account for all of the activity. Almost every business concern at some time or other finds itself interested in some policy or regulation of the city. Merchants want to display signs over the sidewalk or use the space in front of their stores for business purposes. Wholesalers desire the privilege of using the streets in front of their warehouses for unloading trucks. Laundries, garages, and other businesses sometimes prefer to locate in districts which do not permit such operations because of zoning regulations. Many business concerns hope to sell supplies of one kind and another to the various city departments.

All of these may involve the use of pressure politics.[1] Permits must be obtained; zoning regulations modified; and orders obtained. Sometimes these may be secured by mere application, but in many cases the petitioners must contact those who have influence and indicate that they are entitled because of campaign contributions, political activity, or other reasons to especial consideration. At times bribes have to be given. A few years ago in Indianapolis there was a regular scale of bribes in connection with the modification of zoning regulations. Grocery stores wanting neighborhood branches, filling stations, and other business interests paid the appropriate sums to the members of the city council and received the desired zoning modification.[2]

Contractors and Builders.—Perhaps of all the businesses in addition to banks and utilities that engage in pressure politics contractors and builders stand out. These want contracts to pave streets, to build public buildings, to construct bridges, to dig subways and tunnels, and to cart away rubbish and garbage. Very large amounts of money are often involved in these enterprises, and there

as revealed in United States, Federal Trade Commission, *Utility Corporations, Reports*, nos. 1–42 (1928–1932).

[1] Additional examples may be found in the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 40–41.

[2] See: an unpublished manuscript of the author, "Kluxer Politics in the Midwest."

is frequently a great deal of competition among the various contractors and builders to obtain the contracts. Hence, it is not strange that all sorts of pressure will be encountered.

Almost any representative of a company engaged in these businesses will bear witness, if he is willing to talk, to the prevalence of at least petty corruption in connection with the obtaining of contracts or orders. These representatives almost invariably have large expense accounts which have to be reported to the company only in the most general way. In large undertakings money bribes are still tendered in many cases, while in smaller projects suits of clothes, elaborate entertainments, trips to resorts, and gadgets of one kind or another are only a few of the devices used to attract contracts and orders.

Split Contracts.—In order to avoid the regulation now found in most cities that calls for advertising for bids and awarding of contracts to the lowest bidder, these contractors and builders persuade city officials to divide contracts into numerous small parts which will slip through the loopholes in the law. Many cities require advertising only in contracts exceeding five hundred or one thousand dollars or more. By splitting the large contract into several hundred nine-hundred-and-ninety-nine-dollar contracts it is possible to make an award to the successful pressure group at a high price without competition. Other contractors and builders resort to the device of having city officials insert in the specifications patented articles which they alone control and hence shut out any competitive bidding.[1]

Inspection.—If contractors and builders are unable to get a contract without competition and hence have to bid at a low price, they still figure on making a good profit by resorting to still another pressure technique. Cities have inspectors whose business it is to watch the paving of a street or the construction of a public building to see that the specifications are carried out and that shoddy materials and workmanship are not resorted to. The contractors have their friends appointed as inspectors, or they bribe the inspectors furnished by the city to ignore inferior and faulty construction. In this way the city pays for a good pavement or well-constructed buildings, but actually receives much less

[1] For recent instances see: the report of Russell Forbes, Commissioner of Purchase in New York City, in the *New York Times*, August 8, 1938.

Of course, this type of pressure politics cannot possibly be justified, for it is definitely contrary to the public interest. Nevertheless, under the system which prevails in most cities, it is almost impossible to avoid at least some of it. In many cases it is the rule rather than the exception and occasions cities very large losses.[1]

PUBLIC EMPLOYES

In small cities the number of public employes is scarcely large enough to enable them to do much in the way of pressure politics. But in the cities of medium and large size the situation is quite different, for there the number of employes is great enough to command through their families and friends numerous votes and consequently considerable political strength. This is particularly true in the case of teachers who often present a powerful front through their Federation.

General Program.—Public employes concern themselves primarily with their own working conditions. They exert pressure on the city council to keep salaries at as high a level as possible and particularly are active when a salary cut is being discussed. They also frequently oppose any reorganization or abolition of function, because they fear a decrease in the number of public jobs. As a rule, public employes follow the policy of standing together lest their turn come next. This group also interests itself in hours of work, vacations, holidays, and other similar items.[2]

Techniques.—The techniques employed by the public employes are more or less the obvious ones. Through representatives they contact members of the city council, the mayor, and department executives. By sheer force of the votes which they command they are usually listened to and frequently followed, unless the banks or some other more powerful pressure groups have counter interests. The program of public employes is primarily a selfish one and sometimes definitely contrary to the public interest. For example, when a reorganization is at stake, their attitude of opposition is distinctly unfortunate. However, their general desire to better working conditions is a natural one which does not in general

[1] For recent instances of such practices see: the *New York Times*, September 15–30, 1938. Charges brought in connection with the recent investigation of Pennsylvania politics by the Pennsylvania Legislature involve such conduct.

[2] It is interesting to compare this program with that of labor in the national sphere. See: H. L. Childs, *Labor and Capital in National Politics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930).

conflict with the public interest. The main defect in the pressure activities of public employes, even public school teachers, is short-sightedness; they can rarely look further ahead than the immediate future and usually consider only their own individual personal interest.

THE UNDERWORLD

Elements and Program.—Even in small cities liquor sellers, gambling operators, and prostitutes are likely to constitute a potent pressure group. Large cities add to this list racketeers, gangsters, thieves, and organized criminals in general. The aim of these people is almost always that of protection; they want to be let alone by the police and the city authorities. Few pressure groups have as simple a program or on the surface ask as little; yet in the case of gangs and organized-crime rings at least few pressure groups constitute as great a public menace.[1]

Techniques.—In contrast to the simple desires of the underworld, the techniques employed are quite complex. The traditional method is, of course, the paying of *protection* or *hush* money to the police and other officials. Houses of ill fame and gambling casinos make especial use of this device—they pay every week or every month a certain sum of money to the policeman on the beat. Where this money goes after it is received by the roundsmen, it is always difficult to ascertain. City officials frequently say that it goes no farther than the roundsmen and that a certain amount of dishonesty among such inferior employes is to be expected, in view of their small salaries and large opportunities. Some of these officials maintain that the only realistic way to handle the situation is to recognize legally the existence of sporting houses and gambling palaces. The only other method, they contend, is to shift patrolmen at frequent intervals.

There is considerable doubt among observers whether the claims of the city officials are well founded, for there is much reason to believe that the money finds its way to almost the top, if not the very top, of the police department. There is some evidence that other officials and departments of the city are involved. The Lexow Committee brought this corruption almost to the door of

[1] For additional information see: G. L. Hostetter and T. Q. Beesley, *It's a Racket* (Chicago, 1929); and D. T. Lynch, *Criminals and Politicians* (New York, 1932).

Richard Croker, the boss of Tammany Hall.[1] If it is true that this corruption involves the entire police department of large cities, possibly the higher-ups of the political organization which controls the city government, and even the city administration itself, then the situation is bad indeed. Certainly in the case of the gangs and racketeers that have preyed on such cities as Chicago during recent years it is almost too much to believe that they pay only local police patrolmen and enjoy such a high degree of immunity. Higher-ups must connive at their crime, else there would be more arrests and convictions.[2]

Indirect Pressure.—In addition to money payments, these underworld elements make use of a more subtle type of device. Owners of the property which they occupy at a high rental are used to get at the mayor, the city councilmen, and other city officials. Influential patrons of the houses of prostitution and gambling joints at times assist in influencing the right officials. Merchants, who sell groceries, drinks, clothing, jewelry, and musical instruments to the houses of prostitution, may be pillars of society and of the church, but when they receive telephone calls from the madames asking them to intercede with the police, the mayor, or the members of the council so that the houses will not be closed, they find it difficult to refuse assistance.

CHURCHES

The churches are less selfish than most of the municipal pressure groups and to some extent for that reason they are also sometimes less powerful. On occasion they are to be found exerting their influence as individual units; again they join together into groups and make their wishes known through the ministerial alliance or a similar agency. Rarely are the churches able to present an entirely united front because of sectarian jealousies and suspicions: Catholic and Protestant churches usually refuse to work together even if the various Protestant sects find it possible to forget their antipathies. Of course, this inability to unite on a given issue seriously weakens the churches as a pressure group.

Effectiveness.—Nevertheless, the influence of churches in municipal affairs should not be underestimated. As astute a political boss

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 141.

[2] Sensational examples are reported in E. H. Lavine, "*Gimme*," *or How Politicians Get Rich* (New York, 1931).

as George B. Cox of Cincinnati made it a practice to consult with representatives of religious groups before making up his mind on certain matters and not infrequently appointed key members of churches to public positions so that he might be able to count to some extent at least on the churches in case of need.[1] The ministers of evangelical churches particularly are constantly either basing their sermons on public questions, or they incidentally refer to such issues in the course of their preaching. Many of these public questions are of national or international character, but it is quite common for city affairs to come in for attention.

Scope of Interest.—As may be expected, churches concern themselves especially with public morals. Such matters as Sunday movies, a segregated red-light district, gambling, and the sale of liquor are almost perennial in the pressure programs of churches.[2] At times single churches become concerned over paving assessments or the taxing of their property not used for strictly religious purposes. In such cases they have more than a general interest at stake and may be able to bring considerable pressure to bear on the appropriate administrative or political department.

At times churches become wrought up over the general problem of city government, although usually an acute situation is necessary before they show an interest in more than specific items. It is this refusal to concern themselves with the broad aspects of city government, which seem to many to be of greater importance than Sunday movies, that has brought to the churches a certain amount of criticism. If a city government becomes notoriously involved in the clutches of a machine or a boss, the churches frequently begin to press for a change. However, the long political careers of Bosses Cox of Cincinnati and Pendergast of Kansas City have been relatively free from religious opposition. Much depends upon what the boss or the machine emphasizes. If economy in government and a low tax rate are the watchwords, churches will not ordinarily become excited. However, if vice is rampant and corruption the rule and if these conditions are quite apparent, the churches may take a stand.

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 271.

[2] The vigorous interest of the churches in liquor sales is apparent in the bulletins of the various church boards of temperance. Interesting information is also contained in Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics: the Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York, 1928).

Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst.—One of the most interesting examples of the interest of a church in city government involved Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst of the Broadway Congregational Church in New York City during the eighteen-nineties. Dr. Parkhurst heard reports of widespread vice in New York City; he called upon the authorities to correct the situation; and he was asked to present evidence to a grand jury. Although the politicians expected that this challenge to produce evidence would silence Dr. Parkhurst, they failed properly to estimate their man. Dr. Parkhurst did not have at hand more than rumors and reports when he received the bid to appear before the grand jury, but rather than back down, he decided that he would get the evidence and publish in the press of New York City descriptions of actual conditions. Finding evidence very difficult to obtain, he hired an assistant and then proceeded with the assistant to visit various notorious houses of the underworld. After each visit a graphic account of his experience appeared in the newspapers. After a time immense popular interest developed. The underworld was irritated and then angered, and many threats were made against the minister. He disguised himself in making his visits, but it was not an easy matter to hide a middle-aged, bearded cleric, and the risk assumed by Dr. Parkhurst was great. Nevertheless, he escaped disaster and succeeded in bringing public opinion in New York City to such a pitch that Boss Croker became frightened and fled the country. The Tammany ticket was defeated at the polls in the ensuing election.[1]

Techniques.—The most common device employed by churches in their pressure activities is the simple and not very effective one of mention from the pulpit. The minister merely refers to the matter and trusts that enough interest will be created among his hearers to produce some effect. In these days of statements and counter-statements the ears of listeners are apt to be more or less hardened, and, as a rule, not much response results. At times ministers present petitions for members to sign as they leave the service, or the clergyman may make a concrete suggestion to the effect that members write letters or call by telephone members of the city council. This type of action on the part of a single church

[1] See: Dr. Parkhurst's account of his experiences in *My Forty Years in New York* (New York, 1923).

may produce slight result, but if a number of churches unite in such a project, the influence may be noticeable.

Not infrequently ministers' alliances, which in small cities usually include most of the ministers of the evangelical churches and in large cities are frequently an association of the ministers of a certain denomination, listen to a discussion of a certain matter and pass a resolution which the officers are instructed to send to the mayor, the council, or some other city department. If the newspapers are interested, front-page reports may carry a story of the resolution. At times the alliance will send a delegation to wait personally on the mayor; sometimes the members of the alliance will recruit influential members of their churches to assist in the project. If enough interest accompanies the matter and a considerable force of ministers and laymen is mobilized, especially if the newspapers play up the crusade, the city authorities are likely to give heed. But in most of the cases the resolutions tend to be perfunctory, and the city authorities know that little real force backs them. Consequently little attention is paid.[1]

RACIAL GROUPS

In cities where foreign groups bulk large in the population, a great deal of importance often attaches to the desires of such of these groups as are organized and united in ideas. The influence of the Irish in New York City, Boston, and many other cities is well known. At times it seems that the whole city government is run for the benefit of this single racial group. The members of the police force, the city firemen, and indeed most of the city employes are of Irish background. Every desire of the Irish is listened to with respect and generally carried out, while any project distasteful to these people is frowned upon. Just how a minority of the population, as the Irish usually are, can so completely control the affairs of a city it is not easy to explain. Usually they do it so smoothly that their machinery is scarcely apparent. Perhaps their most important technique is that of electing Irishmen to the important offices and filling the appointive positions with their members. With the offices and jobs held to a large extent by their own people, it is not strange that they should be able to dictate the policies of

[1] Compare such techniques with those of the Anti-Saloon League as described in Peter H. Odegard, *Pressure Politics* (New York, 1928).

the city. They succeed in filling the offices and jobs because they stand together and because as individuals they seem to possess unusual ability in the field of politics.[1]

The Irish.—Several years ago an experiment was carried on in one of the cities near Boston. A good Irish name (Sullivan) was selected, and a non-existent address on a street inhabited by the Irish was attached to this name. The name was then entered by petition as a candidate for the city council. The Irish name and the Irish neighborhood attracted almost enough votes to elect the imaginary person to the city council. This would seem to indicate that the Irish stand together on general principles, even if they are not personally acquainted. Add to this general loyalty the unusual skill that many Irishmen possess in the matter of speaking, staging parades, and otherwise campaigning, and it is not strange that the Irish have been so successful in getting the offices. Their loyalty is further indicated by their generosity in appointing their fellows to public jobs. It is perhaps not surprising that the Irish have contributed approximately half of the best known city bosses in the entire United States.[2]

The Italians.—No other racial group has enjoyed the success of the Irish, but several of them are by no means to be ignored. The Italians probably rank next to the Irish as a pressure group. Less successful in presenting a united front and with less talent for politics as individuals, the Italians, nevertheless, make a good showing. They elect their representatives to the city council; they secure appointments in the various city departments; and many of their members serve in various capacities in the party organization. Their desires receive not a little attention in such cities, as New York, Boston, and Chicago.

The Germans.—Although more numerous than the Italians, it may be doubted whether the Germans exert as great a political influence. Perhaps they have been absorbed in the general population to a greater extent and hence do not stand together as a distinct racial group. Nevertheless, in such cities as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Chicago, the importance of the German group is not to be disregarded.[3]

[1] Pertinent examples may be found in E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem* (New York, 1927); and Paul Lewinson, *Race, Class and Party* (New York, 1932).

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 3–4.

[3] See: *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 276–277.

The Negroes.—Other racial groups which achieve considerable success are the Negroes, Poles, Scandinavians, and Russians. While some of the racial groups exert less influence now than formerly, the Negroes have come into their own during the years since 1932. Traditionally Republican the Negroes have been wooed by the Democrats during recent years, until in many cities most of them now support Democratic candidates. In as much as both parties realize the importance of the Negro vote—in some cities they may be said to hold the balance of power—it is not strange that the Negroes have increased their evaluation of themselves. They demand more city jobs; they expect more attention to be paid to their general desires.[1] Their most powerful weapon in their privilege of voting in cities north of the Mason-Dixon line. They vote for the party or the organization which will make the best bargain with them. Of course, their importance in politics is largely confined to northern cities.

ORGANIZED LABOR

Program.—Organized labor has realized the importance of political power for sometime, but its efforts have been handicapped, and it still does not control the several governments of the United States as it might wish. However, in all of the spheres of government its influence has increased during recent years. More concerned with national and state government than with city government, organized labor has by no means neglected the latter. In some cities its success has been greater than in others. As early as the beginning of the present century labor elected a mayor and several members of the board of supervisors of San Francisco.[2]

Generally, however, organized labor has contented itself with electing one or more members of the city council. In addition, it has asked for a mayor who is not hostile and for city department heads who are willing to give labor consideration.[3] Perhaps the greatest concern of labor has been the police department. Labor has experienced police departments that did little more than act as the agents of the factory and mill owners. Labor maintains

[1] See: H. F. Gosnell's *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1936).

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 352.

[3] Compare this program with that of labor groups in a state legislature in Belle Zeller, *Pressure Politics in New York* (New York, 1937), Chap. II.

that the police should at least be neutral in their attitude, favoring capital no more than labor. During recent years labor has enjoyed a good deal of success in its aim of securing fairer treatment at the hands of the police. Labor is also active in pressure for better recreational facilities, improved housing for the poor, and more generous appropriations for education.

Techniques.—The devices employed by organized labor in its pressure activities are fairly complex. Problems are discussed at meetings of the locals and at conventions; resolutions are passed and conveyed to the appropriate authorities; and city authorities are invited to address meetings of labor to explain their policies and to hear labor views. Candidates for public office are asked to pledge themselves on matters of interest to labor; labor candidates are put up for certain offices; and appointments for labor members are requested from city officials. Negotiations with the party organizations may be carried on looking toward concessions. City employes may be organized and brought into the ranks of organized labor.[1]

NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS

In larger cities local associations of business men and property-owners are not uncommon. Most of these interest themselves in improvements for the particular area which they cover; they exert considerable influence in obtaining parks, new public buildings, improved streets, and other public works for their sections. At times they bring pressure to maintain certain zoning regulations in force in their sections. The residents of certain of the older residential sections of New York City, such as Park Avenue and Grammercy Park, desire to keep out business establishments which will render the districts less desirable. Hence, they form associations which bring pressure to bear on the city government to make the necessary zoning regulations and to maintain these regulations when business seeks to have the zoning regulations liberalized.

A good example of a neighborhood association made up largely of business men rather than householders is the Fifth Avenue Association in New York City. Its program is to maintain the repu-

[1] Compare these techniques with those used in other spheres of government. See: H. L. Childs, *Labor and Capital in National Politics;* and Louis Adamic, *Dynamite* (New York, 1931).

tation of that well known thoroughfare. When the traffic problem demanded attention several years ago, it raised money to have expensive bronze control towers erected instead of the less elaborate ones which the city would have provided. These neighborhood associations usually have specific interests and use rather traditional methods in achieving their desires. City officials are contacted by association members; letters are written; resolutions are transmitted; and delegations are appointed to wait on the appropriate city officials.

NEWSPAPERS

Programs.—Almost all newspapers interest themselves in city affairs, and some of them formulate ambitious programs which they print every day at the head of their editorial sections. These much-publicized programs usually are comparatively unselfish, at least on the surface. They may contain statements favoring the adoption of the council-manager form of government, the construction of a more adequate sanitary system, clean streets, more economy in city government, a policy of pay-as-you-go in city finance, and a reduction in traffic accidents. Editorials appear from time to time arguing the merits of parts of the program. Diagrams and cartoons are frequently run which illustrate the traffic menace or some other public problem, while front-page stories, especially during the summer months when important news may be scarce, seek to influence a certain course of public action. Sometimes all of this is directed at the citizens, and again some of it may be trained on the city officials.[1]

Techniques.—At times newspapers undertake a regular campaign in favor of a certain program. Every issue of their paper will contain a front-page story, an editorial, or a cartoon—sometimes all three—pointing toward such a course. This may be maintained for weeks or even months, with the hope that constant pressure will convince the city officials that something must be done. Some of this material, it may be suspected, belongs to the "filler" category; more of it is mainly intended to bolster up the reputation of the newspaper as being interested in civic matters. But some of it really belongs to the *pressure* category.

Very effective as a pressure device is the front-page story relating

[1] By way of example see: the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Indianapolis News.*

to a current city situation. The police may be castigated for failure to apprehend a notorious criminal; a city department may be severely criticized for its wasteful expenditures; the council may be held up to ridicule for an ordinance; or a proposed increase in the tax rate may be vigorously exposed. The results of such publicity are sometimes good and sometimes bad. Police departments are driven to third-degree methods and to premature arrests; city departments may hesitate to make necessary expenditures; and adequate support for the public schools may not be forthcoming. In general, city officials do not like to be held up to public notice in an unfavorable light and therefore will pay much attention to newspaper headlines.[1]

Advertising Pressure.—A more subtle type of pressure activity which relates to the press grows out of the dependence of newspapers upon advertisers. Everyone knows that the subscribers do not begin to pay the cost of running a newspaper; very large revenue pours in from the department stores and other large advertisers. In as much as the advertisers largely contribute to the financial success of a newspaper, everything is done to make the relations between the paper and the advertisers cordial. At times the advertisers take advantage of this and use their advertising contracts as weapons to control the attitude of the newspaper on a certain matter which has to do with city government. Usually an advertiser never resorts to this method unless his desire is quite selfish and contrary to the public interest. Therefore, this type of pressure politics is distinctly vicious. The newspaper must not expose a corrupt city official because an important advertiser happens to be his father-in-law. The newspaper must criticize a proposed ordinance because such an ordinance would make it necessary for a large department-store advertiser to spend money in improving its quarters for employes.

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Women's Clubs.—Even in small cities there are likely to be found organizations of women which along with other activities function as pressure groups. Some cities have councils of clubs which are

[1] An interesting comparison may be made of these techniques and the techniques employed in various other forms of propaganda. See, for example: H. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (New York, 1927).

particularly important, for among the committees of the council will almost always be a committee on sanitation and a committee on legislation or public affairs. These committees serve to focus the attention and energy of the legion of women who belong to the almost countless clubs of a city on certain matters of a municipal character, for the council is a sort of clearing house for all the clubs enrolling women.

Among the items which have received the attention of women in many cities has been the enforcement of the rules and ordinances relating to the handling of food. Frequently these rules have been laxly enforced by the health officers of the city. The committee of the council of clubs inspects the various establishments selling food products to see whether the food is adequately protected from contamination by flies, dirty hands, and dust. After warning the merchants of carelessness, the women proceed to lodge complaints with the city health authorities. Even when the health authorities are recalcitrant, the public opinion stirred up by the determined women is usually so great that the officials are forced to take action.

Parent-Teacher Associations.—Parent-Teacher Associations frequently exert great pressure on matters pertaining to the public schools. They interest themselves in school buildings, school equipment, pupil health, the employment of superior teachers, and the maintenance of play facilities. They are especially active in fighting for reasonably adequate school budgets and on such occasions can marshal a great diversity of pressure forces. At times they take the lead in putting up a non-political list of school board members who are pledged to treat the public schools generously. Again they concentrate on certain members and help elect or defeat them as the case may be. They send delegations, write letters, make telephone calls, and in other ways attempt to influence action.

Leagues of Women Voters.—While the League of Women Voters interests itself generously in state and national government, the local Leagues also find some time usually to devote to city affairs. Priding themselves on objectivity and careful investigation the women who constitute the League of Women Voters stand out among pressure groups because of their lack of selfishness and their broad interests. They vary somewhat from place to place and from time to time; much depends upon the type of their members.

In certain cities they gather together a remarkably able and public-spirited group of women. In other cities the members are much less intelligent, and the leaders tend to be women who are personally ambitious for power and anxious to gain attention for themselves in every possible manner.

Generally speaking, the Leagues are cordially disliked by the public officials who manage public affairs in a slovenly manner and on the basis of partisan considerations. If these officials think they can ignore the efforts of the League with impunity, they are likely to do so, but on occasion the League generates so much public opinion that the public officials are forced to act.[1]

It may be added that the League of Women Voters does not consider itself a pressure group, and if pressure groups are to be limited to those organizations with axes to grind which are selfishly motivated, the League does not fall into such a category. However, in the broader use of the term, which includes all groups attempting to influence the action of government, the League of Women Voters has a place. The League has studied techniques more carefully than most pressure groups and in its application of force is more than ordinarily worthy of study. At times it employs almost every respectable device, but it prides itself on refusing to make use of questionable methods. Virtually every aspect of city government falls within the scope of the program of the League: it is interested in education, health, the merit system of public employment, charities, adequate assessment and fair taxation, and central purchasing.[2]

Service Clubs.—The role of the service organizations, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs, varies widely from place to place. In certain localities these organizations carefully avoid all public questions lest they alienate certain members, but in other cities the service organizations maintain at least some interest in municipal affairs. At times they organize committees, stage discussions, and even provide sums of money for the support of public projects.[3] Potentially they possess the attributes of a power-

[1] See: publications such as the *Voters' Handbook* (Indianapolis, 1937), issued by the Indiana League of Women Voters.

[2] For details see: the official publications of the national and state Leagues of Women Voters.

[3] The service organizations frequently assist in problems of juvenile delinquency by appointing big brothers or sponsors for encouraging and advising slum boys. They contribute to milk funds and other charitable enterprises.

ful pressure agency except for the fact that they are made up of representatives of diverse groups which usually do not agree on important matters. Yet this diversity is perhaps more apparent than real. In many cases it would seem that the service organizations take no stand and exert no pressure on public questions because of inertia.

Civic Associations.—Occasionally a city will have a Good Government Association, a Citizens Association, or a Charter Association, especially if the city is of some size. If pressure groups are to be limited to selfish aggregations, these associations will not find a place among them, but they do exert pressure for good city government. Usually they maintain permanent organizations and headquarters which are more or less always active in promoting superior city government. Frequently these associations have bureaus of city government whose function it is to investigate intricate public problems and issue reports indicating what other cities are doing and what a satisfactory course would seem to be in the home city. These reports are frequently printed and distributed among interested citizens, as well as made available to the city authorities. Representatives of these associations frequent the city hall and attend council meetings; they inform their members and often the general public when important matters are pending; they watch for corruption and mismanagement. At election time they report on the various candidates for public office, furnishing information as to their training, experience, past record in public affairs, and rating them as good, indifferent, or bad. Sometimes they go so far as to put up slates of their own. These associations depend largely upon arousing public opinion and hence act in a dual capacity as a pressure group and an agency of public education.[1]

There are other groups which at times act as pressure groups. Among these may be mentioned: the local chapters of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Taxpayers' Associations, fraternal organizations, and the recipients of public relief.

[1] Boston, New York City, and Detroit are among the cities which have strong organizations of this kind. For a general discussion see: Howard P. Jones, "Citizens Groups, Tool of Democracy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, pp. 176–182 (September, 1938). In 1938, there were 29 of these citizen groups which were carrying on programs of municipal research. See: *The Government Research Association Directory 1938–1939* (Chicago, 1938). The author is indebted to Mr. Robert M. Paige for a copy of the *Directory*.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Robert S., *et al.*, editors, *Our Fair City* (New York, 1947).

Childs, H. L., *Labor and Capital in National Politics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930).

Ewing, R. H., *Principles of Civic Leadership* (Los Angeles, 1943).

Gosnell, H. F., *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1936).

Herring, E. P., *Group Representation Before Congress* (Baltimore, 1929).

Hoan, D. W., *City Government* (New York, 1936).

Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, The, *The Illinois Crime Survey* (Chicago, 1929), Chaps. XVI–XXVII.

Key, V. O., Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chap. XVIII.

Logan, E. B., ed., "Lobbying," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 144, supplement (1929).

Lynch, D. T., *Criminals and Politicians* (New York, 1932).

MacCorkle, Stuart A., *American Municipal Government and Administration* (Boston, 1948), Chap. IX.

Odegard, Peter H., *Pressure Politics: The Story of the Anti-Saloon League* (New York, 1928).

Odegard, Peter H., and Helms, E. Allen, *American Politics: A Study in Political Dynamics* (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chap. XXII.

Salter, J. T., *Boss Rule* (New York, 1935).

Worrell, Dorothy, Comp., *The Women's Municipal League of Boston* (Boston, 1944).

Zeller, Belle, *Pressure Politics in New York* (New York, 1937).

PART V

THE STRUCTURE OF CITY GOVERNMENT

XV

THE MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT: THE MAYOR

The Traditional Form.—The mayor-council form of government may be called the traditional form of city government in the United States. Although it has undergone varied experiences and been modified again and again, it is still the form which the majority of cities both small and large now use.[1] Its roots go far back into the colonial period of American history and even beyond that to England. During colonial days the mayor exerted comparatively little influence in municipal affairs, as a rule, but after the Revolution he acquired gradually more and more power. That movement has continued to the present day and the mayor at present enjoys a commanding position.

The all-powerful borough or city council of colonial days has lost power as the mayor has gained.[2] At present the position of the council cannot be called unimportant, but it is relatively less notable than it has been. The trend which has developed the office of mayor at the expense of the city council has been primarily due to two causes. In the first place, the evil and corrupt conduct of many city councils has generated a widespread distrust of councils among the people. Even though mayors have not been all that they might be, they have been considered more worthy of trust than the city councils.

A second reason for the change involves the increasing complexity of municipal administration which has been more or less constantly a feature in municipal development. Where cities had one function to perform in 1800, they have several now. City councils are not adapted to the responsibility for elaborate and complicated administrative services. Such functions can best be

[1] In 1946, 1,266, or 62.3%, of 2,033 cities with 5,000 or more inhabitants used the mayor-council form of government. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 42.

[2] See: E. S. Griffith, *The History of American City Government: The Colonial Period* (New York, 1938), *passim*.

performed by administrative departments operating under the direction and supervision of the mayor.

Two Types of Mayor-Council Government.—Although throughout the United States mayors have added to their powers and councils have lost ground, the movement has proceeded faster and farther in some cities than in others. Hence, there may be distinguished two general types of mayor-council government. One makes the mayor definitely the dominant figure in city government and relegates the council to a position of relative weakness. The other confers on the mayor less important powers and preserves the council as a potent force in municipal affairs. These are known as the strong-mayor-weak-council and the strong-council-limited-executive types of the mayor-council form.

Needless to say, there are many variations of these two general types. Some cities, under the strong-mayor-weak-council type, make the mayor more powerful than other cities using the same general type.[1] Under the limited-executive type the same lack of uniformity may be noted. New York City and Boston are good examples of the strong-mayor type. Chicago does not ignore the office of mayor by any means, as the administrations of "Big Bill" Thompson and Edward J. Kelly well indicate, but the authority of the board of aldermen in that city has been maintained at a higher level than is the case in many other cities.[2]

Qualifications of the Mayor.—The legal qualifications specified for a mayor are usually not very onerous. Candidates must be residents of several years standing in some cities, and they must, of course, be voters. If any age is mentioned, it is likely to be thirty years. Occasionally other comparatively unimportant conditions are laid down by law. In addition to the formal requirements imposed by law, there are several other qualifications—often more substantial in character—dictated by custom. These vary more widely among cities than is the case with the legal requirements. But in most cities large or small candidates for the office of mayor who wish to be taken at all seriously must

[1] For an interesting study of a city where the weak-mayor system has not worked see: Thomas H. Reed, "Atlanta: The Collapse of the 'Weak Mayor' System," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 78 (September, 1938). A chart showing the governmental structure of Atlanta will be found on page 348.

[2] See: John Bright, "*Hizzoner*" *Big Bill Thompson* (New York, 1930). A chart showing the governmental structure under a strong-mayor-weak-council system will be found on page 349.

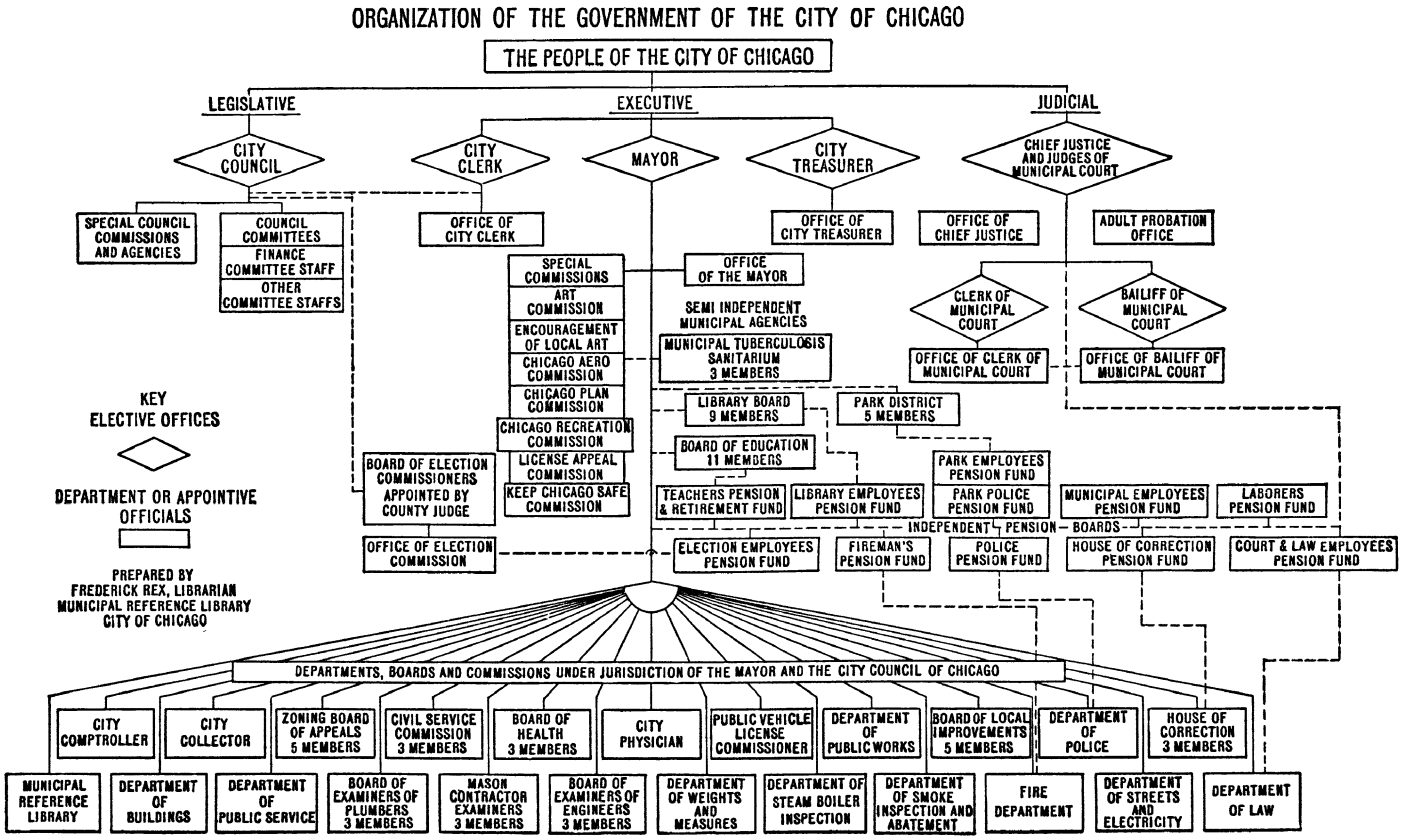

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO
THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO
LEGISLATIVE
EXECUTIVE
JUDICIAL
CITY COUNCIL
CITY CLERK
MAYOR
CITY TREASURER
CHIEF JUSTICE AND JUDGES OF MUNICIPAL COURT
SPECIAL COUNCIL COMMISSIONS AND AGENCIES
COUNCIL COMMITTEES
FINANCE COMMITTEE STAFF
OTHER COMMITTEE STAFFS
OFFICE OF CITY CLERK
OFFICE OF CITY TREASURER
OFFICE OF CHIEF JUSTICE
ADULT PROBATION OFFICE
SPECIAL COMMISSIONS
ART COMMISSION
ENCOURAGEMENT OF LOCAL ART
CHICAGO AERO COMMISSION
CHICAGO PLAN COMMISSION
CHICAGO RECREATION COMMISSION
LICENSE APPEAL COMMISSION
KEEP CHICAGO SAFE COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
SEMI INDEPENDENT MUNICIPAL AGENCIES
MUNICIPAL TUBERCULOSIS SANITARIUM 3 MEMBERS
CLERK OF MUNICIPAL COURT
BAILIFF OF MUNICIPAL COURT
OFFICE OF CLERK OF MUNICIPAL COURT
OFFICE OF BAILIFF OF MUNICIPAL COURT
KEY
ELECTIVE OFFICES
DEPARTMENT OR APPOINTIVE OFFICIALS
PREPARED BY
FREDERICK REX, LIBRARIAN
MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY
CITY OF CHICAGO
BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY COUNTY JUDGE
OFFICE OF ELECTION COMMISSION
LIBRARY BOARD 9 MEMBERS
BOARD OF EDUCATION 11 MEMBERS
PARK DISTRICT 5 MEMBERS
PARK EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND
PARK POLICE PENSION FUND
TEACHERS PENSION & RETIREMENT FUND
LIBRARY EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND
MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND
LABORERS PENSION FUND
INDEPENDENT PENSION BOARDS
ELECTION EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND
FIREMAN'S PENSION FUND
POLICE PENSION FUND
HOUSE OF CORRECTION PENSION FUND
COURT & LAW EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND
DEPARTMENTS, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS UNDER JURISDICTION OF THE MAYOR AND THE CITY COUNCIL OF CHICAGO
CITY COMPTROLLER
CITY COLLECTOR
ZONING BOARD OF APPEALS 5 MEMBERS
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION 3 MEMBERS
BOARD OF HEALTH 3 MEMBERS
CITY PHYSICIAN
PUBLIC VEHICLE LICENSE COMMISSIONER
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
BOARD OF LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS 5 MEMBERS
DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HOUSE OF CORRECTION 3 MEMBERS
MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY
DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE
BOARD OF EXAMINERS OF PLUMBERS 3 MEMBERS
MASON CONTRACTOR EXAMINERS 3 MEMBERS
BOARD OF EXAMINERS OF ENGINEERS 3 MEMBERS
DEPARTMENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
DEPARTMENT OF STEAM BOILER INSPECTION
DEPARTMENT OF SMOKE INSPECTION AND ABATEMENT
FIRE DEPARTMENT
DEPARTMENT OF STREETS AND ELECTRICITY
DEPARTMENT OF LAW

FIG. 6

show long residence. Municipal psychology in the United States ordinarily looks coldly upon the aspirations of the newcomer and decrees that the honor of being mayor shall be bestowed upon one of the citizens with long years of residence to his credit.

Although sex is not a legal consideration, in most cities only males have much of a chance of becoming mayor. Despite the legal permission to those of thirty years of age custom decrees a more advanced age in most cases; a mayoralty candidate of less than forty years of age is at a distinct disadvantage in most cities. Many cities prefer mayors who have passed the half-century mark. Normally a strong candidate for mayor must have the backing of one of the major parties. At times these parties support one who has not been active in party affairs, but, as a rule, only those who have served the party well can expect to win.

There are certain occupational rules which custom has ordained. Business men and lawyers receive first consideration, while doctors, labor leaders, and engineers may be placed in a second category for semi-serious attention. Teachers, clergymen, clerks, housewives, and other occupational groups rarely ever can expect to place one of their number in the position of mayor. Membership in fraternal, religious, and service organizations may be viewed as secondary qualifications which are frequently waived in certain cases. Social position may be important in some cities, but by and large it does not enter in to a large extent.[1]

Election.—Mayors almost always receive their positions at the hands of a plurality of the voters in a municipal election, although occasionally the endorsement of a majority of those who vote in an election may be required to elect. In some cities, where one party occupies a dominant position, the actual choice is made at the party primaries—whoever wins the nomination of the controlling party will be more or less automatically chosen in the regular election. A few cities have adopted preferential voting. Cleveland and San Francisco for a time employed the Bucklin system of preferential voting, and Columbus, Denver, Portland, Spokane, Duluth, Newark, and Jersey City are among the cities that have at least experimented with such a plan. At the height

[1] For a very good discussion of the qualifications of mayors see: R. M. Story, *The American Municipal Executive*, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. 7, no. 3 (1918).

of its popularity approximately one hundred cities made use of preferential voting, but since 1930 the numbers have fallen off.[1]

The Ware System of Preferential Voting.—The most satisfactory type of preferential voting thus far developed is probably the Ware system. If a mayor is being chosen under such an arrangement, a primary is not required. Candidates secure a place for themselves on the preferential ballot by obtaining a nominal number of signatures to petitions supporting their candidacies. In voting electors indicate their first, second, third choices, and so forth. To begin with, the ballots are sorted on the basis of first choices, and if any candidate receives a majority of first choices, he is elected.

However, if no candidate is the first selection of a majority of the voters, the candidate with the smallest number of first choices is dropped, and his ballots are redistributed on the basis of second choices. If, adding first choices and the second choices of the redistributed ballots, any candidate receives a majority, he is declared elected. The process of dropping the weakest candidates and redistributing their votes on the basis of second or even third or fourth choices goes on until some candidate receives a majority. The basic principle of the Ware system is that the mayor shall be the choice of a majority rather than a plurality of the voters. If first choices cannot help elect, second and third choices will be counted as far as possible.[2]

Removal of a Mayor.—Ordinarily mayors can be removed from office only by impeachment or by conviction in a court on felony charges. The city council acts as the impeaching agent; charges involving improper conduct are brought against the mayor; the council hears the evidence, deliberates in executive session, and either removes the mayor or finds him not guilty as charged. An extraordinary majority of the members of the city council must, as a rule, approve removal. In some cases governors of states have the power to remove mayors for malfeasance or misfeasance in office, and occasionally a judge may be given authority for such action. A good many cities provide that a mayor auto-

[1] See: Mayo Fesler, "The Preferential Non-Partisan Ballot," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Illinois Municipal League, 1916*, p. 25. See: also Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, *Bulletins* (1917–1918), Vol. 2, no. 27, pp. 303–319.

[2] R. G. Mott, "Preferential Voting and How It Works," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 1, p. 386 (July, 1912).

matically loses his office when convicted of a felony. Approximately one thousand cities have the power to remove mayors by using the recall.

The Recall.—The recall as applied to mayors resembles the instrument authorized in some states to remove governors and other elected officials.[1] A petition is circulated among the voters asking for the recall of the mayor on the ground of certain charges which are specified. From twenty-five to fifty-five per cent of the voters must sign the petition, depending upon the city involved. The petition goes to the city clerk, as a rule, who checks the signatures as well as he can to see whether the requirement has been met. If he certifies that sufficient voters have signed, the matter proceeds to the city council. The mayor may resign, but if he persists in retaining office, the council fixes a date for a recall election.

Cities differ in their practices relating to recall elections. Some cities submit the specific question as to whether the incumbent mayor shall be ousted, while other cities prefer to handle the matter more indirectly and really stage another mayoralty election. The incumbent mayor is automatically entitled to a place on the ballot, and other candidates get on by filing petitions. The voters indicate their choice. If the incumbent receives the most votes, he remains in office, but if another candidate succeeds in attracting the most votes, the incumbent mayor goes out.

Some cities combine the two plans and submit the direct question of recall first, following that on the ballot by a request that the voters indicate their preferences in case a majority vote for definite recall. The method of throwing the field open to all contenders, without specifically polling the voters on the recall of the mayor under fire, seems unsatisfactory. It does not offer a fair chance to the person who is charged with improper conduct to begin with, for it complicates the situation by permitting the election of a new mayor merely because the people may want a change.

Use of the Recall.—When the recall was first discussed, there seemed to be some feeling that it might be abused, and, therefore, states frequently imposed limitations on its use. A mayor may not

[1] The recall is authorized for use in all cities by approximately fifteen states. Twenty-three other states permit the recall to be used by certain cities. Probably more than one thousand cities now operate under the recall system. See: F. L. Bird and F. M. Ryan, *The Recall of Public Officers* (New York, 1930), pp. 4–5.

ordinarily be subjected to such a trial until he has served a certain period. Two attempts to recall a mayor are not permitted within a given time. In general, there is little evidence that the recall has been misused; as a matter of fact, it has been employed less frequently than its proponents expected. The most widely publicized cases have been those involving mayors of Los Angeles in 1909 and again in 1938, mayors of Seattle in 1910 and 1931, and the mayor of Detroit in 1929. Exactly how many mayors have been recalled is not known.[1] Perhaps the greatest advantage of such a device has been the indirect effect which it has had. When a mayor knows that the people of his city may start recall proceedings against him if he neglects his office and behaves improperly, he will frequently follow a more circumspect policy than would otherwise be the case.[2]

POWERS OF THE MAYOR

1. Appointing and Removing Public Officials: Major Appointments.—At one period in the municipal history of the United States the heads of the city departments were elected by the voters, and in some cities the heads of the older departments still receive their positions from the people. But as new departments have been added, it has been commonly the practice to allow the mayor to choose the department heads. Moreover, there has been not a little progress in the direction of placing all department heads, with the possible exception of the comptroller, under the mayor. In general, if the mayor is to bear the responsibility for the conduct of municipal administration, he should be given the power to name the administrative officials. The popular election of the city clerk, treasurer, assessor, and other officials clutters up the ballot and makes for irresponsibility in city affairs.

Minor Appointments.—In addition to appointing department

[1] See: F. L. Bird and F. M. Ryan, *The Recall of Public Officers: A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California* (New York, 1930).

[2] The recall apparently did not have this effect in the case of Mayor Frank L. Shaw of Los Angeles who was removed from office in 1938. Reform elements maintained that Shaw permitted vice and crime to flourish. Judge Fletcher Bowron who was chosen mayor instead of Shaw interpreted his elevation as "in no sense a personal triumph. I have merely been a part of a movement for clean government." The vote on recalling Mayor Shaw was 235,395 in favor and 128,727 opposed. Approximately 45 per cent of the registered voters participated in the election. *New York Times*, September 18, 1938.

heads, many mayors dispose of most of the minor positions. Where there is a merit system, the mayor is theoretically limited, but by means of special and temporary appointments many mayors have actually avoided the civil-service rules. Particularly in small cities the mayor may be expected to have much to say about the employment of policemen, firemen, clerks, and all other city employes. He may be controlled in the disposal of these positions by the political machine which elected him, but he nominally makes the decisions.

Even in cities of several hundred-thousand population it is amazing to what extent some mayors keep their hands on minor appointments. Fifteen vacancies occur among several hundred policemen. Instead of allowing the police chief to pick promising patrolmen, the mayor receives hundreds of applications and spends many hours of valuable time attempting to select the fortunate fifteen. Mayors will admit that the whole affair is unpleasant, unsatisfactory, and politically inexpedient. They spend much time interviewing candidates, friends, and political supporters. When they finally make the appointments, they alienate several hundred unsuccessful aspirants, together with the relatives and friends of the latter. Some of these translate their bitterness into active opposition at the polls. But the mayors continue to handle even minor patronage in many cities.

Confirmation of Appointments by the Council.—In the case of major appointments mayors sometimes have to submit their nominations to the city council for confirmation. This theoretically serves as a check on the mayor, but actually it more frequently gives the city council a lever which it employs to good advantage, for unless the mayor consults the councilmen in making appointments and even shares with them his patronage, they will refuse to confirm or at least hold up his appointments. If the mayor is to shoulder the responsibility for municipal administration—as it is generally agreed that he should—he ought to be given a free hand in making major appointments. Confirmation by the council, as a rule, serves no useful purpose and frequently actually hinders a conscientious mayor.[1]

Removal of City Officials.—The appointing power of mayors carries with it the power to remove. Some cities seek to limit the

[1] See: Charles E. Merriam, *Chicago* (New York, 1929), pp. 259–260.

power of the mayor in this field. They specify that the mayor shall remove other than major officials only for certain causes, and provide that the mayor may have to file with some public office a statement of the charges which he makes against the person whom he desires to remove from office. The accused may then have an opportunity to present evidence at a public hearing as to the falsity of the charges.

Some cities still give the council authority to block removals of major officials; the mayor cannot remove unless he carries the matter to the city council and secures its consent. There is some justification for listing the reasons which shall constitute basis for removal, and in certain cases public hearings serve a useful purpose, although in many instances they prevent wise action on the part of a mayor. Mayors are so sensitive to publicity of an adverse sort that they will keep an unworthy person in office when they should exercise their removal power. The plan of having the city council approve removals is open to serious criticism. Councils are too fond of using such a power to embarrass and hinder the mayor in the carrying out of his duties.

Where cities have merit systems, the mayor is supposed to keep his hands off of minor officials. Removals should be accomplished under the rules of such a service. Nevertheless, in some cities mayors do interfere even with such cases by bringing pressure to bear on the officials nominally in charge of administering the merit system. All sorts of technical and petty reasons are sometimes used as excuses to get rid of certain employes. This may be because the employes offend the mayor with their high standards and refusal to follow a course of political expediency, or it may be for the purpose of vacating positions that may be used to reward friends and supporters of the mayor.

2. *Supervision of Administration.*—If municipal affairs are to be efficiently handled, there must be constant counseling, supervision, and reporting, and the mayor is the logical person in a city government to unify administrative activities. He can organize a sort of cabinet out of the heads of the various administrative departments. At the cabinet meetings general administrative policies can be discussed and adopted as far as the council does not have to approve. The programs of every department can be reported on so that duplication may be avoided; disputes can be adjusted; and

a uniform plan of personnel policy or economy may be worked out. In addition to group meetings, mayors confer at frequent intervals with individual administrative officials. On these occasions programs of single departments are discussed and perhaps modified; complaints from civic associations relating to the work of a single department may be gone over; and the mayor may offer advice as to the conduct of the affairs of a department. If the mayor has the power of appointment and removal, these individual conferences may be very effective in correcting abuses, improving standards of service, and coördinating the work of one administrative agency with that of another.[1]

Reports.—A vigorous mayor will require frequent reports from the administrative departments of the city. Some of these may have to do with the general work of the departments; others will be of a more special nature; while some of them will indicate the state of the finances of the various departments. By reading these reports the mayor can keep informed as to what the various departments are doing and how well they are living within their budgets. When a report suggests that affairs in a certain department are not going too well or that expenditures are mounting in such a fashion that the budget of the department will be exhausted long before the end of the fiscal year, the mayor will endeavor to correct the difficulties by talking to the official in charge over the telephone or by calling him in for a conference.[2]

3. Legislative.—In small cities mayors often preside over city councils, and even in some large cities, such as Chicago, mayors continue to perform such a task. As a rule, mayors have the power to call special sessions of the city council to consider special problems. They almost always may address the council either in person or by means of a written message, and if the mayor has a program and wields considerable influence, these messages may be very important. At the beginning of his administration a mayor may inform the council of the general outlines of what he intends to do for the city.

If mayors do not have the legal right to introduce ordinances, they usually do not find it difficult to persuade a member of the

[1] See: J. O. Garber, "The Municipal Cabinet in the United States," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 168 (March, 1930).

[2] See: J. P. Mitchel, "The Office of Mayor," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 5, p. 479 (1915).

council to render such a service. Some mayors take a very active interest in general legislation and prepare in their own offices the texts of many important ordinances. If their relations with the council are intimate, they may themselves largely control the ordinance-making power. Through their power over appointments and other patronage mayors may implement the legislative authority formally conferred upon them, for members of the city council desire certain favors for themselves or their supporters, and in return for such special consideration they are willing to accede to the wishes of the mayor in respect to legislation.[1]

The Veto Power.—As a rule, mayors enjoy the right to veto certain acts of city councils. Where the movement toward a strong-mayor type of city government has gone the farthest, they possess an almost absolute veto over ordinary legislative acts of the council. Of course, this gives a mayor virtually complete control over legislation. But in most cities mayors have less than an absolute veto. In certain cases their vetoes may be suspended by mere repassage of a measure by an ordinary majority of the council, but more commonly it requires a two-thirds or a three-fourths vote of the council members to override a mayor's veto. Even such a qualified veto confers upon the mayor great legislative influence. In some cases the mere intimation of a veto may be sufficient to deter the council from action in a field not acceptable to the mayor.

The use that mayors make of the veto power varies widely. Some energetic mayors, who do not carry their councils with them, invoke the right very frequently, while other equally active mayors, who control their councils, rarely find it necessary to use the veto. Weak mayors, who desire to do little more than enjoy the perquisites of public office, or mayors who are dominated by fear, as a rule, make little use of this important device.

4. Financial: Preparing Budgets.—Cities vary considerably as to the authority over financial matters conferred upon their mayors, but almost all mayors have at least some financial influence.[2] They can at least recommend appropriations to city councils. Where a budgetary system is used, mayors ordinarily either have

[1] See: R. M. Story, *The American Municipal Executive*, for additional discussion of the relations between the mayor and the council.

[2] See: Mabel L. Walker, "Budget-Making in Seven Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 302 (May, 1930).

charge of preparing a tentative budget for submission to the city council or serve as members of budgetary boards or commissions. A common practice is to make mayors responsible for framing the budget. In large cities mayors often have special budgetary assistants who devote all or most of their time to such matters; of course they work closely under the supervision of the mayors and reflect the attitude of their chiefs in their budgetary decisions.

Where the influence of the mayor has been pushed to the limit, the city council has only nominal control over the budget after it receives it—in Boston, for example, the city council may only reduce or strike out items; it has no power to increase or insert appropriations. Anyone who knows council psychology will understand what a serious limitation this is. Councils do not like to decrease or strike out, for as Boss Lomasney of Boston once declared when he was a member of the city council, "I don't care anything about this cheap loaf of economy. I never saw a man in my life who made economy his watchword who was not always defeated before the people . . . when the people receive the benefits, they never grumble about taxes." [1] In addition to this very far-reaching power, the mayor of Boston also has a veto on any decision of the city council to strike out or cut appropriations.

Supervising Budgets.—Quite as significant a task is that which some mayors exercise in seeing that budgets are carried out, for no budget amounts to much unless its provisions are put into effect. All too many cities follow slovenly habits when it comes to observing the provisions of their budgets. Certain departments apparently have no feeling that they must live within their budgetary allotments; they spend all of their funds during the first six months of the year and then depend upon public opinion, politics, or an easy-going mayor to furnish additional funds. To correct such an unsatisfactory situation some cities confer upon their mayors the duty of supervising budgets, and under such a plan mayors must certify budgetary funds before they can be spent by departments. By doing this every month or every quarter, irresponsible departments cannot spend more than the amount certified during that period.

It is not an uncommon practice for departments to ask for money for certain purposes, with the intention of diverting such

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 71.

funds for other purposes that they could not get through the city council. In order to correct this abuse and yet to ensure some degree of leeway in cases of emergency, mayors are sometimes given the right to pass on all transfers of funds. Only when a department has specifically obtained the consent of the mayor, is it permissible to shift funds from a purpose set down in the budget to some other use.

5. *Judicial.*—In small cities mayors sometimes act as judges in the municipal court. Where the demands upon the time and energy of a mayor are not great, such an arrangement offers certain advantages. In other cities mayors have the right to appoint city magistrates. This enables them to exercise a certain amount of control over municipal courts.[1]

6. *As the Formal Representative of the City.*—Mayors occupy positions as formal representatives of their cities; they represent their cities in various associations, such as the United States Conference of Mayors; and they officiate at public ceremonies of many different types. When conventions, clubs, and other out-of-town groups come to town, mayors are frequently expected to act as official hosts, and they perform as official greeters when distinguished or widely known persons visit their cities. They must attend all manner of meetings to convey the welcome of their cities or to extend official felicitations.

7. *As the Civic Leader.*—In as much as people in the United States like to personify political structures and institutions, the mayors of cities often stand in the public eye as the civic leaders of their respective cities. People repose confidence in the mayors to a larger extent than in any other municipal officials, and they look to them for guidance in municipal affairs. This adds to the prestige of the office as well as to its powers. When the city council proves recalcitrant, the mayor may go to the people with an appeal for backing. In many cases it is possible for him to attract so much favorable opinion that the city council will be deluged with telephone calls, letters, petitions, and personal solicitation. With councils sensitive to such pressure, it often happens that the council decides to follow the mayor.

[1] Professor Story concludes that the judicial powers of mayors are declining. See: R. M. Story, *The American Municipal Executive*, p. 107. The mayor of New York City may still sit as a "committing magistrate," but rarely acts in such a capacity.

Terms of Mayors.—Cities elect their mayors for either a two- or a four-year term, but in large cities especially there is a tendency to follow the four-year practice. Mayors may usually run for re-election to succeed themselves. Whether they will be given a second term depends upon the traditions of their cities, the accomplishments of their administration, and the general character of the times.

Compensation Attached to the Office of Mayor.—Even in very small cities mayors usually receive some compensation. It may not exceed a few hundred dollars per year, but custom, as well as law, ordinarily prescribes a certain salary. As cities increase in size, salaries, of course, go up. New York City tops the list with a salary of $25,000 for its mayor; Boston pays $20,000; and Chicago and Philadelphia each allow $18,000.[1] A number of large cities provide annual salaries of seven to ten thousand dollars.

Occasionally an official residence may be furnished a mayor, but this is not usual. However, an official automobile may be accorded in very large cities, as well as an allowance for entertaining and travel. Considering the demands that are made upon the pocket-books of mayors, their salaries are not excessive. Mayor Behrman of New Orleans was accustomed to luncheon bills aggregating two or three hundred dollars per month at the famous French restaurants in his city.[2]

How Mayors Spend Their Time.—In small cities mayors devote only a few hours or less each day to the affairs of their cities, and the remainder of the time they spend on their own private business. Even in cities of much larger size the position of mayor may not be considered a full-time job—a great deal depends upon the particular city. The extent of the duties imposed upon the mayor determines to some degree the amount of time required, and, furthermore, the character of the mayor himself plays a large role. In certain small cities mayors have no private affairs and therefore willingly give all of their time to municipal business. In large cities a mayor may have extensive business or professional connections which he does not desire to drop, and, therefore, he divides his time. A mayor who likes routine and who finds it impossible to delegate authority will, of course, have more of a

[1] New York City paid Mayor J. J. Walker a salary of $40,000 per year.

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1930), p. 329.

full-time job than a mayor who dislikes details and prefers to have subordinates do most of the actual work.

Office Hours.—In small cities mayors may keep no office hours—often they do not even have offices. In large cities mayors may be expected to spend some time in their offices which usually occupy a prominent place in the city hall. A mayor of the J. P. Mitchel type will be found in his office a large part of the time, for he carries over from his business or professional life the habit of regarding the office as the place where work is done.[1] The Tom L. Johnson type of mayor regards time spent in an office as largely wasted.[2] This type of mayor hates to be confined; he fidgets about when he has desk work to do; he craves personal contacts and activity. Perhaps it is safe to state that most mayors fall somewhere between these two extremes. They realize that their positions call for a certain amount of paper work which necessitates presence in an office, and at the same time they do not minimize the importance of personal inspection and personal contacts.

After-Hour Engagements.—Mayor Tom Taggart of Indianapolis prided himself on being on the streets by six o'clock every morning in order that he might ascertain how well the street cleaning and other municipal housekeeping was being performed. Not many mayors emulate Mayor Taggart in this respect. If they reach their offices by nine or ten o'clock, they regard themselves as adequately fulfilling requirements.

More mayors do not reach their homes until after midnight every night. The demands made upon the mayor of a large city that call for evening attendance at various functions are numerous. There may be several dinners during a single evening to be looked in upon. Following these there may be meetings of one kind and another and receptions. Mayors who feel that personal contacts are very important will attend not only group functions, but private affairs. Weddings, funerals, christening parties, wedding anniversaries, birthdays, and many other varieties of social occasions provide splendid opportunities.

[1] For an interesting article which sets forth Mayor Mitchel's concept of the office, see: J. P. Mitchel, "The Office of Mayor," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 5, p. 479 (1915).

[2] An unusually good discussion of the office of mayor is to be found in Tom L. Johnson, *My Story* (New York, 1913). Cities in the United States have rarely had a more colorful and energetic man in the office of mayor than Tom L. Johnson.

Public Appearances.—When mayors appear in public, they may seek the most prominent places, or they may prefer the background. Many of them love to speak, and if they excel at extempore speaking, they simply arise and let the spirit move them. Others prepare a few set speeches which they repeat again and again. Occasionally a mayor will develop skill as a showman. "Big Bill" Thompson did not appear too frequently in public, but he could put on a good show when he did. Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston found it difficult to speak well; so he had some songs written and delivered himself in song when called upon.[1]

Reception of Callers.—Many mayors pride themselves on keeping their office doors open to all callers. In a large city such a habit requires a great deal of time, as well as much patience and human sympathy, for large numbers of people of every conceivable variety will take advantage of such a policy. Some simply want to be able to say that they have met and conversed with the mayor; others have complaints to make; still others desire favors for themselves, their relatives, or their friends; and not a few feel that they have advice which will prove valuable. Cranks, morons, housewives, aged people, business men, foreigners, clergymen—all call on the mayor who receives every caller.

Whether such a generous policy in the matter of callers is wise may be doubted, for it frequently means that the mayor will spend so much time talking to casual visitors that he will find little time for more important affairs. Nevertheless, receiving callers in moderation is one of the most important duties of a mayor. The mayor who excuses himself entirely from callers on the ground that he must devote himself to more important matters may find that he has little popular support when he most needs it. Important complaints may properly find a ready hearing at the mayor's office.

Types of Mayors.—A satisfactory classification of mayors is difficult. There is that large group which takes orders from some political boss and contents itself with the outward habiliments of the office. There is another large group made up of business men or retired business men. The mayors who compose this group probably predominate in small cities, but they are not uncommon

[1] For an interesting article on the activities of mayors see: H. F. Pringle, "Portrait of a Mayor-at-Large," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 156, p. 312 (February, 1928).

in large cities. They receive their positions at the hands of the local business men who want to keep taxes down, and consequently they pay much attention to the desires of business.

There is a comparatively small group which includes the reform mayors, the independent mayors, and the progressive mayors. These mayors have ambitious programs which they sometimes move heaven and earth to put into effect. They display a great deal of courage, work with much faithfulness, and attempt to educate the people to a proper appreciation of and a demand for good municipal government. Yet the members of this group probably vary more in methods and in personal characteristics than the members of any other group. Some of them accomplish comparatively little because they lack tact or because they encounter violent opposition, while others literally transform their cities.

Mayor La Guardia of New York City and Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee were excellent examples of what can be accomplished by a mayor of this type.[1] Both of these men had large visions of what can be done by a city government for its people; they both worked almost beyond human limits; and both refused to admit defeat, even when faced by apparently insuperable obstacles. Neither accepted dictates from a political machine.

There is a fourth class of mayors that might be labelled the "political sport" type. Mayors, such as "Big Bill" Thompson, "Bossie" Gillis, Jim Curley, and Lew Shank, might be placed in it. They sometimes succeed in getting themselves elected mayor not only once but several times. They do not employ orthodox methods in their campaigning, and they usually are not the choices of a political machine; nor do they take their orders from a machine after they get in. Yet they display little interest in progressive municipal government. They conduct the business of the mayor's office very much as if it might be a show. Most of them violate almost every cardinal rule in politics, but they manage to keep popular support. As a rule, they love the limelight.[2]

[1] For very good data in regard to Mayors La Guardia and Hoan see: the study of Mayor La Guardia in *The American Politician* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1938), edited by J. T. Salter; and Joseph P. Harris, "Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 18, p. 549 (September, 1929).

[2] See: T. G. Goos, "James M. Curley of Boston," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 15, p. 253 (May, 1926); and Joseph McGoldrick, "Jimmy Walker," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 17, p. 566 (October, 1928).

Political Importance of the Mayor's Office.—It has sometimes been said that the mayor of New York City ranks next to the President of the United States in importance. Considering the magnitude of the problem of government in New York City, as well as the size of the budget and the bonded indebtedness, such a claim has much force. Yet the mayor of New York City usually exerts comparatively slight influence in the world of politics outside of New York City—he rarely ever is even considered for the post of governor of New York State—to say nothing of the national presidency. A few mayors have climbed to higher political positions as governors of states, members of Congress, and in one or two instances as Presidents of the United States, but the number is surprisingly small.

Just why mayors do not go higher in politics it is not easy to explain. To some extent, it is probably due to the fact that municipal political machines do not get on too well with state and national organizations; they want their own way and are powerful enough to cause embarrassment to the larger organizations. The fact that municipal organizations want a colorless, compliant sort of man as mayor may play a part. The great mayors have been opposed by their local machines. The wide publicity received by the mayor of a large city may at times make him too well known to serve as a candidate for a higher office. Then, too, municipal problems differ from state and national problems, and it may be that the feeling that municipal experience does not fit for state or national service enters in. Occasionally mayors have passed the age when they would make suitable candidates for higher offices.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bird, F. L., and Ryan, F. M., *The Recall of Public Officers: A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California* (New York, 1930).

Bright, John, "*Hizzoner*" *Big Bill Thompson* (New York, 1930).

Capes, W. P., *The Modern City and Its Government* (New York, 1922), Chap. VI.

Goodnow, F. J., and Bates, F. G., *Municipal Government* (New York, 1925), Chap. X.

Harrison, Carter H., *Stormy Years: Autobiography* (Indianapolis, 1935).

Johnson, Claudius O., *Carter H. Harrison I* (Chicago, 1928).

Johnson, Tom L., *My Story* (New York, 1913).
Low, B. R. C., *Seth Low* (New York, 1925).
Mitchel, J. P., "The Office of Mayor," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 5, p. 479 (1915).
National Municipal Review, series of articles on mayors:
Epexegeticus, "John F. Hylan of New York," Vol. 15, p. 158 (March, 1926).
Lovett, W. P., "John W. Smith of Detroit," Vol. 15, p. 205 (April, 1926).
Goos, T. G., "James M. Curley of Boston," Vol. 15, p. 253 (May, 1926).
Yarros, V. S., "William E. Dever of Chicago," Vol. 15, p. 390 (July, 1926).
Showalter, J. F., "James C. Dahlman, Mayor of Omaha," Vol. 16, p. 111 (February, 1927).
Baumhoff, R. G., "Victor J. Miller of St. Louis," Vol. 16, p. 164 (March, 1927).
Walnut, T. H., "W. Freeland Kendrick of Philadelphia," Vol. 16, p. 302 (May, 1927).
Morgan, J. T., "Mayor George E. Cryer of Los Angeles," Vol. 17, p. 27 (January, 1928).
Briggs, G. N., "Mayor Lawrence C. Hodgson of St. Paul," Vol. 17, p. 203 (April, 1928).
Stewart, F. M., "Mayor Oscar F. Holcombe of Houston," Vol. 17, p. 317 (June, 1928).
Smith, E. E., "Frank Hague: Mayor-Boss of Jersey City," Vol. 17, p. 514 (September, 1928).
McGoldrick, J. D., "Jimmy Walker," Vol. 17, p. 566 (October, 1928).
Martin, E. M., "William Hale Thompson of Chicago," Vol. 17, p. 663 (November, 1928).
Lovett, W. P., "John C. Lodge of Detroit," Vol. 18, p. 16 (January, 1929).
Wilson, R., "Murray Seasongood of Cincinnati," Vol. 18, p. 68 (February, 1929).
Hines, W. M., "James Rolph, Jr., of San Francisco," Vol. 18, p. 163 (March, 1929).
Michelson, B. F., "Charles S. Ashley of New Bedford," Vol. 18, p. 377 (June, 1929).
Harris, J. P., "Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee," Vol. 18, p. 549 (September, 1929).
Reed, T. H., "Atlanta: The Collapse of the 'Weak Mayor' System," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 78 (September, 1938).
Salter, J. T., ed., *The American Politician* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1938), article on Mayor La Guardia by Paul Kern.

Shenton, C. G., *Executives and Legislative Bodies of American Cities* (Philadelphia, 1937).
Story, R. M., *The American Municipal Executive* (Urbana, 1918).
Whitlock, Brand, *Forty Years of It* (New York, 1914).
Zink, Harold, *City Bosses in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1930), Part 2, Chaps. XVIII–XIX.

XVI

THE MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT: THE COUNCIL

Qualifications of Council Members.—Members of the city council may be required to have nominal qualifications as to age, residence, and citizenship by state law or by the city charter, but few people find themselves disqualified on such grounds. More stringent are the dictates of custom. Councilmen must usually have long terms of residence in their cities and perhaps in their sections of cities, although the convention in this respect is less severe than in the case of the mayor. In most cities would-be councilmen must have active records in a party organization. Frequently they come up through the ranks of precinct and ward service and combine a chairmanship of a ward with a seat in the city council. Occupation plays a less important role than in the case of a mayor. Business men and professional men may have an edge over other occupational groups, but labor, the service trades, and liquor-gaming purveyers often figure. Foreign racial groups are more likely to be represented than in the case of the mayor.[1]

METHODS OF SELECTION

At Large.—With the tendency toward small councils, which has been progressively noticeable during the last quarter of a century, members of city councils are frequently elected from the city at large. Indeed something like 37 per cent of all cities over 5,000 population now use such a system.[2] There are more wards than seats in many cities, and then, too, there is a feeling that the council-

[1] For a good discussion of the relation of the mayor-council form and good city government see: Jewell C. Phillips, "Good Government Under the Old Forms," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 91 (September, 1938).

[2] Detroit and Pittsburgh are among the large cities which elect members of the council at large. Among 1,266 mayor-council cities in 1946 37.3 per cent elected councilmen at large. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 46.

men should represent the interests of the entire city rather than the local desires of a certain small part of the city. This system has proved fairly satisfactory, although some councilmen have perhaps paid primary attention to local interests despite their election at large.

To some extent, certain areas of cities have suffered under this plan, in that they have not had representatives in the council. Human beings in general pay more attention to affairs with which they are familiar than with strange things, and councilmen, although elected at large, frequently give special attention to the claims of the sections of the city with which they are associated. Therefore, areas that consistently lack representation may be neglected. Some cities have handled this problem by specifying that each section of a city shall put up a candidate, but that all voters in the entire city shall elect councilmen from the several districts. Such a plan serves to give every section representation, and at the same time it perhaps frees the members from too great reliance upon local support, with consequent undue interest in the claims of section as against the welfare of the city as a whole.[1]

By Wards.—The older plan of electing councilmen makes the ward the unit, and many cities—approximately 40 per cent—continue to employ this method. Every ward has one or more representatives in the city council. These councilmen are nominated and elected by the voters of the ward. Such an arrangement ensures the distribution of the council seats throughout a city, but, if the city happens to be large and have numerous wards, it makes for an unwieldy council. Chicago has fifty wards and consequently fifty members of its board of aldermen.

In many cases such a method makes for intense sectionalism. An improvement cannot be undertaken in one section, however needed it may be, unless something is done for other sections. This means needless expenditure and works to the disadvantage of the newer sections. Under a system where the general interests determine action, these newer sections would receive the lion's share of public improvements until they reached a position of equality with the older parts of the city. But with the jockeying necessary to get anything through a council based on ward lines,

[1] In 1946, 43.6 per cent of 1,266 mayor-council cities used the non-partisan type of election. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 46.

caution will have to be exercised in all such matters, lest a precedent be created.[1]

At Large and by Wards.—In order to meet the legitimate demand for sectional representation in the city council and at the same time avoid the evils of a council composed entirely of ward members, some cities have adopted a combination system—more than one-fifth of mayor-council cities now follow this plan.[2] Part of the seats in the council are filled by election from wards or groups of wards, while the remainder are filled by election at large. Theoretically this plan has much to recommend it, and in small cities it functions well enough. However, in large cities there is the problem of making the council too large. Unfortunately it is the large cities that need sectional representation more than the small cities, where wards lines usually play comparatively little part in the conduct of city affairs.

Proportional Representation.—There has been some attention paid to a plan which makes relative numbers and interest groups rather than major political parties and geographical areas the basis upon which the city councils are constituted. The traditional system sometimes gives almost all the councilmen to the majority party and leaves large minorities almost without representation. Then, too, people may be much more concerned with the programs of a social, economic, racial, religious, or occupational group to which they belong than with the claims of a ward or geographical area.

Under the traditional system interest groups have sometimes been represented directly in the council. Invariably some of them have exerted large indirect pressure on the work of city councils. Under the proportional plan the claim of minority political parties and interest groups is given recognition.[3] There is considerable difference of opinion as to the legitimacy of the desires of social, economic, racial and religious groups for seats in the city council, but there can be little objection, which is not entirely selfish, to minority party representation.

[1] Small cities frequently elect members of the council at large, but large cities ordinarily prefer the ward system. Los Angeles and Boston went back to the ward plan in the nineteen-twenties after trying election at large.

[2] In 1946, 22.1 per cent used this system.

[3] See: George H. Hallett, Jr., and C. G. Hoag, *Proportional Representation, The Key to Democracy* (Washington, 1937), Chaps. I and II.

Some people profess to feel that proportional representation ignores the general public welfare, while others argue that the major interests of the inhabitants should be the determining factor in city government. Perhaps the controversy is more academic than is apparent on the surface, for even a casual study of municipal government will indicate that interest groups do play an important role in the conduct of city government. As a rule, they operate indirectly and more or less behind the scenes. The question, therefore, is not so much whether interest groups shall or shall not be given a place, but whether the city council shall be directly built on such groups.

The number of interest groups may be so large that even the major ones cannot all be given seats in the council. Perhaps the interest groups themselves can best be accorded attention by a council that is not made up itself of the representatives of interest groups. Yet to some extent councils chosen on geographical lines do include interest-group representatives. Business may be definitely represented, and other groups may also have seats. More serious is the almost complete ignoring of the members of the minority party who may be only slightly less numerous than the members of the winning party.

Experience in Cleveland and Cincinnati.—Cleveland adopted proportional representation when it transformed itself into a council-manager city. However, there was a considerable amount of criticism of such a system—which played some part in abandoning the council-manager form.[1] Cincinnati has used proportional representation on a city-wide rather than a district system such as Cleveland employed.[2] While there has been opposition to such a method of electing the members of the city council the arrangement has worked reasonably well in Cincinnati.

Experience in New York City.—The most sensational experience with such a plan has been in New York City which first employed such a method in 1937. Some difficulty was encountered in acquainting the voters with the details of the plan; several weeks went by before the victors could be announced; but the results

[1] R. S. Moley, "Proportional Representation in Cleveland," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 38, p. 652 (December, 1933).

[2] R. P. Goldman, "An Analysis of Cincinnati's Proportional Representation Elections," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 22, p. 699 (August, 1930).

exceeded the expectation of most students of government.[1] Instead of a council made up almost exclusively of Tammany and other machine Democrats, which had been the case even under the first administration of Mayor La Guardia, New York City found itself with a council consisting of a fairly wide variety of types. The Tammany Democrats won a bare half of the seats; Fusionites, Republicans, Laborites, Independents, and Socialists received the remainder.[2] However, after using proportional voting for approximately a decade New York City decided to return to the traditional system.

The Details of Proportional Representation.—Under proportional representation councilmen may be elected from the entire city or from districts which must be given at least three seats. There are variations of the plan, but the form used in the United States is known as the Hare system. Candidates get their names on the ballot by petition, rather than as a result of a direct primary. The number of signatures required varies somewhat, but usually is large enough to discourage persons who have no chance and small enough to make such a requirement reasonably easy for candidates with any following. Thus far paper ballots have had to be used, but the International Business Machines Corporation promises a proportional-voting machine in the near future.

Voters may check as many candidates as they like, but they must arrange their votes according to preference—that is, only one candidate may receive a first-choice vote, only one a second-choice designation, etc. Ballots cannot be counted in the election precincts, but are taken to a central place where experienced clerks undertake the count. To begin with, all the ballots are sorted into piles on the basis of first choices—that is, after the ballots have been totalled to ascertain how many people participated in the election. The quota—or number of votes required to elect—is determined by dividing the number of persons voting by the number of seats to be filled plus one and adding one. Thus, if 10,000 voters take part and there are nine seats to be filled, the quota will be ten divided into 10,000, plus one: the result being 1,001.[3]

[1] George H. Hallett, Jr. and C. G. Hoag, *Op. cit.*, pp. 153–160.

[2] New York City voted to abandon P. R. in 1947 to the disappointment of many.

[3] For a good discussion of the working of the plan see: Joseph P. Harris, "The Practical Workings of Proportional Representation in the United States and Canada," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, supp. 337 (May, 1930).

Redistributing of Votes.—If any candidates receive 1,001 first choices in the hypothetical election described above, they are declared elected at once. Any excess first-choice votes that successful candidates may have are distributed among other candidates on the basis of second or third or lower choices. The basic principle of proportional representation is that every ballot shall help elect someone. If a ballot can't be used for the first choice because the first choice is already assured of election or because the first choice has so few supporters that he must be dropped from the list, then count lower choices.

After excess first-choice votes have been redistributed on the basis of second or lower choices, the candidate having the fewest first choices is dropped. His ballots are then redistributed among the remaining candidates on the basis of second or other choices. If combined first- and second-choice votes of any candidates total 1,001, they are declared elected, and their surplus votes are redistributed. Then the weakest remaining candidate is dropped, and his ballots are redistributed. This process goes on until nine candidates have received 1,001 votes each, or until the list of candidates and elected persons has been reduced to nine.[1]

An Evaluation of Proportional Representation.—Former Governor Smith characterized proportional representation in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 as one of the worst offences ever perpetrated against cities.[2] Messers G. H. Hallett, Jr. and C. G. Hoag of the Proportional Representative League maintain that the achievements of Cincinnati in the field of municipal government are largely to be credited to proportional representation.[3] They seem to feel that proportional representation offers a cure for all municipal ills.

The truth probably lies somewhere between the two evaluations. It scarcely seems possible to regard the system as a municipal cure-all. Milwaukee without proportional representation has matched the good record of Cincinnati in the field of superior government. The accomplishments of proportional representation in New York City have occasioned great controversy. The fact that results cannot be announced on election night has been

[1] See: C. G. Hoag and G. H. Hallett, Jr., *Proportional Representation* (New York, 1926), for additional discussion and details of the plan.

[2] *New York* [illegible], August 27, 1938.

[3] See: their *Proportional Representation* (Washington, 1937), pp. 105–129.

criticized, but deserves little weight. The difficulty of acquainting people with the details of the plan is more important, but after a few elections this problem more or less disappears.

Counting the votes presents problems—New York City had some trouble with the clerks employed for such a purpose.[1] The new voting machines should remedy this to a large extent. Even where paper ballots are used, the difficulties are surmountable. There is some feeling that redistributing of the excess votes permits favoritism, although if the ballots to be redistributed are taken some from the bottom, some from the middle, and some from the top of the pile, this is not likely to be true.

Terms of Council Members.—Terms of council members vary from one to four years. However, very few cities still elect for only one year, although during the early municipal period such a practice was common. Four-year terms seem to be gaining ground, especially in large cities. Slightly over half the cities use the two-year term, while about 40 per cent have four-year terms.[2]

Salaries of Council Members.—Small cities may not pay their council members any salaries at all. Where compensation is offered in small cities, it is, as a rule, purely nominal—five or ten dollars per month is common. Large cities, however, go as high as $8,000. Pittsburgh provides such a salary, although New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia regard $5,000 as adequate for their councilmen. Council salaries of $600 to $1,800 prevail in most cities which have substantial populations, but cannot be ranked with the great metropolitan centers. Even some of the latter, such as St. Louis with $1,800, fall into such a salary range.

Adequacy of Salaries.—Whether council salaries are adequate is a controversial matter.[3] Some students of city government maintain that cities would attract a better type of councilman if larger salaries were paid. They argue that salaries should be large enough

[1] For a description of vote counting in Cleveland see: Helen M. Rocca, "How Cleveland's First Proportional Representation Ballots Were Counted," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13, p. 72 (February, 1924).

[2] In 1946, 52.9 per cent had two-year terms and 39.7 per cent four-year.

[3] See: J. W. Pryor, "Should Municipal Legislators Receive a Salary?" *Proceedings of the National Conference for Good City Government*, 1896, p. 252. In 1946, Class I cities paid salaries ranging from $1,800 to $8,000; Class II cities from $600 to $3,000; Class III cities from nothing to $2,800; cities with populations of 50,000 to 100,000 nothing to $2,000; 25,000 to 50,000 nothing to $3,500; and 5,000 to 22,000 ranging to $1,800. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 48.

so that anyone could afford to take a seat. But such contentions are vigorously contradicted by other informed people. These people point out that increased salaries have not improved the calibre of councilmen, and they cite such cities, as Boston, as examples.

The compensation was raised in Boston with the hope that better candidates would be recruited. However, a study of the councilmen elected under the new rate reveals that the general level of superiority has probably not been raised. As far as could be determined in one Boston council, not one of the councilmen had ever held a job or owned a business that returned as much as $2,000 per year before entering the council. Such a policy in Boston apparently had the effect of attracting political hangers-on who might not have been interested in a smaller rate of pay.

The Position of Councilman Is Not a Full-Time Job.—By and large, salary does not seem to have a great deal to do with the type of man attracted to social or public office. Prestige and opportunity to exert influence probably play larger roles. Plenty of good men seek office in social and business organizations, despite the fact that no compensation is paid and much work is involved. In judging whether council salaries are adequate, it should not be assumed that the office is one which requires the entire time of the incumbents. True enough, some councilmen have no other business and consequently do spend all of their time in political pursuits. Nevertheless, the official demands of the office are comparatively light in small cities and not very burdensome in large ones. In a small city one night each month will serve the purpose, and in very large cities one day each week will, as a rule, take care of the official duties. A salary of $5,000 in a very large city means $100 per day for service actually rendered. A rate of $60 or $120 in small cities may seem infinitesimal, but it actually amounts to five or ten dollars for an evening.

Unicameral versus Bicameral Councils.—As recently as the early years of the present century councils in cities of any size were bicameral.[1] One chamber received the designation "council"

[1] In 1908, Professor J. A. Fairlie found that one-half of the cities with populations over 300,000 had bicameral councils. See: his *Essays in Municipal Administration* (New York, 1910), p. 126.

and had a somewhat larger membership than the other. The second chamber often was known as the "board of aldermen." A few large cities in the East and South still retain the bicameral system, but they are comparatively rare. New York City has a city council and a board of estimate. The latter performs financial and administrative functions to a large extent and is composed of *ex officio* members, such as the mayor, the comptroller, and the borough presidents. It differs from the old upper chamber, but perhaps may properly be considered part of a bicameral council.[1] The change from the bicameral to the unicameral council has been advantageous.

Size of City Councils.—During the days of the bicameral council the number of seats in a council frequently reached high numbers. Upper chambers had fewer members than lower, but both houses tended to be large. Most large cities had at least twenty members in the lower chamber, and forty to sixty members were not uncommon. A few cities retain sizable councils, but there has been a distinct trend in the direction of small councils. New York City had the claim until 1937 of having a board of aldermen of seventy-two members; after dropping P.R. the size was set at 22.[2] Chicago still has fifty aldermen and tops the list for a unicameral council. Cities with a population over 500,000 range from 9 to 50 in size of council, with 19 the median. Mayor-council cities over 5,000 have from 2 to 50 councilmen, with seven the median number.

Councils of from five to thirteen seats are now the rule in all but the largest cities, and some quite large cities limit their councils to seven, nine, or eleven members. The smaller councils are less unwieldy and in general operate more satisfactorily than the old-time councils. However, there is some feeling that certain large cities have cut their councils to such an extent that adequate representation is difficult.[3]

[1] Joseph D. McGoldrick, "The Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 18, supp. 125 (February, 1929). The new charter in New York City changed the Board to some extent.

[2] The size of the New York City council varied from time to time during the use of P. R., depending on the number who voted. In 1946, there were 17 members.

[3] The median size in 1946 was 11 for Class III cities, 13 in Class IV cities, 12 in cities of from 50,000 to 100,000, and 9 for cities from 25,000 to 50,000. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 45.

ORGANIZATION

In Small Cities.—City councils in small cities naturally have simple organizations. The mayor often presides; the city clerk acts as secretary; and a few committees are set up and charged with administrative as well as legislative responsibilities. The legislative work is largely taken care of on the floor of the council, although members may talk beforehand and more or less decide how to vote. Representatives of the press may be present to report anything of general interest, and delegations of citizens sometimes attend to urge a certain course of action. The procedure is for the most part quite informal. Proceedings are rarely published.

In Large Cities.—In large cities the organization of city councils is a more complicated matter.[1] The mayor sometimes presides, but, as a rule, the council elects a presiding officer from among its own members. Clerks, messengers, and police may be employed to keep records, run errands, and maintain order. Committees usually are more numerous, as well as more important. Twenty-five years ago city councils in large cities often had twenty-five or more committees. Some of them performed many services, and others had very little to do. Each member ordinarily received many committee assignments.

During recent years the number of council committees has been cut down to some extent, with the result that now committees have more to do and can expect more constant attendance from their members.[2] Important committees may have their own clerks. The importance of some of these council committees reaches a high level. It is not too much to say that in certain cities they transact the business and leave the council as a whole to go through the cut and dried motions. As a result, the formal sessions of the council may be very dull affairs.

Sessions of the councils in large cities are quite naturally more formal in character than is the case in small cities. Visitors are

[1] See: Joseph D. McGoldrick, "Our City Councils: New York," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 360 (June, 1925).

[2] Chicago has sixteen council committees; Philadelphia twelve; Denver nineteen; etc. On the importance of committees see: H. A. Barth, "The Philadelphia City Council," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13, p. 294 (May, 1924); and P. Monahan, "The Role of Council Committees," *Public Management*, Vol. 13, p. 202 (June, 1931).

not permitted by the police to go on the floor of the chamber, but must occupy space especially provided for them.

Routine Character of Council Sessions.—A casual visitor to a session of a city council in a large city may be quite disappointed. Members do not seem very concerned with what is going on much of the time—some of them may not even be present. The business is of a routine nature, because committees have thrashed out a course of action beforehand. A caucus of the majority members or of a faction of the council may have discussed matters before the session and actually reached a decision as to what should be done, although occasionally members will castigate their colleagues because of such preliminary maneuvering. Proceedings may be printed, but often they tell very little of the story of what has gone on.[1]

POWERS OF CITY COUNCIL

1. Structure of Government.—As far as the state law and the city charter do not provide for the structure of government in a city, the city council has that power to a large extent. It may decide that a new department is required; it may reorganize the internal arrangements in a department already established; or it may confer new duties upon departments. Responsibility for a certain function may be transferred from one department to another. Departments may be authorized to take on more employes. The salaries of various officials and subordinates may be fixed; rules in regard to employment may be enacted; and a pension system may be set up.

There is great variation among cities as to just how much power a city council has in such a field. Some states provide for many such matters in their general laws relating to cities, and city charters frequently contain provisions relating to such affairs. But city councils usually have some power over governmental structure and at times can go fairly far in determining what shall be done. Of course, they share this power with the mayor, in so far as he has the veto power.

[1] On the routine character of council sessions even in a very large city see: E. L. Barth, "Chicago's Time Consumed by Details," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 550 (September, 1925).

2. Police Power: Health, Safety, and Morals.—City councils enjoy the right to enact ordinances which regulate the conduct of the inhabitants of cities.[1] They specify what the speed limit shall be and how drivers of vehicles shall operate. They pass rules in regard to the use of streets and sidewalks; for example, bicycles may not be permitted on certain sidewalks. Overhanging signs may be limited or forbidden on certain streets. Ordinances may be passed requiring proper maintenance of health. Contagious diseases must be quarantined; expectorating is not permitted in public places; sewage and garbage must be disposed of in a manner that will not menace the health and comfort of others. Regulations may be made as to the conduct of public nuisances; for example, saloons may be ordered not to locate within a given distance of schools and churches.

The number of ordinances of this character in a large city will frequently be myriad, although here, as in the case of governmental structure, a great deal depends upon the state and the city. State laws may cover many items, and city charters may regulate some of these matters. With the growing complexity of social relations, fields which were considered as definitely local a few years ago are now placed within the general scope of state action. This trend has reduced the power of city councils to some extent. City ordinances have the force of law and may be enforced by judicial action if an enforcing clause is included. Fines and jail sentences, or both, may be prescribed by the council for violation of ordinances.

3. Financial.—The financial power of city councils depends to a large extent upon what role has been conferred upon the mayors in that field. At one time councils exercised most of the financial authority in cities: they levied taxes, made appropriations, and borrowed money. In many small cities they still have this authority, and even in some large cities, such as Chicago, they continue to frame the budget. However, increasingly the mayor has been charged with preparing the budget, and in such cases the city council receives the budget from the mayor. However, they debate its provisions, often after reference to a committee, and if they do not consider items high enough, they usually have the

[1] For a good discussion of this power consult E. McQuillin, *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 2, Chap. XIII.

right to increase them. If no provision has been made for certain things that they regard as essential, they add those allowances. However, in some cities where the power of the mayor has been made especially great, they can only decrease the size of items and strike out appropriations for certain purposes.

Unless councils are limited in their right to increase and insert, they may be expected to devote a considerable amount of time and attention to the budget. The budget, as they pass it, differs in many respects from the budget as submitted by the mayor. Councils may have to secure the permission of the voters before they incur substantial municipal indebtedness. If no provision of that character is made, they have relatively large power in deciding when money shall be borrowed, subject, of course, to the debts limitations imposed by state constitutions and municipal charters.[1]

4. Administrative.—Councils may be permitted to grant franchises covering the use of city streets and property. These may be given to street-car companies, electric-light companies, gas companies, telephone companies, and other business concerns requiring the use of city property. In as much as city councils have abused such power in numerous instances, certain restrictions have been placed on them, and at times they have been deprived of such authority entirely. Provisions requiring that recipients of such favors pay to the city treasury a certain per cent of net or gross earnings have sometimes been imposed by state law or city charter.

City councils sometimes enter into contracts involving the city. They may contract with utilities for electricity to light the city streets and buildings or for water to be used for fighting fires. They may at times award contracts for municipal improvements, such as paving, erection of public buildings, and the construction of playgrounds. They may purchase land for parks and other purposes; they may sell city property; and they may be charged with the right to approve of certain actions of the administrative departments. There is great variation among cities in this respect. States may handle such matters to some extent, but more frequently the mayor and the administrative departments may be delegated this authority which traditionally belonged to the council. Even

[1] See: Joseph Wright, *Selected Readings in Municipal Problems* (Boston, 1925), pp. 918–919.

so, the administrative powers of city councils frequently attain considerable importance.[1]

5. Appointments and Removals.—Occasionally the appointing power of city councils is fairly important, and they almost always have a little appointing power in connection with their own employes. At times they appoint administrative officials, but even if they have no legal rights in this field, they often exercise influence in the making of appointments through trades with the mayor or with the city administrative departments. In some cities the council must confirm the important appointments of the mayor, and occasionally it must consent to removals by the mayor. In most cases the council acts as the agency to impeach mayors and other major executive and administrative officials. Councils usually are made the judges of the qualifications of their members; they may consequently expel members for certain causes.

DIRECT LEGISLATION

The Referendum.—The initiative and referendum limit the power of city councils to some extent—over three hundred cities have adopted such systems. The referendum is both of the compulsory and optional types. Councils frequently are ordered by state laws or by city charters to refer certain matters, such as the extension of city limits and the incurring of large indebtedness, to the voters. The optional type permits them to shift responsibility for a certain action which they regard as politically dangerous. Another variety of the referendum makes it possible for citizens to have unpopular actions of the city council referred to the voters for final decision.

Of these several kinds of referenda the compulsory type receives the most frequent use—of 170 matters referred to the voters of Detroit during 1910–1924, 136 belonged to that category. On nineteen occasions the Detroit city council exercised the option during the above period of asking the voters to decide, while the voters took the initiative and invoked the petition type fifteen times.[2] The petition-referendum system provides that measures passed by the city council shall not go into effect until after the expiration of sixty days. During that period interested parties

[1] For a good discussion of these powers see: J. F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 2, Chap. XV.

[2] See: "Direct Legislation in Detroit," *Public Business*, Vol. 3, no. 15 (June, 1925).

may circulate petitions opposing such measures, and if they obtain the signatures of from five to fifteen per cent of the voters, depending upon the city and the type of measure, the question goes to the voters for final decision. The city council usually decides whether a special election shall be called or whether the ordinance shall remain suspended until a regular election is held.

The Initiative.—The initiative gives the people an opportunity to secure legislation which an irresponsible city council refuses to enact. After appealing in vain to the council proponents of a measure may circulate petitions asking for such legislation among the voters. The number of signatures required varies from city to city, but usually is not less than seven per cent nor more than fifteen or twenty per cent of the voters. More signatures are necessary if a special election is demanded than where a measure will be voted on at a regular election. The petitions go to the city clerk for checking, and if the number of signatures meets the requirement, the question involved goes on the ballot—unless in the meantime the city council has changed its mind and decided to pass such legislation. If the majority of those who express themselves at the polls on the matter favor such legislation, the measure takes its place among the other ordinances.[1]

Use of Direct Legislation.—Council-manager and commission cities, as a rule, make more use of the initiative and referendum than mayor-council cities, and there is also a great deal of difference among various cities within one of these classes as to the amount of use. But, in general, neither device has played as important a part in municipal government as their advocates believed that they would. To begin with, neither plan has been used very frequently in many cities. Where they have been employed, it has often been at the dictation of a special interest group of limited scope rather than as a result of general public opinion.

Too frequently matters which involve details or technicalities find themselves brought to the voters under the referendum or the initiative, and the complicated character of these matters is such that the voters cannot express a reasonably intelligent opinion. Large numbers of voters make no attempt to indicate which side

[1] For good discussions of the initiative and referendum in cities of the United States see: C. M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. XVIII· and A. F. Macdonald, *American City Government and Administration* (New York, 1937), Chap. XIV.

they favor. In certain cases far too many measures have been referred to the voters at one time—for example, 48 different measures appeared on the ballots of a San Francisco election in 1920 and 58 on the ballots of Los Angeles in 1926! No sane person ought to expect voters to express an opinion on so many matters at one election.

The federal Bureau of the Census makes annual studies of local proposals submitted to voters in cities having populations over 50,000. In a recent year [1] seventy-eight of these cities stated that no measures had been referred to the voters, and the remaining 60 cities reported a total of 222 items: 129 of which were defeated and 93 approved. The number of measures submitted in a single city varied from 1 to 29. Bond-issue proposals accounted for 59 per cent of the entire number of referred measures, involved 38 cities, and called for the floating of $97,402,315 in bonds. Just under two-thirds of the amount asked was rejected by the voters, although 59 measures received approval and 72 rejection. Of the 131 measures having to do with bond issues, 72 provided for new buildings and equipment; 16 were to finance public-service enterprises; 14 involved sanitation; 12 had to do with streets; and 9 called for playground and park additions. Schools, airports, sewers, and incinerators received the most sympathetic consideration from the voters.

The 91 measures dealing with other than bond issues, actually involved 104 proposals, in as much as 13 concerned two subjects. Of these, 36 were approved and 68 rejected by the voters. Fifty-nine of these had to do with charter amendments; 13 with elections; 11 with financial regulations; 11 with civil service; 9 with regulatory items dealing with picketing, alcoholic beverages, and Sunday sales; and 7 involved public-service enterprises. Civil-service and election measures apparently appealed to the voters, for they stand out in the support received.

An Evaluation of Direct Legislation.—How much has been achieved by the initiative and referendum in cities of the United States, it is difficult to say. No recent study of a searching nature has been made of their accomplishments—now that the experience of a number of years would justify conclusions. Few people would

[1] The year was 1938. This year has been selected because it seems more normal than any war year or the immediate postwar period.

maintain now that these devices have been a cure-all, although the more enthusiastic advocates twenty-five years ago literally promised as much for them. The direct results have perhaps been less significant than the indirect accomplishments. It seems probable that they have been at least a mild asset in most cities.[1]

Varieties of Councilmen.—Anyone who has spent much time around city councils will probably admit that there is wide variation in the types of men to be found as members. Some members seem to be utterly corrupt, while others display a refreshing concern for the best interests of the city. Not a few members strike an abserver as being almost, if not entirely, illiterate as far as public affairs are concerned. These members do not belong to a city council on any rational basis; they simply happen to be there.

Some members present a very picturesque spectacle—they dress, talk, or behave in an extraordinary fashion. The late "Bathhouse John" Coughlin of the Chicago Board of Aldermen might be cited as an example of a councilman who stood out because of dress. "Bathhouse John" spent his early days as an attendant in a public bathhouse, and growing up in such an atmosphere of steam and heat he found it difficult to adjust to ordinary atmospheres and temperatures and consequently always dressed very warmly. At the same time he displayed great fondness for fancy vests and trousers of striking cut and shade.

"Mahatma" Lomasney of the Boston Council rarely wore anything in the way of a coat except a tattered sweater or in the way of a hat other than a somewhat disreputable straw hat. Perhaps he stood out more especially for his salty and humorous remarks during council meetings; when he spoke, he usually brought his colleagues as well as visitors to hilarious laughter. "Every tub must stand on its own bottom," he once declared. On the matter of dress suits he boasted, "I've never had a dress suit in my life, thank God. There are more fakers around in dress suits than you could shake a stick at." [2]

A General Classification.—Among the many men and women who sit as members of city councils in the United States certain classes stand out. First of all, there is the member who belongs to the

[1] For an informing discussion of the initiative and referendum in certain cities see: E. L. Shoup, "The Initiative and Referendum in Thirty-six American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 12, p. 610 (October, 1923).

[2] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 71, 76.

ranks of captains of political organizations or who takes orders without demur from such political worthies. The number of these is legion; New York City alone could produce hundreds over a period of years. In smaller cities this type of member may be less common. In the second place, there is the business or professional type who reflects the political views of the business and professional men of his city. He knows that he is in the council to safeguard the interests of the business men and the taxpayers.

Then there is the member who occupies a seat for whatever he can personally get out of it. He has failed in business or whatever else he may have undertaken; he must live; and he sees in official life an opportunity to sell favors to the highest bidder. Zoning modifications may be obtained by paying him a stated fee; permits of various kinds go to whoever will pay for them; and contracts go to those who reward the councilman. How large this class is, it is difficult to ascertain. At times in some cities they seem to constitute a majority of the members, while at other times and in other cities there may be few if any of them.

A fourth somewhat common type of member is the member who wants to use the council as a stepping stone to higher political office or to more profitable professional practice. Young lawyers make up most of this class. As members of the city council they make valuable contacts which later may bring them lucrative briefs, or they strengthen their political claims to such an extent that they shortly move into the office of mayor or some other public position.[1]

A fifth type, not too common in many cities, is the public-spirited citizen who has no expectation of private gain, maintains his independence in the face of a political machine, and uses his position to further the general weal and to maintain municipal standards at a high level.

Gradual Improvement in the Calibre of Councilmen.—Despite the criticisms sometimes directed at city councils, it seems probable that they are slowly improving. It would be difficult today to find a council as generally corrupt as the board of aldermen of New York City in the eighteen-fifties, known as the "Forty

[1] Some data are to be obtained concerning the types of councilmen from the series of articles on city councils which appeared in the *National Municipal Review* during 1924–1926. See: especially Charles F. Lewis, "Pittsburgh's Faction-Ridden Council," Vol. 15, p. 22 (January, 1926).

Thieves." Even when the situation thirty years ago is compared with the present day, there has been a change for the better. At the turn of the century a practical joker hired a messenger boy to enter a session of the board of aldermen in St. Louis and shout as loudly as possible, "Mister, your saloon is on fire." The joker stood by with watch in hand to see what would happen. The number of saloonkeepers among the aldermen was so large that the chamber was almost entirely emptied in a few seconds.[1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dillon, J. F., *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations* (Boston, 1911), Vol. 2, Chap. XV.

Goldman, R. P., "An Analysis of Cincinnati's Proportional Representation Elections," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 22, p. 690 (August, 1930).

Hallett, George H. Jr., and Hoag, C. G., *Proportional Representation, The Key to Democracy* (rev. ed., Washington, 1940).

Hoag, C. G., and Hallett, G. H. Jr., *Proportional Representation* (New York, 1926).

Harris, Joseph P., "The Practical Workings of Proportional Representation in the United States and Canada," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, supplement 337 (May, 1930).

Lowrie, S. G., "Proportional Representation in Cincinnati," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 20, p. 367 (May, 1926).

McGoldrick, Joseph D., "The Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 18, supplement 125 (February, 1929).

McQuillin, E., *The Law of Municipal Corporations* (Chicago, 1928), Vol. 2, Chap. XIII.

Monahan, P., "The Role of Council Committees," *Public Management*, Vol. 13, p. 202 (June, 1931).

Cottrell, E. A., "City Council Organization," *Public Management*, Vol.17, p. 95 (April 1, 1935).

Hermens, F. A., *Democracy and Proportional Representation* (Chicago, 1940).

Hermens, F. A., *P. R., Democracy and Good Government* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1943).

National Municipal League, *Forms of Municipal Government; How Have They Worked?* (New York, 1939).

National Municipal Review, series of articles on city councils:

Barth, Harry A., "The Philadelphia City Council," Vol. 13, p. 294 (May, 1924).

Sowers, D. C., "Denver—The Lengthened Shadow of the Mayor," Vol. 13, p. 550 (October, 1924).

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 306.

McGoldrick, J. D., "New York—The Eclipse of the Aldermen," Vol. 14, p. 360 (June, 1925).

Barth, E. L., "Chicago's Time Consumed by Details," Vol. 14, p. 550 (September, 1925).

Lewis, Charles F., "Pittsburgh's Faction-Ridden Council," Vol. 15, p. 22 (January, 1926).

Reed, Thomas H., *Municipal Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. X.

Shelley, A. N. C., *The Councillor* (New York, 1939).

Shenton, C. G., *Executives and Legislative Bodies of American Cities* (Philadelphia, 1937).

Shoup, E. L., "The Initiative and Referendum in Thirty-six American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 12, p. 610 (October, 1923).

Walker, Harvey, "Legislative Powers of City Councils," *Public Management*, Vol. 17, p. 130 (May, 1935).

XVII

THE COMMISSION FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

During the beginning years of the present century the commission form of city government received a great deal of discussion and a considerable amount of serious attention. At the peak year, 1917, approximately five hundred cities in the United States were operating under the commission form of government. This form of government grew out of a catastrophe which swept in on Galveston, Texas in 1900; in the fall of that year a very bad storm caused the waters of the Gulf of Mexico to rush over Galveston. In addition to considerable loss of life, great devastation of public and private property resulted.

Galveston had scarcely succeeded in meeting its obligations before the disaster—expenditures not covered by revenue amounted to approximately three million dollars during the preceding decade, and corruption had reached a high level. With the streets, sewerage system, water mains, and other public property in ruins and the ability of the taxpayers to contribute seriously impaired by their own heavy losses, the plight of Galveston seemed almost hopeless. In order to meet the situation, the Texas legislature authorized an emergency arrangement upon petition of some of the leading citizens of Galveston who felt that only by stringent methods could the city possibly be restored. Being proposed by business men this emergency plan supposedly applied business principles to municipal government.[1]

The Galveston Plan.—Under the special plan authorized by the Texas legislature to meet the emergency in Galveston the city council and mayor were dispensed with, and a commission was established to exercise the powers of both council and mayor.

[1] On the background of the commission consult T. S. Chang, *History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the United States* (Iowa City, 1918), Chap. III.

Moreover, this commission, which in Galveston consisted of five persons, also received the responsibility for carrying on the administrative tasks of the city. As a body the commissioners decided general policies, passed ordinances, and made the necessary financial arrangements. As individuals they took charge of the several administrative services which were grouped into five classes.

Accomplishments in Galveston.—Much to the surprise of many citizens the plan worked very well. Galveston rebuilt itself into a finer city than it had been before the tidal wave engulfed it; municipal affairs were conducted with an efficiency that had been unknown under the mayor-council form of government; and despite the heavy cost of reconstruction the finances of the city were put on a basis that contrasted notably with the shaky system before 1900. Corruption and graft found existence difficult. In short, Galveston discovered that it enjoyed such good government as it had never experienced before and had even scarcely dreamed of. Therefore, it applied to the legislature for permission to retain the commission form permanently. Having given such a concession to Galveston the legislature found that other Texas cities desired the same right, and hence, it extended the permission to include other sizable cities in the state.

The Spread of Commission Government.—The phenomenal success of the commission plan in Galveston attracted the attention of newspaper reporters, magazine writers, and authors of books on municipal government. The first decade of the twentieth century saw city government in a sad state more or less all over the United States. The muckrakers made almost daily disclosures of the frightful conditions that existed.[1] Graft of almost every conceivable sort appeared to be the rule rather than the exception in municipal government throughout the country. The exposures of the muckrakers and the bright pictures painted by those who wrote about the commission form in Galveston combined to create a large audience for discussions of the new variety of city government. The proponents of the plan made the most glowing claims for it. Adopt the commission plan, said they, and graft, inefficiency, irresponsibility, and wastefulness in the government of your city will disappear almost instantaneously. In short, the commission plan was hailed as the panacea for all municipal ills.

[1] See: Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904), as an example.

Record of Adoptions.—The result of all the discussion, printed publicity, and enthusiastic agitation was that cities in other states began to think they would like the commission form of government. State legislatures felt the pressure and passed laws authorizing certain cities to adopt such a system of government if they liked. By 1910 more than one hundred cities had put into operation the commission type of government; by 1912 more than two hundred cities had adopted the plan; and in 1917, when the movement reached its peak, approximately five hundred cities in the United States were using the commission plan. During 1911–1920 43%, or 106, out of 246 cities in eleven home-rule states adopting new charters chose the commission form.[1]

Then came the war to fill the pages of newspapers and to occupy the attention of people. By that time also it began to appear that the plan was not the cure-all that it had been described as. As the council-manager plan came into the limelight, enthusiasm for the older form dwindled. Few new cities adopted the plan, and some cities which had been operating under it decided to abandon it in favor of the council-manager plan or even to return to the mayor-council system of city government. During 1921–1930 only 6% of 134 cities adopting charters in eleven home-rule states chose the commission form.[2]

The Current Status of the Commission Form.—Additions to the list of cities operating under the commission form of government are now rare, but many of the cities which have tried the form appear to be devoted to it. However, every year a few derelictions occur. The plan has been most popular among small and medium size cities. Three cities of more than 400,000 population—Buffalo, Newark, and New Orleans—have adopted the plan, but Buffalo has returned to the mayor-council form. Less than thirty cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants have operated under the commission plan, and a number of them no longer employ the system.

Approximately four hundred out of the five hundred cities which once used the commission form belonged to the group of cities having populations under 30,000, and it has been in these small cities that the plan has proved most successful. Except for Texas the

[1] International City Managers' Association, *Recent Council-Manager Developments* (Chicago, 1938), p. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

commission system has not made great headway in the southern states; nor has it been popular in the Middle Atlantic states. The Middle West, New England, and the Pacific states have been the scene of most commission activity.[1] However, only four states do not make legal provision for the commission form of city government.[2] In 1946, 325 out of 2,033 cities over 5,000 in population used the commission form.[3]

WHAT THE COMMISSION FORM INCLUDES

Executive Provisions.—The original commission form made no provision for a municipal executive officer—executive powers were to be exercised by the commission along with legislative and administrative powers. However, it early became apparent that commission cities desired mayors, and, therefore, the office of mayor found itself superimposed upon the commission form in many instances. At times one of the commissioners is given the title of mayor. He may act as mayor in addition to his duties in a departmental capacity, or he may be relieved of the latter in lieu of his responsibilities as mayor. Occasionally an entirely independent person is elected mayor. As a rule, these commission mayors occupy official positions as figure heads; they represent their cities on formal occasions and otherwise reassure those who are worried at the absence of a chief executive under the commission form. Of course, if the commissioners who receive the title of mayor also retain their administrative duties, they are given official responsibilities in that capacity.

Despite the legal insignificance of mayors under the commission form, some of them have actually exerted considerable influence apart from any administrative duties.[4] The mere fact that the people look to them as the chief officials gives them a certain influence. Where they enjoy large capability and exert themselves in the actual operation of municipal affairs, they present a force that cannot be ignored. Occasionally they seize the real leadership in their cities. A man, like Mayor Behrman of New Orleans,

[1] See: William B. Munro, *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), pp. 307–309, for a more detailed discussion of the spread and current status of commission government.

[2] These are New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Delaware.

[3] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 42.

[4] See: E. S. Bradford, *Commission Government in American Cities* (New York, 1911).

is an excellent example of the great influence that can be exerted by a mayor under the commission form of city government. During the many years that he occupied such a position under the commission form, few doubted that he wielded more power than any other official in New Orleans.[1]

Legislative Provisions.—The whole group of commissioners acts as a legislative body under the commission form. This aspect of the

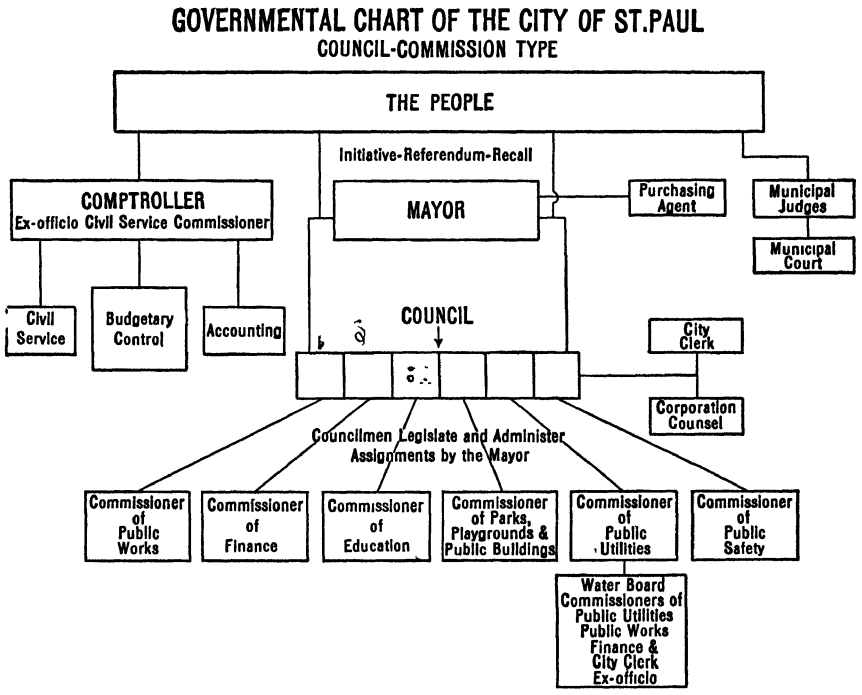


FIG. 7.
(Courtesy of the Saint Paul Bureau of Governmental Research)

plan serves to keep the legislative body quite small, for the traditional number of commissioners is three or five, and rarely are there as many as seven commissioners. In a legislative capacity the commissioners are expected to hold public sessions at regular intervals of once or twice each month, and these meetings are ordinarily held in a place which is large enough to accommodate interested citizens. Moreover, evening sessions usually are scheduled in order to give an opportunity for alert people to attend.

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, Part 2, Chap. XVIII.

The commission form lays great emphasis on publicizing the activities of the commission, it was felt by the early leaders that a manifestation of interest on the part of the people would attract a superior type of official because of the prestige attached to the office. Furthermore, wide publicity both on the part of newspapers and attending citizens was supposed to create a public opinion that would demand a high type of performance of public duty. In order to make the sessions as vital as possible most of the real work is scheduled to be done during the course of the public sessions rather than by committees in executive session.

Organization as a Group.—The group of commissioners acting as a legislative body perfects an organization similar to that of any small deliberative body. A presiding officer is named—often the mayor if such an officer exists, and a secretary is employed to keep the journal and other records. Special provisions are made for representatives of the press. The procedure of the commissioners in their legislative capacity is very much like that of any ordinary city council. Motions are made and seconded; discussion follows; and important matters may be referred to a committee or postponed for final decision until a subsequent meeting. During this interval the commissioners supposedly investigate the matter, inform themselves as to public opinion, and make up their minds as to what position to take. Measures requiring the enactment of ordinances are drawn up in that form. Voting may be by voice in routine matters or by roll call in the case of important items.[1]

Functions.—As a group the commissioners perform almost every service that would be ordinarily expected of a city council. They make appropriations of public funds; they levy taxes; they take action leading to the borrowing of money; and they decide upon general municipal policies.[2]

Practice versus Theory.—Unfortunately many of the expectations of the founders have not been generally realized. Newspapers have started out with a generous attitude as to space, but they have soon fallen into evil ways of ignoring the commission sessions. Citizens also have often attended in large numbers immediately after the adoption of the new form, but they, too, have shortly been con-

[1] See: The Referee, "Concerning Commission Government in Des Moines," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 10, p. 372 (July, 1921).

[2] See: A. C. Hanford, *Problems in Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), p. 99 ff

spicuous by their absence. The truth is that most of the sessions have not been interesting, for much of the business has been of a purely routine nature which would bore anyone. Although the commissioners supposedly discuss important matters fully in their public meetings so that all of those interested may gain an adequate understanding of the situation, actually they have frequently done otherwise. At times they know the facts well enough so that it seems a waste of time to present them in public utterance, and at other times commissioners hold caucuses among themselves beforehand and more or less determine what action will be taken at the formal meetings.

Then, too, there has been a tendency for the members of the commission to split into two hostile cliques. In order to control the actions of the entire commission, the majority clique works things out carefully beforehand, and that gives an impression to the spectators that the formal sessions are purely nominal. The fact that the members split into factions sometimes makes for a divided public opinion among the citizens. The spectacle of one group of commissioners bitterly attacking the other on the floor does not make a particularly favorable impression either. Altogether the meetings of the commissioners have not been what they might be.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

The number of city administrative departments corresponds to the number of commissioners, unless one commissioner is excused from such tasks because he acts as mayor—in that case the number of departments will be one less than the number of commissioners. This means that each administrative department must handle a varied assortment of duties, if the city is of any size at all. The several commissioners occupy positions as official heads of the various departments. They may be elected to head certain departments, but more commonly they arrange the division among themselves.[1] In as much as some departments are regarded as more desirable than others, there is sometimes considerable negotiating. It is this situation which at times first causes the division of the commissioners into opposing factions. Two or three of the com-

[1] See: L. T. Johnson, "Commission Government for Cities: Election to Specific Office versus Election at Random," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 2, p. 661 (October, 1913).

missioners may band together and agree to support the claims of one another for the most desirable departments, and when the time comes to decide such division, the minority commissioners must take what remains.

The Administrative Departments.—If there are five commissioners, the administrative departments will often be as follows: Public Works, Public Safety, Public Health, Finance, and Public Welfare. The care of the streets and public buildings will always be included in the first, and in addition, the water department, parks, and any public utilities owned by the city may also be placed within this department. Public Safety confines itself mainly to the police and fire functions. Public Health deals with health and usually with sanitation; sewers, the collection of ashes, garbage, and rubbish, and sometimes water supply may be found in this department. Finance has to do with assessing, collecting of taxes, keeping of accounts, borrowing, and the paying out of public funds. Public Welfare is likely to be more of an omnibus department than any of the others, for recreation, relief, institutions other than jails, and usually parks will be combined with miscellaneous functions.[1]

Handling of Administrative Work.—Important matters relating to the administrative departments are supposed to be decided by the entire commission, and major appointments are also theoretically made by the entire commission. All such items, as appropriations and indebtedness, are formally decided by the commissioners as a group. Sometimes these expectations are realized in practice—at least to a reasonable degree, but there is a distinct tendency for each commissioner to consider his department his own bailiwick and therefore to resent any interference. The habit grows of "You give me a free hand and I'll give you a free hand in your department." Actually, therefore, to a large extent even important matters are determined for each department by the commissioner who heads that department. He appoints his friends and supporters to the jobs in the department and fights any effort to have such appointments made on a merit basis; he decides what program his department will undertake and how it will spend money. When it comes to obtaining appropriations, he has to depend upon his colleagues to a greater extent, but even there he may expect them

[1] For a good discussion of this topic see: William B. Munro, *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), Chap. XVI.

to accept his views. Therefore, appropriations are made by the commission on a basis of compromise and trade rather than on a basis of considering the desserts of the several departments.

In as much as the commission form is used mainly by small cities, the commissioners must not only act as general directors of their departments, but as technical experts as well, for the ordinary small city cannot afford to pay salaries to commissioners and then employ trained experts to do the work. In as much as the commissioners tend to appoint their friends and political supporters to the positions under them, the entire department is often in the hands of amateurs.

Terms and Compensation of the Commissioners.—The commissioners receive their offices at the hands of the voters for either two- or four-year terms and are ordinarily eligible for re-election. If the city is at all important, a reasonable compensation is attached to the office.[1] This may vary from a few hundred dollars per year in the case of smaller cities to several thousand dollars per year in the case of larger cities. Newark and Jersey City in New Jersey pay the commissioners seventy-five hundred dollars each. In small cities, where a salary is limited to a few hundred dollars per year, the office does not call for full-time service. In larger cities more or less all of the time of the incumbent is supposed to be devoted to the public duties attached to the office, but some commissioners spend much time in political activities. Sometimes they may be removed by use of the recall.

MERITS OF THE COMMISSION FORM

1. Greater Interest on Part of Citizens.—One of the chief reasons for the early success of the commission form of city government involved the vigorous interest which it aroused among the citizens. When the inhabitants of a city have their eyes on the officeholders, there is a genuine incentive on the part of the latter to render superior service. Even rascals and bosses realize that it is not wise to ignore the demand of the people for improved services.

Unfortunately this achievement of the commission form has frequently not proved of permanent duration. For several years after the commission form has been adopted, there will be active

[1] For tables showing the salaries paid by various cities to commissioners see: *The Municipal Yearbook, 1946*, pp. 52–70.

interest on the part of the people. Many will attend the meetings of the commission; the newspapers will give generous space to commission proceedings; and people will discuss the plan and its possibilities in their general conversation. Then reaction sets in. Those who go to the commission meetings find them dull and routine; the newspapers lose interest because there is little exciting to report; and by the end of five or ten years public interest has largely subsided. Yet even so, there is probably fully as much concern with municipal affairs as under the mayor-council form.[1]

2. Superior Public Personnel.—The early commission cities almost always managed to attract men of greater ability to public office than had heretofore been their experience. The leading business and professional men of the city not infrequently took the offices which had in many cases been held by politicians and ne'er-do-wells. The aroused public interest added prestige to public office, but, more than that, there was something about the commission form in its early days which challenged the ablest men in a city. It presented them an opportunity to save their city from corruption and bad government or at least mediocrity.

As public opinion waned, the prestige attached to public office and consequently the interest of the leaders decreased. Moreover, some of the most important business and professional people of the city discovered that actually the commission form did not allow much of an opportunity for public service. As one outstanding business man who served on the commission in Dallas, Texas, put it, "Any fifteen-dollar-per-week clerk could do the work required of a commissioner better than I can do it." [2] He maintained that the commissioners were charged with such trivial tasks and allowed such slight leeway by the city charter and state laws that there was virtually no opportunity for any real contribution by able men.

After the first two sets of office holders have surrendered their posts, there is considerable doubt whether the type of office holder is superior to that encountered under the mayor-council form. Yet neither is it inferior to that found in the rank and file of cities in the United States.

3. Simplicity.—One of the most popular arguments in favor of the

[1] See: C. R. Woodruff, ed., *City Government by Commission* (New York, 1911), pp. 78–79.

[2] In private conversation with the author.

commission form is that it simplifies city government to the point where even the average citizen can comprehend it. Instead of having a mayor, a city council, and a fairly large number of administrative departments the commission form provides only a small commission. Citizens do not have to move their attention from place to place in a commission city, for the authority is concentrated in one small body. This advantage may be more apparent than real, for the commission acts in so many capacities that the ordinary layman is likely to find it difficult to know just what is going on. In reality, it may be easier to keep the system straight if the executive power is lodged in a mayor, the legislative authority in a city council, and the administrative responsibilities in several departments.[1]

4. Concentration of Authority.—A somewhat similar argument declares that the commission form concentrates rather than divides power. Under the mayor-council form this argument maintains that it is impossible to fix responsibility, for the mayor will blame the council for bad government and the council will blame the mayor, while the administrative departments shift the onus to the mayor and the council. Under the commission form, with all authority given to the commission, it is said that there can be no dodging of responsibility. To a certain extent, this is true. However, commissioners often refer charges of inefficiency and poor government to other commissioners. "If I had the authority," they say, "things would be done properly, but I am in a minority and can accept no responsibility for an evil situation."

5. Business Government.—The commission form of city government is supposed to be patterned after business organization and management.[2] Critics say that city government usually depends to a large extent upon politics, but that it should properly be run along the same lines that a private business follows. The mayor-council form is supposed to encourage politics in city government, whereas the commission form, it is maintained, applies business principles to city government. As a matter of fact, the early years of commission government did see certain business practices

[1] M. A. Gemunder, "Commission Government: Its Strength and Weakness," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 1, p. 170 (April, 1912).

[2] See: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 38, the entire issue of November, 1911.

applied to city government, but this was mainly due to the fact that business men so frequently served as commissioners.

On the whole, there does not seem to be anything inherent in the plan which makes for the application of business methods to municipal affairs. Certainly the general outlines of the commission form are not the same as the general organization of private business. A private business, with no ultimate authority other than a group of commissioners, would probably have difficulty in operating successfully. Businesses do have boards of directors which may be superficially likened to a commission under the commission form, but these boards of directors do not attempt to run the business from day to day. They meet once each month or each quarter or each year, listen to reports, approve the actions of the managers, and perhaps lay down a few general policies. The commission actually attempts to manage city affairs.

6. Publicity.—The proponents of the commission form have almost always stressed the importance of publicity. They have sought to interest the newspapers; they have planned commission meetings at such times that the citizens could attend; and they have encouraged general discussion of municipal affairs. In as much as publicity plays a large part in good government, such emphasis deserves praise. However, it should be added that their attempts have not been too successful. After the first burst of enthusiasm it has frequently been very difficult to secure the desired publicity. But by and large, it is probably true that somewhat more publicity is given to public affairs under this type of government than under the ordinary mayor-council type. At least an attempt is made to publicize municipal affairs, whereas all to often under the mayor-council form there is actual hostility to such an aim.[1]

7. Corruption.—One of the brightest achievements of the commission form in Galveston involved the reduction of graft and corruption in city government. Galveston had been distinctly bothered by corrupt practices under the mayor-council form; under the new form honesty made great progress.[2] Unfortunately not

[1] See: Oswald Ryan, *Municipal Freedom: A Study of the Commission Government* (New York, 1915).

[2] See: E. R. Cheesborough, "Galveston's Commission Plan of City Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 38, p. 891 (November, 1911).

all commission cities have enjoyed the experience of Galveston in this respect—some commission cities have been known for their low standards of public morality. However, in general, this form does not encourage corruption. Certainly commission cities can display as clear records as the mayor-council cities, and they probably have some advantage over the latter.

WEAKNESSES OF THE COMMISSION FORM

1. Division of Authority.—Perhaps the most serious weakness of the commission form of city government is that it does not provide for unified authority. In legislative affairs unified authority is not expected, but when it comes to municipal administration, concentration of responsibility is definitely desirable. If one department follows a course of economy and another a policy of generous expenditures, the result is confusion in municipal finance. If one department adopts certain standards of hours, wages, and efficiency and another department either follows an inferior or a superior plan, that, too, is unfortunate. Cities need a unified policy which depends upon the concentration of administrative responsibility in one person, and the commission form cannot offer such an arrangement, for by its very nature, responsibility must be divided among three or more commissioners. To some extent, this situation has been remedied by superimposing a mayor on the original commission form, but the mayor has not been given administrative responsibility to any considerable degree and cannot be given such authority if the commission is to enjoy its rightful place.[1]

2. Lack of Experts.—In as much as the commissioners receive compensation for their services as administrative officials of the city, it is not feasible for most commission cities to employ other persons who demand more than clerical salaries. If commission cities had large populations and large revenues, experts might be recruited as well as commissioners, but commission cities are known for their comparatively small size—the majority have less than ten thousand inhabitants. Therefore, if commissioners are to be placed in charge of administrative departments—a basic provision of the commission form—they must be paid the funds available in other cities for hiring professionals.

[1] See: C. M. Fassett, "The Weakness of Commission Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 9, p. 642 (October, 1920).

If commissioners could be recruited from the ranks of those who have some professional background in the various fields of municipal administration, the situation would not be particularly serious. Bankers might possess sufficient knowledge of accounting, paying out of funds, and the negotiating of loans to enable them to handle the finances of the city fairly well. Physicians might apply their professional knowledge to public health. Contractors might be given the post of commissioner in charge of public works. However, actually little or no attention is paid to professional background in choosing commissioners. Candidates present themselves or are supported by political organizations. The average citizen sees no reason why he is not competent to handle municipal affairs. The ordinary political organization cares little for training and efficiency, but wants someone in office who can be depended upon to do the bidding of the organization.

As a result, most commissioners have no professional training for the administrative responsibilities which they are charged with. A locomotive engineer assumes the care of municipal financial problems, while a barber thinks that it might be interesting to handle public works and manipulates affairs so that he will receive such an assignment. A retail merchant may not be especially interested in public health, but that is the only position open. An undertaker finds himself in charge of the police and fire departments.[1]

3. Factionalism.—If a commission is to function efficiently, there must be harmony and coöperation. Unfortunately there has been a distinct tendency on the part of commission cities to substitute factionalism for coöperation and bitterness for harmony. Two or three of the commissioners want to dominate, and consequently they combine to secure for themselves the most desirable assignments. Before meetings of the commission they get together and decide what will be done and what will not be done, and in the meetings of the commission they give little or no consideration to the opinions of the members who constitute the minority. This results in bad feeling, conflict, and even open hostility—the out-

[1] See: Howard G. Fishack, "Commission Government Has Not Redeemed Newark," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 71 (September, 1938).

breaks which characterize some commission meetings are almost scandalous. Where there is not this degree of sensationalism, there is sometimes an undercurrent of distrust and suspicion which seriously hampers the conduct of city business on a reasonably high plane.[1]

4. Lack of a Merit System.—Although some commission cities have adopted merit systems of public employment, most of them have not been known for their interest in such a plan. With each commissioner resentful of any interference in the affairs of his department, a merit system does not have much place. Commissioners want to appoint their friends and supporters to the subordinate positions in their departments, and a merit system would make such an arrangement impossible. In as much as municipal employes are for the most part recruited in commission cities from the friends, relatives, and political supporters of the commissioners, standards of service frequently suffer. Some employes chosen on such a basis will be efficient and faithful, but many of them will depend largely upon their favored relations with the commissioners and hence shirk their public duties.[2]

5. Disregard of Central Purchasing.—The tendency of commissioners to insist on a free hand in their departments does not encourage central purchasing of city supplies. Each commission wants to buy the supplies required in his department from friends and political supporters, and he opposes any plan which would take such authority out of his hand and place it in the hands of a central-purchasing agent. As a result, commission cities pay more than the standard price for their purchases and at the same time sometimes receive inferior articles.

6. Cost of Government.—Although Galveston and some of the early commission cities accomplished a great deal in the field of municipal economy, that has not been the experience of most commission cities. The insistence on the right of each commissioner to hire his own employes, purchase his own supplies, and even determine the general policies of his department has not made for economy

[1] See: I. R. Hudson, "Nashville Plays Politics," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 10, p. 452 (September, 1921). Camden, New Jersey, has experienced a good deal of this factionalism.

[2] W. B. Munro, "Ten Years of Commission Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 1, p. 562 (October, 1912).

in government. Such practices result in large expenditures for personal services and supplies, and large expenditures for personal services and supplies mean a high tax rate.[1]

7. *Inadequate Representation.*—Commission cities rarely have more than seven commissioners, and three or five is the traditional number. In small cities five persons may care for the various important interest groups in the population, but in cities of 30,000 or more inhabitants there is grave doubt whether five people can reflect in a reasonably satisfactory manner the diverse interests and opinions of the citizens. When it comes to determining general city policies and enacting legislation of interest to all the people, adequate representation is very important. Any other state of affairs will cause resentment, lack of interest, and irresponsibility on the part of the people of a city.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The, Vol. 38, the entire issue of November, 1911 discusses the commission form.

Bradford, E. S., *Commission Government in American Cities* (New York, 1911).

Chang, T. S., *History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the United States* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918).

Fassett, C. M., "The Weakness of Commission Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 9, p. 642 (October, 1920).

Fishack, Howard G., "Commission Government Has Not Redeemed Newark," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 71 (September, 1938).

Gemunder, M. A., "Commission Government: Its Strength and Weakness," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 1, p. 170 (April, 1912).

Hudson, I. R., "Nashville Plays Politics," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 10, p. 452 (September, 1921).

Kneier, C. M., *City Government in the United States* (New York, 1934), Chap. XXII.

Munro, William B., *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), Chap. XVI.

Ryan, Oswald, *Municipal Freedom: A Study of the Commission Government* (New York, 1915).

Woodruff, C. R., ed., *City Government by Commission* (New York, 1911).

[1] E. S. Bradford, "Financial Results under the Commission Form of City Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 1, p. 372 (July, 1912), discusses the matter of cost when the plan was still more or less in its infancy.

XVIII

THE COUNCIL-MANAGER FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

Strangely enough the council-manager form of municipal government derived great impetus from a natural catastrophe, much as the commission form had more than a decade earlier. In 1906, Staunton, Virginia received a report from its committee on streets recommending that a general manager be employed by the city to have the same general supervision over city administration that such an official would exercise in a private business. In 1908, such a plan was actually put into effect in Staunton. Two years later, in 1910, considerable publicity was given the council-manager form of city government in connection with what turned out to be an unsuccessful campaign to change the governmental structure in Lockport, New York. Sumter, South Carolina adopted the first charter amendment providing for a city manager and a small council and began operating as a manager city in 1912. But it remained for Dayton, Ohio to launch the movement in a big way in 1913.[1]

The New Dayton Charter of 1913.—Dayton had suffered unsatisfactory government for some years before it got to the point of changing its charter. During the ten years preceding 1913 its per-capita debt increased 76 per cent, and annual deficits came to be the rule. In 1912, the Dayton Chamber of Commerce started a movement to abandon the old charter and draft a new one which might correct fundamental defects in the city government by appointing a committee headed by one of Dayton's leading citizens, J. H. Patterson of National Cash Register fame. This small committee decided that the council-manager form of government offered the most advantages for Dayton. A committee of one

[1] For a resume of the history of the council-manager movement see: James R. Haworth, "How the City Manager Idea Got Its Start in America," *American City*, Vol. 39, p. 111 (September, 1928); and L. D. White, *The City Manager* (Chicago, 1927) Chap. VI.

hundred members then began agitation for a charter commission and decided to favor candidates who had announced themselves in favor of a council-manager charter for Dayton.

Before the election took place a very bad flood inundated the city, causing some loss of life and great damage to the physical properties of the city. The old city government proved incapable of meeting the situation. Martial law was declared by the governor of Ohio, and Mr. Patterson, the chairman of the original committee, was placed in charge of relief. Such an unpleasant experience, coupled with the breakdown of the city government, contributed much force to the charter movement and lead to the election of charter commissioners who favored the council-manager plan.

The charter commission performed its task in the short space of slightly more than a month, and the voters approved the council-manager charter submitted to them by a vote of approximately two to one. In January, 1914, the new charter went into effect.[1] Dayton attempted to secure the well known Colonel Goethals of Panama Canal fame as city manager and offered what was considered at that time a fabulous salary of $25,000. Failing in that, it employed Henry M. Waite of Cincinnati at a salary of $12,500.

Spread of the Council-Manager Form.—The widespread publicity given to the Dayton flood, the attempt to secure the services of Colonel Goethals, and the satisfactory achievements of the new plan in connection with reconstruction of the property destroyed by the flood caused many other cities to consider the manager form. Within four years of its application in Dayton—that is, by the end of 1917—eighty-one cities were using the council-manager form of city government. Five years later, the number had increased to 240 cities, and in 1927, 348 cities operated under such a plan. In 1935, the number of manager cities among cities over 10,000 for the first time exceeded commission cities. By 1940 there were 521 council-manager cities. The period following World War II saw keen interest in this form of city government. Some 75 cities adopted the plan during 1946 alone, and by 1947 729 cities were being governed under this system. Approximately 70 cities decided to put this form into effect during the single year of 1947, bringing the total to above 800 in 1948.

[1] For detailed account of the movement in Dayton consult C. E. Rightor, *City Manager in Dayton; Four Years of Commission-Manager Government, 1914–1917* (New York, 1919), Chap. I.

Current Status of the Council-Manager Plan.—More than forty of the states have council-manager cities, but the plan has been much more popular in some states than in others. The South, the Pacific Coast, and the Middle West have seen the greatest spread of the council-manager form. Maine, Michigan, Texas, Virginia, and Florida top the list, with more than forty adoptions each. The plan has been particularly attractive to cities with populations in the 50,000–100,000 class: approximately one-third being council-mayor cities.

Cleveland, with a population approximating one million, adopted the form, but after a few years returned to mayor-council government. New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia have all discussed the council-manager form, but none of them has as yet adopted it, although Philadelphia once drafted a manager charter for submission to the state legislature. Nearly one-fourth of the cities having populations in excess of 100,000 now operate under the council-manager plan, while of the cities with populations varying from 250,000 to 500,000 about thirty per cent belong to the ranks of council-manager cities.

Approximately twenty-five per cent of the cities in the 25,000 to 50,000 group employ the council-manager form. The adoptions among cities of 10,000 to 25,000 have been somewhat less, with approximately twenty per cent of all cities in this class being council-manager cities. Cities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants have not displayed as great enthusiasm. Some thirteen per cent of the cities in the 5,000–10,000 class, about seven per cent in the 2,500–5,000 class, and slightly over two per cent of the cities with from 1,000 to 2,500 inhabitants belong to the ranks of council-manager cities.

Abandonment of the Manager Plan.—In contrast to the commission form, there have been very few cases where cities have abandoned the council-manager form of government. During a period of thirty-two years only twenty-eight cities took action to change from this plan to another.[1] In 1930, and again in 1946, Professor A. W. Bromage concluded that most of the cities that had abandoned up to that time had acted for other reasons than defects in their own manager charters or dissatisfaction with the plan in

[1] During the period 1930–1945 120 cities voted on the question of retaining the council-manager plan. Of these 102, or 85 per cent, decided to keep the plan.

general. In eight cases abandonment was attributed to circumstances that had little or nothing to do with the plan; and in four to political conditions after very short experience.[1]

The Cleveland Case.—Cleveland has received the most publicity as a city that chose to return to the mayor-council form of government, although Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee, Akron, Ohio, Fall River, Massachusetts, and Trenton, New Jersey are among the sizable cities that have abandoned the council-manager form. Cleveland adopted the plan to begin with largely because its political boss, Maurice Maschke, so ordered. This is one of the few cases where the plan has not been the result of a popular movement. After Cleveland adopted the council-manager form, the boss and the manager got into a serious quarrel, although Boss Maschke had been largely responsible for the choice of the manager to begin with. Therefore, the political boss turned against the plan and brought all of his forces to bear in order that it might be thrown out. Proportional representation also caused some dissatisfaction in certain quarters. In general, it has not been felt that Cleveland gave the plan a fair trial.[2]

Cincinnati and Kansas City.—Cincinnati and Kansas City, Missouri, probably received more attention than any other council-manager cities during 1930–1940. Both ranked among the council-manager cities having the largest populations. But more than that, the interest arose from the fact that one transformed itself from a boss-ridden city, with a low grade of public performance, to one of the top places in the entire United States. In contrast, the other continued until 1939 under the control of a political boss and could not boast of any startling accomplishments.[3]

The Record of Cincinnati.—Prior to the adoption of the council-manager form of city government Cincinnati had been controlled by the "Old Boy" Cox-"Rud" Hynicka political machine for many years. The Cincinnati bosses were not the worst political bosses

[1] "Why Some Cities Have Abandoned Manager Charters," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 599 (November, 1930). See: *Manager Plan Abandonments* (New York, 1940).

[2] Mayo Fesler, "Why Cleveland Abandoned the Council-Manager Plan," *Public Management*, Vol. 13, p. 399 (December, 1931).

[3] Walter Matscheck, "Kansas City: Where the Manager Plan Has Failed," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 57 (September, 1938).

in the country, but they condemned the city to a mediocre and in some respects to an inferior government. There was not much open peculation; the tax rate was kept down to a point where it compared favorably with that of any large city in the United States; but municipal services suffered. Streets, for example, were in such a fearful condition that automobile driving even at a low rate of speed was extraordinarily hazardous. During the closing days of the dynasty Boss Cox had passed from the scene, and "Rud" Hynicka devoted most of his time to theatrical and other interests in New York City.

A Charter Party was organized to rescue Cincinnati from its unhappy plight, and after considerable agitation this group carried by a handsome margin an election which was fought on the issue of mayor-council or council-manager government. Colonel Sherrill was brought in as city manager at a salary of $25,000 per year. Under his leadership the physical aspects of the city were almost completely transformed. Streets, public buildings, and public works in general were repaired, added to, and otherwise put into a proper condition. Then C. A. Dykstra came to succeed Colonel Sherrill, when the latter felt that he had finished his task and that Cincinnati needed a manager with more of a background in administrative organization and management. Mr. Dykstra remained until 1937, when the University of Wisconsin asked him to become its president, and Colonel Sherrill then returned to the managership.[1]

Attempts to Defeat the Council-Manager System in Cincinnati.—There have been several attempts to scuttle the council-manager form of government in Cincinnati or at least to oust the Charterites who sponsored it, and some of the tests at the polls have been close. The Charterites have lost an absolute majority in the council and must rely on an agreement with minor factions. But the strength of the council-manager form has been such that it does not seem likely to be abandoned within the immediate future. During the serious floods in 1937 the council-manager form demonstrated quite conclusively what it could do. While other cities in the same plight had to rely on the national guard and assistance from

[1] Murray Seasongood, "The Triumph of Good Government in Cincinnati," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 83 (September, 1938).

states, Cincinnati, under the leadership of Manager Dykstra, handled its difficult problems with the greatest efficiency and promptness.[1]

Kansas City, Missouri.—Kansas City adopted the council-manager form at the same time it maintained a political boss in power. Boss Pendergast did not actively oppose the change from the mayor-council form to the council-manager form, but contented himself with the much shrewder plan of controlling the government established under the new system. He saw to it that the city manager was someone who would not too vigorously oppose his domination of Kansas City. Through the years following the adoption of the council-manager form Boss Pendergast had some opposition. Reform movements tried to oust him; the governor of Missouri declared war on him;[2] and the national government entered the scene to hit him through federal investigation and the prosecution of election frauds.[3] Through it all Boss Pendergast maintained his hold over Kansas City until the spring of 1939 when he was sent to federal prison for income-tax evasion. As a result of this situation, the council-manager form was for a time unable to accomplish much in Kansas City, and the standard of public service remained comparatively low.[4]

The Future of the Council-Manager Form.—There seems to be little evidence that the council-manager form will disappear from the scene in the immediate future, or that it will even lose ground appreciably. Indeed, the number of new cities adopting the system has been larger since 1940 than at any previous period. More than 200 cities chose the plan during the years 1940–1946.[5] Council-manager cities, in general, seem quite devoted to their present systems, and, as has been pointed out, the number of cities abandoning the manager form has been surprisingly low. Out of 246 cities adopting new charters in eleven home-rule states during 1911–1920, 22 per cent chose the mayor-council form; 43 per cent the commis-

[1] For interesting discussions of the council-manager plan in Cincinnati, Charles P. Taft, *City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933); and Murray Seasongood, *Local Government in the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933).

[2] See: the *New York Times*, February 21, 1937.

[3] See: the *New York Times*, March 16, 1937, June 12, 1937.

[4] See: *Seven Years of Council-Manager Government in Kansas City*, by C[illegible] Re[illegible] Institute (Kansas City, 1933).

[5] Some 75 cities adopted the plan in 1946 alone.

sion form; and 35 per cent the council-manager form. Out of 134 cities adopting new charters in the same states during 1921–1930, the corresponding figures were 23 per cent, 6 per cent, and 71 per cent.[1] Some other new plan might, of course, attract large numbers of cities away, but at present there is little evidence pointing to the development of any new form of city government.

PROVISIONS OF THE COUNCIL-MANAGER FORM

The Mayor.—With approximately ten exceptions all council-manager cities make provision for mayors as well as for city managers. These mayors are generally members of the city council and may be designated by the council as mayor at the organization meeting, although in some cities it is provided that the councilman who receives the highest number of popular votes shall serve in the capacity of municipal executive. These officials under the council-manager form represent their municipalities on formal occasions, preside over sessions of the council, and exert more or less influence in determining matters of policy. However, they have little to do with the administrative departments, for the manager receives responsibility for that aspect of government.

It is interesting to note that mayor-council cities are beginning to recognize the importance of differentiating administrative responsibility and policy-determining functions and of placing the former in the hands of an appointive official. San Francisco has a chief administrative officer and New York City a deputy mayor.

The mayors in many council-manager cities are rarely heard of outside of their own cities, perhaps to a large extent because they are frequently overshadowed by the city managers. However, Cincinnati has had the good fortune to have Mayor Murray Seasongood who has been active in municipal affairs and has gained a reputation throughout the country.

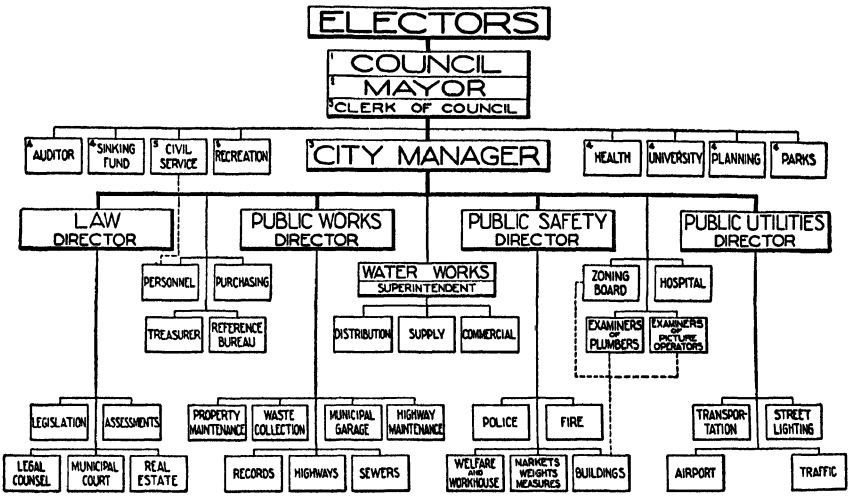
THE COUNCIL

Membership.—Councils under the council-manager form usually are small in size, with the exact number of seats depending upon the population of the city and other factors. As a rule, there are at least five members of the council in small cities and seven or nine or more in larger cities. Members of the council may be

[1] See: Leonard D. White, *Trends in Public Administration*, p. 214.

elected at large by the voters, or they may be chosen on the basis of wards or groups of wards. Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Toledo, Ohio employ proportional representation to elect their council members. Terms are either two or four years. Compensation is paid, but it tends to be modest.

GOVERNMENTAL CHART OF THE CITY OF CINCINNATI
COUNCIL-MANAGER TYPE



1. Nine members elected bi-annually.
2. Selected by Council from its membership.
3. Appointed by Council
4. Appointed by the Mayor
5. Three members—1 each appointed by the Mayor, Board of Education, and University Directors.
6. Five members—3 appointed by the Mayor, and 1 each by the Board of Education and the Park Board.

FIG. 8.

(Courtesy of *Municipal Activities*, published by the Cincinnati City Manager)

Organization.—The council organizes much as does the council under the mayor-council form.[1] It chooses a presiding officer—almost always the mayor acts in this capacity, and it has a clerk or clerks to keep records. However, it seldom organizes into standing committees, although special committees may sometimes be made use of. Meetings are held periodically—usually once or twice each month in small cities and once each week in large ones. In small cities meetings frequently take place at night, while in large cities either day or night meetings may be the rule.

Functions.—The powers of the council under the council-manager form are not unlike those of the council under the mayor-council

[1] E. S. Bradford, "Manager Cities in Action," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 529 (August, 1930).

form of city government. The council passes ordinances, appropriates money, levies taxes, and arranges loans. Moreover, it debates in the presence of the city manager the general plans and policies of the city and then proceeds to lay them out. The manager has no vote in deciding policies, although he is often requested in many cities to express his opinions and to make suggestions and recommendations. The council is definitely not supposed to dictate appointments other than the few which may be specifically conferred upon it. Nor is it authorized to consider details of administration, although it may call upon the manager for a report in regard to the administration of a policy. After the general policy has been decided on, the manager must be allowed a free hand in carrying out the plans. Finally, the council selects the manager and receives reports from him as to the conduct of municipal affairs.[1]

THE MANAGER

Role of the Council in Selection.—It has already been pointed out that the city manager owes his position to the city council rather than to the mayor or to the voters. Councils are given a comparatively free hand in selecting managers. They may name a local man, or they may call in someone from without the city. They have some discretion in determining what the manager's salary shall be, and they fix his term as far as any definite limits are imposed. As a rule, the manager holds his position until such a time as the council may request his resignation—unless he resigns of his own will.

Procedure in Selection.—In selecting a manager, councils vary in their procedure. Some of them give relatively little attention to the matter. There are always a number of applicants for the position, and some councils seem to think that any one of ordinary intelligence will be able to handle the duties satisfactorily. But other councils pay a great deal of attention to this matter. They appoint a committee to canvass the field; they consult the *Directory* of the International City Managers' Association which lists active managers throughout the country; and they may search widely for the best qualified man rather than rely upon voluntary applica-

[1] For a very good discussion of the relations of the council and the manager see: L. D. White, *The City Manager*, Chaps. X, XI.

tions. After reducing their list to comparatively small proportions by studying the applications and carrying on personal investigation, they proceed to hold oral interviews. Finally, they decide to employ a certain person for the position.[1]

Local Son versus Outsider.—When a city manager is to be employed, one of the first questions to arise is invariably whether a local man is to be taken or an outsider. Councils are ordinarily under great pressure to name a local citizen, for the number of local people who want the place for themselves or for their friends is almost always large. Moreover, these interested people will frequently spend a great deal of energy in their efforts to influence the council. Then, too, there is always local pride to be considered; every city, whether it be small or large, firmly believes that it has just as good material from which a city manager may be selected as can be found anywhere in the United States. In as much as the position pays a fairly attractive salary, why not take a local product, the argument runs. Such a course supposedly lets it be known that a city has good men. In as much as the money for paying the manager's salary is raised by local taxes, the money should be kept at home—so goes the traditional reasoning. Council members not infrequently pledge themselves before election on this matter.

The Danger of Confining the Choice to a Local Man.—It should be apparent to any student of municipal government that every city does not have an abundance of good manager material. Some cities have no one who wants the position and at the same time is able, honest, and professionally trained in engineering, public finance, public administration, or some other field that relates to the duties of the job. To limit the selection to local candidates means in these cases that an inferior manager will be employed.

Even where cities may have qualified people, there is some doubt as to the wisdom of taking the manager from the local candidates. Almost invariably such a manager will start out with the firmly established enmity of those who failed to get the job. Moreover,

[1] For a good discussion of the problem of selecting a manager consult National Municipal League, "Suggested Procedure for Selecting a City Manager," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, supp. 629 (December, 1933). When there is a manager vacancy, the International City Managers' Association sends to each member of the local council a pamphlet entitled "The Selection of a City Manager." This contains many valuable suggestions and much pertinent data.

local managers have their friends and enemies among the inhabitants. They have their prejudices and their biases, and consequently, as a rule, they lack perspective.

Finally, the plan of taking a local man, if generally applied, would make impossible any profession of city manager. Unless a manager could remain all of his working life as manager of his own city—which would be impossible in most cases—he would either have to retire permanently when he lost his managership or turn to some other occupation. Promising young men want to know that there is a future in a job before they take it and would scarcely be impressed with the opportunities offered by a managership of purely local character. Hence, when cities persist in limiting their selections to local candidates, they really put their stamp of approval on jacks-of-all-trades.

Nevertheless, despite all the arguments against provincialism, local pressure is so great that slightly more than half of 1,000 managers appointed up to the end of 1926 were residents of the cities which named them.[1] Of 629 persons in city-manager positions during 1931–1933 only 30 per cent were non-residents when appointed, and in 1933, less than one appointment out of five involved an out-of-town man. In 1940, 1941, and 1945 the situation improved somewhat—the respective percentages being 41, 36, and 48.[2]

QUALIFICATIONS OF CITY MANAGERS

General Qualifications.—Beyond prescribing "executive and administrative ability" most council-manager charters are silent as to the qualifications of the manager, although occasionally there will be an attempt to specify that the person chosen must have had previous experience as a city manager. Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting, executive officers of the International City Managers' Association, discuss the problem of manager qualifications in some detail in their book, *The City-Manager Profession.* They place as number one requirement "executive or administrative ability as shown by experience in handling men and interest in them, by dynamic personality, and by scientific

[1] Leonard D. White, *The City Manager* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 137–138.

[2] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946,* published by the International City Managers' Association (Chicago, 1946), p. 523.

bent of mind." [1] They add that the city manager should have a "constructive conception of the destiny of the American city . . . and a broad social conception of municipal government as a result of training, experience, and reflection." [2]

Among personal characteristics Ridley and Nolting mention honesty, force, tact, industry, a sense of humor, and loyalty. As to education, they declare that "a broad college or university training in the social sciences is highly desirable and almost essential to the greatest success." [3] Seventy-nine out of ninety-five city managers replying to a questionnaire in 1930 listed college or university education as the most important single requirement for their profession.[4] A sizable majority of the managers in cities of under 25,000 inhabitants felt that engineering training should be offered. However, among the managers of cities of over 25,000 less than one-fourth regarded engineering training as essential. A majority of the managers in cities of over 50,000 specified education in public administration with experience in municipal work.[5]

Actual Backgrounds of City Managers.—Professor Leonard D. White's study of city managers in 1926 revealed that city managers do not fully meet the requirements which have been set down by the executives of the International City Managers' Association. Professor White personally devoted five months to a field study at the headquarters of the International City Managers' Association, then proceeded to pay visits to a considerable number of council-manager cities, and, in addition, enjoyed wide contacts with city managers at conventions and other assemblages. He found that, as a rule, city managers work under great pressure and, in general, are men of strong physique. Some of them carry their work easily, while others show the effect of nervous strain. They stand out because of their physical and moral courage; they are "practical" men and interest themselves in "specific, definite, immediate matters" rather than governmental research; and they pride themselves on being men of action rather than talkers.

As a group Professor White noted that they have a narrow range of interests; even within the field of municipal government they

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

often confine their attention to the physical aspects and ignore the other very important problems. They display little interest in political or governmental theories or in public administration as an art or science. They stand out because of their official integrity—very few have been charged with personal or official misconduct. Professor White ventures the opinion that "the success of the managers has been due primarily to public confidence in their integrity and in their technical qualifications, rather than to an unusual degree of native or managerial ability." [1]

City managers as a class do not enter into politics in their cities; they refuse favors to individuals and to influential groups; and in advising the council they pay a great deal of attention to the best interests of the city, according to the observations of Professor White. Both emotionally and socially they present wide variations. Some managers give the impression of being slow and oblivious to outside influences, while others react very swiftly and intensely. In contrast to some who are shy and introverts, others display a great amount of social charm and versatility. Although they speak clearly and to the point on professional topics, they frequently find it difficult to address large groups from public platforms and do not make an especially impressive appearance on such occasions.[2]

Age and Educational Qualifications of Managers.—Many city managers enter the profession in their late thirties, although comparatively large numbers may not have had any experience along such a line until they attained an age of fifty. An analysis of 551 managers indicated an average age of thirty-seven years at first appointment.[3] Out of 609 city managers in service on December 31, 1945, 394, or 65 per cent, had some record of college attendance. Slightly more than one-third, 36 per cent, of the city managers active at that time held one or more university degrees.[4] One hundred and seventy-eight out of 233 degrees held by 547 city managers in 1930 belonged to some aspect of engineering, while only seven claimed degrees in public administration. But thirteen managers reported graduate work in government,

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 151.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 151–152.
[3] Ridley and Nolting, *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
[4] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 524.

and an additional eleven had majored in political science in college.[1]

Occupational Background of City Managers.—A surprisingly large number of city managers have had experience in public service before becoming managers. Out of 629 managers, 42.4 per cent had held such jobs for considerable periods, and approximately 75 per cent had had at least some experience in such a capacity. About one half, 52.1 per cent, of the managers studied by Ridley and Nolting in 1933 came to the post of city manager directly from some other public position. Approximately twenty per cent were recruited from private engineering, and about twenty-five per cent from professions and business. Among the 328 who came directly from the public service, 182 were city or county engineers, state highway engineers, or managers of public utilities; 30 were city clerks; 21 held some financial post; 16 served as assistants to city managers; and 23 were mayors or members of the city council.

The 126 men who came directly from business included 64 managers or executives; 20 real-estate or insurance men; 9 merchants; 7 automobile salesmen; 7 bankers; 7 chamber-of-commerce executives; and 12 miscellaneous. The twenty professional men were divided as follows: 5 lawyers, 3 professors, 4 publishers, and 8 miscellaneous. There seems to be a trend toward taking city managers directly from the public service, for while 52.1 per cent of 629 men who were city managers sometime during 1931–1933 came directly from such service, approximately 73 per cent of the new appointments made during the year 1945 were from the ranks of the public service. Interestingly enough, seventeen of the managers appointed during 1935–1937 were brought from managerships of other cities, and during 1943–1945 forty-six of the appointments involved such promotions.[2]

Length of Service.—The 609 active city managers at the end of 1945 claimed an average tenure of seven years and ten months, including all cities served. Of these, 12 could look on more than a quarter of a century of service and 106 had had from 15–24 years in the profession. This may not seem very long considering that it represents total careers as managers, but it is an increase of five years over the average at the end of 1920 and of two years and

[1] Ridley and Nolting, *Op. cit.*, pp. 83–84.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–87; and *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 523.

eleven months at the end of 1930. Of the 609 active managers in 1945, 310 had held managerships for less than five years; 111 for periods of five to nine years; and 188 ten years or more. The 440 city managers in active service at the end of 1933 had averaged four years and nine months in the particular cities which employed them at that time. In 1925, the corresponding average was two years and ten months, indicating an increase in tenure in a particular city of approximately two years in an eight-year period.

States vary a great deal in their tenure traditions. On the basis of cities that had employed the manager form of government ten years or more in 1933, managers in Pennsylvania could show an average tenure of 85 months. Iowa and Virginia both exceeded 50-month average tenures. Oklahoma, at the other extreme, produced an average tenure of only 31.1 months, and Florida and West Virginia both had less than 35 months.[1]

Separations from the Service.—More than half of the managers who give up posts as city managers do so involuntarily. The separations during the four years preceding 1946 were: 1945, 90; 1944, 64; 1943, 87; and 1942, 75. In 1929, 41.5 per cent of the separations were due to dismissals or forced resignations. In 1930, such separations increased to 45.6 per cent; in 1931, to 53 per cent; and in 1932, to 56.4 per cent. In 1933, the proportion decreased to 46 per cent, with not all managers reporting, but in 1937 it amounted to 63.7 per cent.

The following reasons explained 134 separations from service during 1932–1933: death 3; ill health 8; change in personnel of council 32; ousted because council desired to control administrative affairs and appointments 9; consolidation of post of city manager with that of city engineer or city clerk 6; resigned because of unwarranted interference by council in duties of manager 11; retirements or opportunities in private business 8; appointment to another public office 5; resignations to run for a public office 2; abandonment of manager form 3; and resignation because of a personal issue in council election 1.

Ninety managers left city manager positions in 1945. Of these 2 obtained federal positions, 1 a state position and 15 other public and semi-public posts; 10 died; and the rest either had to de-

[1] See: Ridley and Nolting, *Op. cit.*, pp. 89–92; and *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, pp. 382–383.

pend upon private employment or enjoyed no employment at all.

Salaries of City Managers.—In 1946 salaries of city managers ranged from $1,300 to $25,000. Until 1930 the compensation attached to the position increased more or less regularly—thus in contrast to an average salary of $2,800 in 1918, an average payment of $4,500 was made in 1925. The average increase in annual salary for 101 managers in 1929 amounted to $692, while the average salary for all managers at the end of 1929 was $4,827. Following 1930 salaries decreased, until on January 1, 1934, the average stood at a point 24.3 per cent below that of 1930. Then as economic conditions improved, the salaries were raised, until by 1946 they had reached an all-time high. Cities in the 5,000–10,000 class paid salaries ranging from $2,400 to $7,500 in 1946. Cities in the 10,000–25,000 class ranged from $2,400 to $13,000; in the 25,000–50,000 class from $3,300 to $12,732; in the 50,000–100,000 class from $4,100 to $12,000; in the 100,000–250,000 class from $7,000 to $15,750; in the 250,000–500,000 class from $9,100 to $25,000. Cities under 5,000 in population paid salaries ranging from $1,300 to $9,375 in 1946.[1]

ACTIVITIES OF CITY MANAGERS

Distribution of a City Manager's Time.—The International City Managers' Association once requested the active city managers to indicate how they spend their time. On the basis of 271 complete replies an eight-hour day would be spent as follows: interviews with callers, 2 hours; outside inspection of municipal activities, 1 hour and 30 minutes; planning present activities and future program, 1 hour and 30 minutes; conferences and council meetings, 1 hour and 30 minutes; preparing official reports, 50 minutes; and handling correspondence, 40 minutes. The returns also showed that managers of small cities spend a greater part of the time in outside inspection. On the other hand, city managers in large cities devote distinctly more time than their colleagues in small cities to interviews with callers and to conferences.[2] This is largely due to the fact that in small cities managers must personally supervise many of the administrative activities of the city, while

[1] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946.*
[2] Ridley and Nolting, *Op. cit.*, pp. 95–97.

in large cities the actual conduct of operations is delegated to subordinates, and the manager devotes himself to executive direction.

Functions of a City Manager.—As has been pointed out above, a great deal depends, as far as functions are concerned, upon whether a city manager is employed by a small city or a large one. In a small city he must do much of the expert work himself, while in a large city he has subordinates who handle such tasks. In general, a city manager is charged with seeing that all laws and ordinances are enforced. He controls all administrative departments and has the authority to appoint, supervise, and remove department heads and other employes—in the case of the latter subject to personnel regulations. He makes recommendations to the council relating to the various affairs of the city; he advises the council as to the financial needs of the city; and he prepares and offers to the council the municipal budget. He renders reports to the council as well as to the citizens of the city. As a rule, he has no jurisdiction over public schools, municipal courts, or public libraries. He may or may not control the parks and recreational facilities of a city.[1]

Public Appearances of a City Manager.—In many cities the manager is very much in the public eye all of the time. He must watch his official conduct—even his private conduct—quite carefully. The attitude of a city manager on the matter of public addresses depends largely upon the manager himself and the demands of the citizens. Formal municipal functions are supposed to be in the hands of the mayor, and a discreet manager will not attempt to infringe. In many cities the manager is frequently asked to speak on the subject of municipal affairs. If he has any ability along such a line and can avoid issues that belong to the council's domain, such public appearances may serve a very useful purpose. A vigorous public opinion is requisite to the successful operation of the council-manager form. One of the best ways to stir up such interest in civic affairs is to have the manager speak frequently to groups of citizens on the problems of the city. Of course, such addresses may be a considerable drain on the time and energy of the manager, but the results often justify the expenditure.

Political Activities of the City Manager.—It goes without saying that a city manager ought not align himself with any political

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–38.

party or faction; nor does a new city manager clean house when he first takes office by firing employes because of political affiliations. Instead he gives them an opportunity to show whether they are competent, and only in case they are not does he discharge them. However, Manager H. F. McElroy of Kansas City followed a different policy and actively favored the Democrats. During the first six months of his service he replaced 42 per cent of the city employes who were on a monthly-pay basis and a larger proportion of those who received daily wages.[1] Moreover, he filled the headships of the administrative departments with Democratic wheelhorses and worked intimately with the Democratic members of the city council.[2] As a result, the manager form did little to improve municipal personnel standards in Kansas City.

One of the difficult problems to be faced by a city manager will take the form of determining the exact nature of his relations with the political leaders of his city. If the council has been selected on a non-partisan basis—this was at least nominally the case in 83.5 per cent of 363 cities in 1945, he may not have to deal with the politicians to a large extent.[3] But if the parties play an important role in the city—as is sometimes the case even in council-manager cities—the city manager cannot avoid contact with the party leaders. He must work with them without accepting their dictates and providing them with official favors.

Organizational Affiliations of the City Manager.—Whether a city manager will belong to luncheon clubs, civic associations, and other social groups will depend both upon his own inclinations and the traditions of the city which employs him. A questionnaire from the International City Managers' Association some years ago elicited replies as to affiliations from 277 managers. Seven reported that they belonged to no local organizations, but most of the managers found it wise to maintain membership in certain groups. The chamber of commerce attracted the largest number—with 108 belonging to such an organization. Civic associations of one kind and another, including the service clubs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions, enrolled 220 out of the 277 managers. Among other memberships reported were: various advisory boards

[1] Leonard D. White, *The City Manager*, p. 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[3] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 46.

of a quasi-public nature 52; fraternal organizations 65; national and local engineering societies 167; state-wide organizations of public officials (not including engineering societies or municipal leagues) 65; and honorary scholastic organizations, such as Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, and Tau Beta Pi, 25. Not only did the city managers reveal that they belonged to numerous organizations, but they admitted that they frequently served as officers of these groups. The 277 city managers reported 104 offices held in the various organizations of which they were members.[1]

Motives Entering into the Acceptance of Positions as City Manager.— To ascertain adequately the motives that impel city managers to enter such a field is, of course, impossible. The principal available source of information is a study made by the International City Managers' Association in 1933. The then active managers were asked to state why they had accepted positions as city managers. In as much as people replying to such questionnaires frequently either do not answer carefully or honestly, too much dependence cannot be placed upon statistics based on such material. Nevertheless, the study is interesting. Of 278 city managers who furnished information, the largest single group, 89, explained their entering the profession on the ground that they believed they would like the work and considered the opportunities offered by such a position good. Seventy-two had the frankness to admit that they were city managers because they had been offered jobs as managers.

Among the others, 49 maintained that the most important motive which lead them to accept such responsibilities was a "desire to serve;" 36 considered themselves especially trained for the work; 22 regarded the offer as a promotion; 6 entered because of interest acquired as a result of college studies; 3 "needed a job;" and 1 specifically explained his entrance on the ground that the paper industry had been affected by the depression.[2] The answers would seem to indicate that few plan on city managerships as careers, and that the great majority more or less drift into such an occupation.

[1] Ridley and Nolting, *Op. cit.*, pp. 97–98. For an informing article on this general topic see Lyman S. Moore, "What City Managers Think, Talk, and Do," *Public Management*, November, 1937.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

MERITS OF THE MANAGER FORM

1. Standard of Services Rendered.—The old proverb that "By their fruits, ye shall know them," seems to apply without adverse results to the council-manager form of government. Of course, there has been great variation among council-manager cities as to achievements; some have done a great deal better than others. However, by and large, council-manager cities are known for their good quality of public services. Perhaps it is too early to compare definitely the accomplishments of this form of government and the traditional mayor-council form, for a new form will usually have somewhat of an advantage during its early years. Nevertheless, after several decades of experience it seems probable that services rendered by council-manager cities are at least slightly superior to those of either mayor-council or commission cities.[1] And many would give such cities a much higher score.

2. Unified Authority.—One of the serious weaknesses of the commission form lies in the lack of concentration of final authority. Each commissioner wields authority, but there is no unifying officer. Even under the mayor-council form unified control is sometimes absent; where the administrative heads are elected by the voters or appointed by the council, the absence of definite responsibility is marked. Under the council-manager form responsibility for the conduct of administrative affairs of the city definitely resides in the hands of the city manager. He appoints, supervises, and removes heads of administrative departments, and under the personnel rules he has authority over the entire force of administrative employes. If standards are low, the manager can be held liable—unless the council perverts the plan by undue interference.

3. Adequate Representation of Interest Groups.—In addition to furnishing unified responsibility for municipal administration, the council-manager form makes possible a more adequate representation of interest groups than is possible under the commission form. The size of the council can be adjusted to the population and complexities of socio-economic organization. If a small council of five or seven members is desired, such a council can be integrated

[1] E. A. Cottrell, "Advantages or Disadvantages of the Council-Manager Plan," *City Manager Yearbook, 1931*, p. 9.

into the council-manager form. On the other hand, if there is need for a dozen or fifteen or even more council seats, provision can be made without difficulty. There is no reason why under the council-manager form reasonable representation cannot be given to the most important interest groups in any city.[1]

4. Economy.—The council-manager form of city government can claim with some degree of foundation to give more for the tax dollar than any other form. Council-manager cities are known for their progressiveness; they are leaders in providing new services for their citizens. Both old and new functions are performed efficiently. The tax rate may not always be lower, but neither is it particularly higher than in cities with other forms of government. If the taxpayer has to turn over sizable sums of money to the city, he at least has a great deal to show for his payments under the council-manager form.

There is some evidence that council-manager cities not only give more for the taxpayer's dollar, but that they actually have lower tax rates than other cities, although comparisons of this type are dangerous because of the limitations involved, the varying relationships of assessed valuation to true value, and the differentiation in functions among cities. A study of the 1946 tax rates of 331 cities gave council-manager cities, Cincinnati and Toledo, two out of four of the lowest tax rates on an adjusted basis in the 250,000–500,000 class.[2] Three out of ten cities in the 100,000–250,000 class having the lowest adjusted tax rates in 1946 were council-manager cities.[3]

In the case of bonded indebtedness the record of council-manager cities is generally very good. Although there are exceptions, the experience of numerous council-manager cities indicates that the bonded debt ordinarily goes down after the new form has gone into effect. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Oakland, California,

[1] See: A. Mandel and W. M. Cotton, "Dayton's Sixteen Years of City Manager Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, supp. 497 (July, 1930).

[2] See: Rosina Mohaupt, "Tax Rates of American Cities, 1946," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 35, p. 570 ff. (December, 1946). Cincinnati and Toledo had adjusted rates of $17.00 and $14.11 respectively in 1946. It should be pointed out, however, that the record of council-manager cities in this respect is less distinctive than earlier. In 1938, for example, Cincinnati had the lowest adjusted tax rate in its population class and Wheeling, West Virginia, another council-manager city, the lowest rate among all 294 cities reporting.

[3] See: *Ibid.*

are cities which have achieved an impressive record in this respect; the latter's net long-term debt at the end of 1944 was the lowest of any city in the 250,000–500,000 population class.[1]

5. Use of Experts.—In contrast to the commission form of city government, the council-manager form makes large use of experts. The manager tends to be somewhat of an expert in engineering or public administration or both himself, and he has a free hand in hiring well trained experts to handle the work of the city. In a small city sufficient money may not permit the employing of many professionally trained persons, but the problems in such cities are comparatively simple. In larger cities, where the needs are greater and funds more adequate, experts are more frequently found under the council-manager form of government than under either of the other two. That does not mean that the situation lacks faults; localism may be very powerful in urging the claims of the local man who is not very well trained. Or the city ordinances may require the employment of local residents. But by and large city managers have a freer hand in this respect and act with greater independence than officials in the other forms of city government.

6. Reduction of Corruption.—Kansas City is an example of a council-manager city that did not get rid at once of widespread corruption.[2] However, as a rule, council-manager cities succeed in keeping corruption within fairly close limits. Professor Leonard D. White points out that there have been remarkably few cases where managers have been suspected of improper dealings. The number of such cases among the many hundreds of city managers has been no more than ten or a dozen.[3] And even among councilmen and municipal employes the vigilance and honesty of the oridnary manager, together with the public opinion among the

[1] Director C. E. Ridley of the International City Managers' Association wrote the author in a letter dated December 19, 1938, "The experience of numerous council-manager cities indicates that it is safe to say that the bonded debt of a city is generally reduced or goes down after the manager plan goes into effect." Oakland had a per capita debt of slightly over twenty dollars at the end of 1944, or a net long-term total of $6,369,000. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 209.

[2] See: Walter Matscheck, "Kansas City: Where the Manager Plan Has Failed," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 57 (September, 1938). See also: the files of the *New York Times* for February and March, 1939.

[3] *The City Manager*, p. 151. In 1926, Professor White estimated the number of cases involving serious charges of improper conduct on the part of the city manager as "scarcely half-dozen."

citizens, have kept graft at a low level in most council-manager cities.

7. Use of the Merit System, Central Purchasing, and Adequate Budgetary Practices.—The merit system of public employment, central purchasing, and sound budgetary practices have frequently gone hand in hand with the council-manager form. Not all council-manager cities by any means select public employes on the basis of training and qualifications. Nor do all of them purchase public supplies in quantity lots under the most favorable circumstances. But the proportion of council-manager cities giving faithful attention to both of these important items is far above that of commission cities and somewhat above that of mayor-council cities. The manager's very responsibilities work toward the employment of these practices. The fact that the manager is charged with the duty of preparing a city budget for submission to the council has given an opportunity for progressive budgetary procedure.

8. Increased Popular Interest in Municipal Government.—As a rule, the council-manager form of city government results from a popular movement in the direction of better government. Many city managers have capitalized on this fact and bent every effort toward sustaining such interest. They have issued illuminating reports of city problems, both of a formal annual nature and of the informal variety circulated with water bills. They have given of their time and energy to address groups of citizens on municipal questions. Under their encouragement exhibits illustrative of municipal problems and services have been prepared. As a result, the citizens of some council-manager cities feel far more responsibility for the conduct of municipal affairs than is ordinarily the case in mayor-council cities. There is something about the very nature of council-manager government, perhaps the size of the council and the few elective officials, which makes it easier to stimulate popular interest.[1]

WEAKNESSES OF THE MANAGER FORM

1. Dependence upon One Man.—Under the council-manager form of city government it would not be accurate to say that everything

[1] See: Harold A. Stone, Kathryn Stone, and Don K. Price, "Appraisal of Council-Manager Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 50 (September, 1938).

depends upon the city manager himself, but it may be said without exaggeration that a great deal does hinge on the character and ability of the manager. There is no one official in the commission form who shoulders so grave responsibility. Even in the mayor-council form it is doubtful whether the average mayor has as much to do with determining the quality of the city government as the manager under the council-manager form. Indeed so much has been placed on the shoulders of the manager that some people consider the position an almost impossibly difficult one in large cities. Professor Leonard D. White points out, as an observation resulting from his contacts with many city managers, that they are invariably hard pressed. Some of them show no particular ill effects from the great demands made upon them, but he states that some managers suffer both physically and nervously from their work.[1]

2. Disposition of the Council to Exceed Its Authority.—The city council enjoys large powers under the council-manager form of city government, but it may not properly interfere with the actual conduct of city administration nor may it dictate appointments. Unfortunately not all councils have been able to resist such temptations. While they have no moral or legal right to enter such fields, there is very little that can be done immediately to check them, although, of course, in the next election the voters may refuse to re-elect such a council. The manager may stand his ground and point out the evils of such conduct on the part of the council, but in the last analysis if the council persists, the manager can do nothing but accede or resign. The mere fact that the council can dismiss the manager at its pleasure gives it the power to interfere whether it conflicts with the very heart of the council-manager form or not.

3. Lack of Leadership.—The people of the United States seem to require personal leadership more than many other people; they find it difficult to think of politics in terms of structure or theory. The nation is identified with the President; the state with the governor; and the city with the mayor. Under the council-manager form there is ordinarily a mayor, but he enjoys little authority and in many instances can scarcely fill the need for a municipal leader. The manager is more in the limelight, and the

[1] *The City Manager*, p. 145.

people want him to lead—in Cleveland Manager William R. Hopkins did assume such a position. Nevertheless, the council-manager form does not really anticipate leadership in municipal affairs from the city manager. He is not supposed to determine general programs and policies; that power belongs to the council. Of course, he may suggest to the council and frequently tactfully lead the council to follow his ideas. But if he assumes popular leadership, he must, as a rule, be more open in his methods, and a sensitive council will resent the prominence of the manager. As a result, some managers find themselves in a quandary. The city needs leadership and the people demand it; the manager seems to be the only person who can adequately furnish such leadership; yet if he yields, he is likely to find himself in difficulties with the council. The International Association of City Managers warns managers against the temptation of assuming leadership.[1]

4. Emphasis on Physical Aspects of a City.—The charge has been made that council-manager cities pay too much attention to the physical aspects of a city and too little to other phases. This probably arises out of the fact that so many city managers have been recruited from engineering. Council-manager cities have brought their physical properties to a high standard, but at the same time they seem to have accomplished a great deal in such fields, as recreation, sanitation, and public health. In the case of police, fire, health, and traffic contests council-manager cities have won a large proportion of the awards and honorable mentions.

5. The Weakness of the City-Manager Profession.—Although council-manager cities have always been fond of taking their own citizens as managers, there seemed to be some reason to expect a somewhat different practice after the council-manager plan had achieved greater maturity. However, unfortunately this has not always been the case. During the years 1912–1926, 46 per cent of the managers belonged to the non-resident class, and in 1929, 57 per cent of the managers appointed in that year came from non-residents. However, during the period 1939–1945 the proportion of non-resident appointments averaged approximately 35 per cent. Of the appointments made during 1933, actually less than one out of five went to non-residents.[2]

[1] C. E. Ridley and O. F. Nolting, *The City-Manager Profession*, p. 30.

[2] C. E. Ridley and O. F. Nolting, *The City Manager Profession*, pp. 87–89; and *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 523.

Doubtless the depression entered into the tendency of cities to take home products, but it does not seem probable that it completely accounts for the great preponderance of local selections. With appointments going so largely to local candidates, it is by no means easy to develop a city managers' profession. Yet if one can compare the position of city manager with that of lawyer, doctor, or professor, professionalism seems very important.

6. Lack of Adoption by Large Cities.—New York City, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago have all discussed the council-manager form, but there seems to be a widespread belief that such a form of government is not applicable to very large cities.[1] In as much as no very large city has given the form a trial—unless Cleveland be cited and in that case the experiment could scarcely be regarded as conclusive—it is impossible to determine how much truth there is in such an assertion. Naturally the burdens of a manager would be greater in a very large city than in a smaller city, but then that is true in the case of a mayor. A manager of a very large city could not expect to perform the actual work himself. However, it might be no more unsatisfactory for him to delegate authority than in the case of the mayor. It seems possible that a man of outstanding energy and versatility would make a reasonably good attempt at handling the affairs of a very large city in the capacity of manager.

7. The Difficulty of Obtaining Able Managers.—A traditional argument hurled against the council-manager form took the form that competent men could not be obtained as city managers. This argument seems to have lost force as the years have passed since the adoption of the council-manager form. Good men are not plentiful in this field or in any other field. But it seems no more impossible to secure able managers than able mayors or able commissioners. As a matter of fact, the position possesses an attraction for some able men. The problem at present is not to secure able men, but to keep the field open to able men. The rapid increase in local selections may reduce the attractiveness of the position and hence decrease the number of superior applicants.[2]

[1] In 1938, the Philadelphia City Charter Commission recommended the council-manager form of government for Philadelphia, along with proportional representation. Boston was considering such a form of government in 1947.

[2] Norman Thomas and Paul Blanchard, *What's the Matter with New York?* (New York, 1932), p. 307, express the view that managers are not superior to mayors in many cases.

8. Popular Bickering.—A few critics regard the council-manager form as defective because council-manager cities sometimes become the scene of periodic fights. The politicians in some cities always long for the good old days of spoils and popular indifference, while other disaffected groups may oppose the council-manager form of city government also. As a result, it is not uncommon for council-manager cities to be compelled to stave off raids, looking toward the scuttling of the council-manager form and the reestablishment of the mayor-council form. These contests consume the energy of the citizens to some extent, but they do not seem particularly serious objections to the council-manager form itself.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crane, R. T., *Loose-Leaf Digest of City Manager Charters* (New York, 1929).

Harvey, Lashley G., *The Manager Plan and New Hampshire Towns and Cities* (Durham, New Hampshire, 1947).

International City Managers' Association, *Government in Small Council-Manager Cities* (Chicago, 1937).

International City Managers' Association, *Municipal Year Books*, 1934– (published annually in Chicago).

International City Managers' Association, *The Selection of a City Manager* (Chicago, 1937).

Nolting, O. F., *Management Methods in City Government; A Survey of the Best Administrative Practices in Council-Manager Cities* (Chicago, 1942).

Phillips, Jewell Cass, *Operation of the Council-Manager Plan of Government in Oklahoma Cities* (Philadelphia, 1933).

Ridley, Clarence E., and Nolting, Orin F., *The City Manager Profession* (Chicago, 1934).

Rocca, Helen M., *Council-Manager Government in Berkeley, California* (Berkeley, 1935).

Seasongood, Murray, *Local Government in the United States: A Challenge and an Opportunity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933).

Stone, Harold A., Price, Don K., and Stone, Kathryn H., *City Manager Government in Nine Cities* (Chicago, 1940).

Stone, Harold A., Price, Don K., and Stone, Kathryn H., *City Manager Government in Seven Cities* (Chicago, 1940).

Stone, Harold A., Price, Don K., and Stone, Kathryn H., *City Manager Government in The United States* (Chicago, 1940).

Taft, Charles P., *City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933).

White, Howard, *City Manager Government in Hamilton, Ohio* (Chicago, 1940).

White, Leonard D., *The City Manager* (Chicago, 1927).

XIX

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS

Small Cities and Large Contrasted.—The problem of adequate organization of administrative departments in small cities is not a very serious one. The number of departments tends to be small. The departments with full-time staffs may be limited to the police and fire departments and the offices of the city engineer and the clerk-treasurer. The entire administrative set-up is likely to be closely supervised by the mayor and committees of the city council. The citizens have their eyes on the work performed and make known their criticisms to the mayor and to the departments themselves. In a medium size or large city the situation is much more complicated. The number of services will be much larger; numerous persons are employed to handle the work; the mayor and the city council cannot do a great deal in the actual operation of the departments; and public opinion is likely to be occupied with other matters. The proper organization of the administration departments in such cities will have a great deal to do with the success or failure of the city government.

The Proper Number of Departments.—No arbitrary rule can be laid down as to the number of administrative departments cities should establish.[1] A great deal depends upon the number of functions to be performed. The form of government under which a city operates may play some part, and the population and psychology of the city may enter in. Small cities may get along with a very small number of departments. With comparatively simple functions these cities may maintain skeletal legal, health, recreational, and planning departments. In addition, they will require more elaborate police, fire, records, financial, and public works departments.

A larger city will have to transform the skeletal services noted

[1] See: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), Chap. II.

above into real departments, and other departments, in addition to those provided by small cities, may have to be set up. A medium size city may find it wise to provide five or six or seven administrative divisions. Even large cities sometimes attempt to get along with no more than seven departments, but this entails placing in one department functions which do not belong together. A large city will scarcely desire to cut the number of departments below nine or ten, while a very large city may require fifteen or even more departments. Twenty administrative departments would seem to be about the top limit.

Principles to Be Considered in Determining the Number of Departments.—In determining the exact number of administrative departments for a given city certain principles may wisely be kept definitely in mind.[1] First, the number of departments should not be larger than the needs of the city require, for unnecessary departments make for high costs and duplication of functions. In the second place, a sufficient number of departments should be established to take care adequately of the various administrative functions. Unrelated functions should not be jumbled together in one department if that can be avoided, for such an arrangement makes for friction and particularly for the neglect of certain services. A department head will be primarily interested in one of the functions because of his training and general background, and consequently the other services in such a department will almost always receive less than their share of attention and money.[2]

STAFF AND LINE DEPARTMENTS

Staff Departments.—Cities have two different types of administrative departments: staff and line. The staff departments may be designated as the tool departments; they perform services which are necessary for the operation of the line departments. In general, they may be regarded as belonging to the second ranks rather than to the first, because they have less contact with the people and, as a rule, receive less limelight. The purchasing department buys the supplies which are used by the various administrative departments. The finance department raises the money which the other

[1] See: C. E. Ridley, "Some Principles of Administrative Organization," *Public Management*, Vol. 11, p. 580 (September, 1929).

[2] For a good discussion of this matter see: W. F. Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), Chap. VI.

departments must have to operate. This department pays bills, salaries, and interest. It perhaps borrows money required for capital undertakings, such as the construction of public buildings and the paving of streets, and it may audit the books of the other departments.

The legal department prepares contracts, passes on the legality of loans, and furnishes legal counsel to the several administrative departments. The civil service commission gives examinations and prepares eligible lists which may be used by other departments as a basis for employing all kinds of personal service. The engineering or architectural office drafts plans for new public buildings, improved sanitary systems, playgrounds and parks, and various street and boulevard projects. All of these services are very essential to the operation of a city of large size, although some of them may play relatively small parts in a small city government.[1]

Line Departments.—The line departments render services to the inhabitants. In contrast to the staff departments which may be considered the "means" departments they are the "end" departments. Cities exist to provide certain services for their citizens, and the line departments are largely charged with that responsibility. The police department maintains law and order; the fire department protects persons and property from fire; the health department safeguards public health; and the sanitary department makes the city a pleasanter and a more salubrious place in which to live by removing various wastes. The public works department paves and cleans streets, while the park department furnishes recreational facilities. The public schools and libraries take care of the education of young and old. To a casual observer the line departments seem much more important than the staff departments; yet the former could not do their work without the assistance furnished by the staff departments.[2]

TYPES OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

In Small Cities.—The skeletal administrative departments of small cities consist usually of a single part-time official. A local

[1] I. G. Gibbon, "Types of Administrative Organization," *Public Management*, Vol. 10, p. 595 (September, 1928).

[2] For a good discussion of the importance of basing administrative organization on line and staff considerations see: William Anderson, *American City Government* (New York, 1925), pp. 432–441.

attorney is paid a few hundred dollars per year to handle the few legal matters that arise; a physician gives a little of his time as city health officer; and an unpaid board of citizens assumes the responsibility for the park facilities. Of course, the internal organization of such departments presents a slight problem, and even in the more substantial departments of small cities there is little to be done in the way of administrative organization. Records and financial matters are handled by a single poorly paid clerk-treasurer or perhaps by a clerk and a treasurer. The police department which consists of three to a dozen or so policemen does not require much organization. One man usually receives the designation of "chief," but he occupies a position which differs only slightly from that of the other members of the force. He draws a somewhat larger salary and has something to do with supervising the other members, but in many cases he takes his share of patroling. A similar situation characterizes the fire department of a small city.

In Larger Cities.—Medium or large cities present a very different picture. Skeletal departments may not exist at all, and the ordinary line departments may employ hundreds or even thousands of persons. The work which they perform is arduous and complicated and involves a considerable amount of organization. If the departments are to do their work well, much attention must be given to the question of an adequate type of organization. First of all, there is the matter of the headship of the department. Should a single director or commissioner be placed in charge, or should a board or multiple system be used?

The Board or Commission System.—During the nineteenth century elective or appointive boards were considered most suitable for directing and overseeing the work of administrative departments in large cities. Almost everyone has read of the police commissions and fire boards of certain cities—Theodore Roosevelt obtained valuable experience as one of the police commissioners of New York City.[1] These boards sometimes did their work with a fair degree of satisfaction. In the case of public schools they rendered quite efficient service, while in the fields of public health and public welfare they functioned reasonably well. However, in the departments where policy had little importance, but prompt and decisive action figured largely, the board system revealed

[1] See: his *Autobiography* (New York, 1925), p. 168 ff.

weakness. Police commissioners quarreled among themselves and failed to arrive at any agreement as to how the affairs of the police department should be conducted. The lack of unity in the directing board was reflected down through the department and caused distinct inefficiency. Fire departments and public works departments resembled police departments in this respect. Hence, during recent years the board system has largely given way to the single-commissioner type of set-up in these departments.[1]

Current Status of the Board System.—At present, the board system finds its greatest popularity in the fields of education, public health, public welfare, city planning, election administration, and public library administration. In education few people would suggest abandoning the board arrangement, for it is felt that various interests should decide matters of educational policy. Election administration involves the success of at least two political parties. To give one party entire control, as would be necessary under the single-commissioner system, does not fit in with American psychology. City planning requires the talents of several people, for in this field there are wide differences of opinion, and successful planning must bring together the various views. A planning commission rather than a single planning director is, therefore, dictated. In the fields of public health and public welfare the advantages of the board system are less marked. These departments involve policies and conflicting opinions, but they also require decisive direction.[2]

The Board Plus the Single Commissioner.—There seems to be some advantage in combining the board system with the single-commissioner plan in certain departments. The fields of public health and public welfare may well be administered in such a manner. Boards decide general policies, but the actual administration is handled by directors or single commissioners. The exact relationship between the two varies and often presents difficulties. Not infrequently boards may interfere with administration and thus hamper the director, while in other cases directors resent boards and seldom, if ever, call them into session. The attitude of the director may be that he knows what should be done; he maintains

[1] For a good discussion of the board system see: William B. Munro, *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), pp. 351–354.

[2] See: A. C. Hanford, *Problems in Municipal Government* (New York, 1926), pp. 179–186.

that the board members are laymen and hence theoretical in their approach. They spend endless time arguing and discussing, and consequently the director conceals the actual conduct of affairs from the board as far as possible and contents himself with presenting more or less meaningless reports of what has actually been done. The difficulty of dividing authority between the board and the commissioner detracts from the attractiveness of such a system.[1]

The most satisfactory use of such a system has probably been found in the field of education, where the board handles general policies, while the superintendent directs the school system. However, even in that field there has been conflict in many instances. School boards interfere in the matter of hiring and discharging teachers; they concern themselves with the promotion of certain favorites; and they want a voice in such matters as transfers of teachers within the school system. These items properly lie within the scope of the superintendent.

The Single-Commissioner System.—The single-commissioner system has grown rapidly since the turn of the century. With prompt and decision action more and more important in municipal administration, the single-commissioner system has again and again displaced boards. The feeling that the mayor should be directly responsible for all administration has worked in this direction, for the single commissioner can be held responsible by a mayor more easily than a board or a commission. While such a system makes for tyrannical dictation and arbitrary direction at times, it seems probable that it will continue to be the popular plan for most administrative departments.

Selection of Department Heads.—Several methods have been used to select department heads. For many years popular election was considered suitable, but as the number of departments increased and the functions to be performed became more and more complex, this arrangement proved increasingly unsatisfactory. Ballots became too long; voters could not possibly inform themselves of the qualifications of so many officials; and, moreover, the qualifications in certain departments differed widely from those in other departments. The people lacked the technical background to weigh

[1] Leonard D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (New York, 1939), Chap. VI.

Library

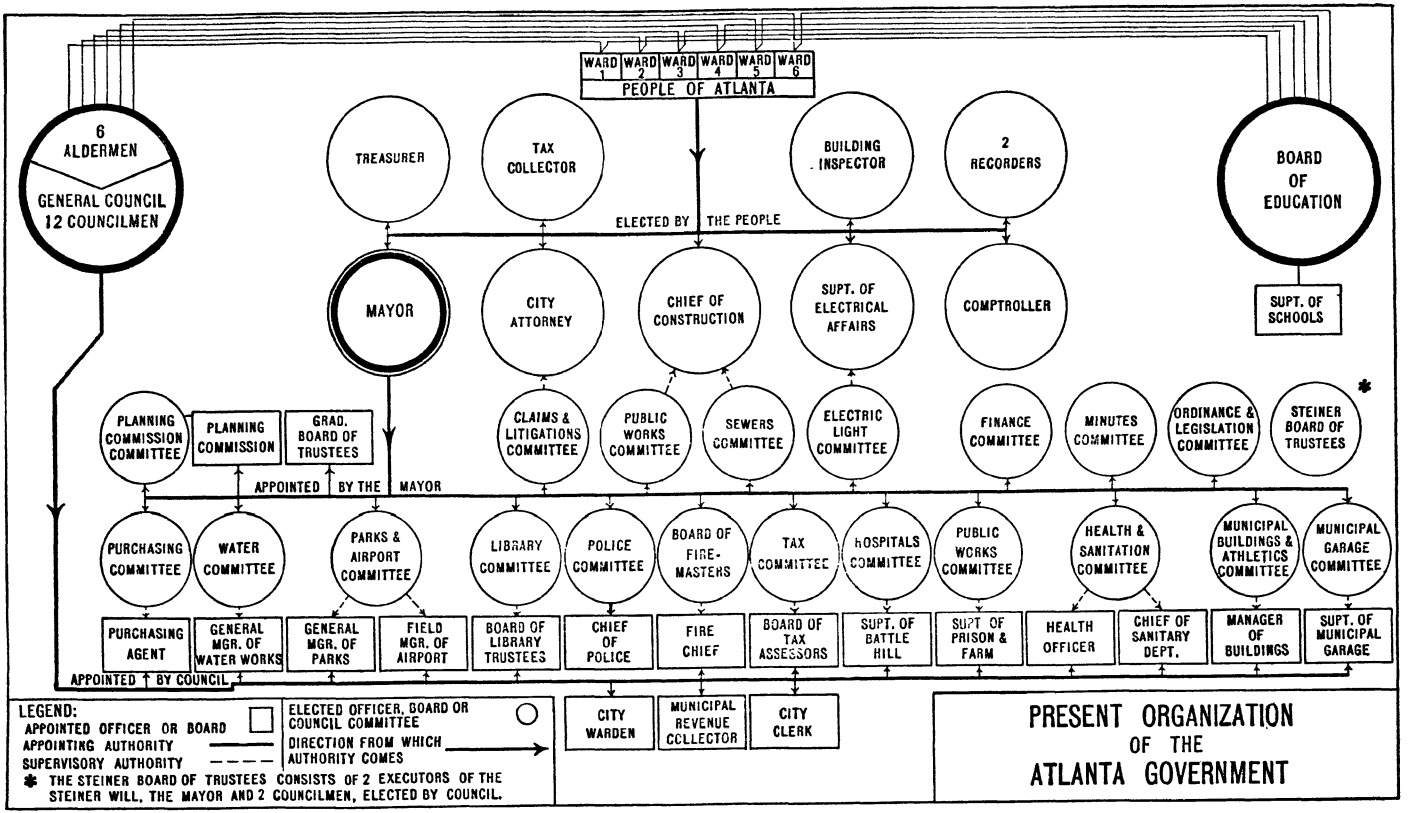


FIG. 9. An Example of an Outmoded Type of Administrative Organization. (Courtesy of National Municipal League)

such details. Furthermore, with the increasing elaborateness of municipal administration the people could not keep their eyes on

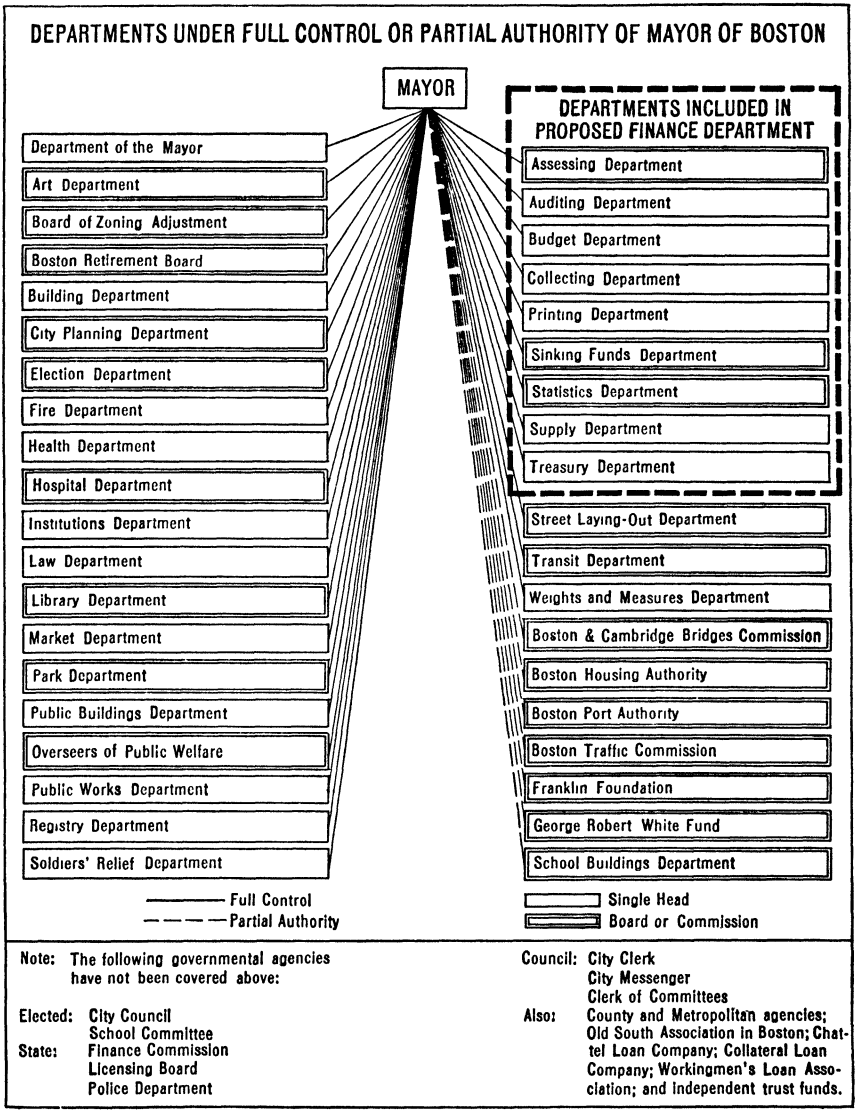


FIG. 10. An Example of a More Modern Type of Administrative Organization. (Courtesy of the Boston Municipal Reference Bureau)

all of the department heads. Yet under an elective system the mayor had little power to integrate the work of the several depart-

ments. For a time state governors appointed heads of certain city departments, but this plan did not prove satisfactory. Politics entered in; there was conflict between the state-controlled and the city-controlled departments; and an absentee governor could not adequately exact from a city administrative board proper responsibility.[1]

Appointment by the Mayor or City Manager.—The most satisfactory plan of selecting department heads involves local appointment. Occasionally city councils have essayed such a task, but their success has not been impressive in most cases. The best plan is to make the mayor or the city manager responsible for appointing, for these officials presumably have some understanding of the qualities needed in the various departments. Moreover, they should themselves assume general responsibility for the conduct of administration, and if they appoint the department heads, they can exact the standards from these heads that are essential to a satisfactory system of municipal administration. Furthermore, mayors and city managers can insist on integration and the avoidance of duplication. Of course, a great deal depends upon the mayor or the city manager under such a system—if these officials are indifferent, dishonest, or poor judges of men, the administrative departments will suffer seriously. Nevertheless, despite such possibility of abuse the plan of having the mayor or city manager name the administrative heads offers more than any other arrangement.[2]

QUALIFICATIONS OF ADMINISTRATIVE HEADS

It is difficult to specify the qualifications which administrative heads should possess. To begin with, a great deal depends upon whether the board or the single-commissioner plan is to be used. Board members often include both amateurs and professional people. A school board made up of educators would not be regarded with favor; nevertheless, where there are educators not connected with the school system available, much can perhaps be said for giving them some place. University professors have served with some satisfaction on school boards.[3] A public welfare board

[1] See: Lent D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), Chap. I.

[2] C. E. Ridley, "Some Principles of Administrative Organization," *Public Management*, Vol. 11, p. 580 (September, 1929).

[3] New York City may be cited by way of example.

can scarcely be limited to social workers, although they may wisely be included in the membership. Except in the case of a very few departments, such as possibly the health board, influential laymen may advantageously be included among the members of a board type of administrative head. Even in the case of health departments there is something to be said for having some lay representation.

Board Members.—It need not be said that the professional members of boards ought to be reputable members of their professions. Unfortunately this has not always been the case. Lay members may properly be selected on the basis of their intelligence, their interest in public affairs, their special interest in the affairs of the department which they are to serve, their influence in the community, their ability to coöperate and work with others, their common sense, their courage, and their sense of humor. These qualities may also play a part in the selection of the professional members. Members who have little interest in public affairs cannot be expected to contribute very much; nor will members who consider their ideas the only ideas of any worth prove very satisfactory. Members, whose chief desire is to be reappointed and who will consequently scarcely call their souls their own when it comes to standing out against political pressure, have been a constant problem in some cities. The damage that they inflict is very great.

Single Commissioners: Professional Qualifications.—Directors or single commissioners of departments are presumably chosen on the basis of their professional training, experience, and reputation.[1] Rarely ought a person not trained in public health be made the director of a public health department in a large city. The director of public welfare needs to be a professional social worker; the director of finance may well be someone who has had training in governmental accounting, or at least is an experienced accountant in private business; and the superintendent of schools ought invariably to be a professional educator. Business men may succeed as directors of departments of finance, public works, or utilities, but they often work under a handicap. In very large cities the director may largely devote himself to executive duties

[1] For a good discussion of the qualifications of administrators see: Lent D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration*, pp. 11–12.

and depend upon others for expert services. Hence, in a very large city professional training is probably less necessary for a department head than in a smaller city where he must expect to decide technical matters himself.

Personal Qualifications.—It would be a mistake to assume that professional training alone should determine the choice of a department head, for there are plenty of well trained men and women who would be failures as department heads.[1] In addition to professional background, department administrators need to be able to shoulder responsibilities and to handle large quantities of work expeditiously. They may be expected to understand the importance of delegating authority, because even the best trained man does not do well if he is constantly meddling in the work of everyone in his department. Competent subordinates want to have their work marked out and be left to do that work. Morale suffers when they do not know from day to day what they are to do and when matters are capriciously taken out of their hands. It is not generally recognized how many department heads fail in this respect—the damage they can cause is tremendous.

Department heads need to judge people with more than ordinary skill. They will be more valuable if they are able to pick the competent from these who curry favor. They can advantageously be friendly and yet at the same time not play favorites within their departments. They require large amounts of common sense and a sense of humor. They ought to have the welfare of their subordinates at heart—the jealous head is an abomination, and the head who wants to gain a reputation for industry by keeping his employes unnecessarily at night and after hours deserves severe criticism. The head who plans work so poorly that there is little to occupy his employes during official hours and then comes in an hour before closing and assigns work that has to be finished before the employes leave is to be avoided.

Difficulty of Recruiting Well Qualified Heads.—To find people with all of these qualifications may not be easy. Perhaps it cannot be expected that a department head display all of these qualities. Nevertheless, there are more well qualified people available than is ordinarily believed. All too often the appointing authorities excuse themselves for poor selections on the ground that better

[1] See: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration*, pp. 30–32.

people are not available. As a matter of fact, in many cases of this kind no attempt has been made to find properly qualified people. The mayor wants to put a friend or political supporter in a lucrative position, despite his absolute lack of qualifications, and defends himself on the ground that able people do not want the place.

DEPARTMENTAL SUBDIVISIONS

Divisions within a Department.—In small or medium size cities there does not need to be an elaborate organization within a department. However, in large cities, where hundreds and even thousands of persons are employed in single departments, adequate internal organization is important. Staff subdivisions may be set up to provide stenographic, legal, accounting, and similar services. For the most part, line departments need to be divided on a functional or on a territorial basis. Police, fire, sanitary, public welfare and public works departments in large cities almost necessarily organize themselves along both functional and territorial lines. Headquarters may largely observe functional considerations; a police headquarters will have a detective subdivision, a patrol section, a laboratory section, a records division, and other functional divisions. In addition, such a department may have police stations scattered over the city which handle the general problem of maintaining law and order.

Other departments, such as the financial, legal, and purchasing departments, may not have to regard territorial considerations at all, for their work will for the most part be performed in one central office. In such cases functional organization will predominate. One division of a department of finance will devote itself entirely to assessing; another will receive taxes; a third will attend to sinking funds and debts; a fourth will make payments of city moneys to employes and creditors; and a fifth may devote itself to accounting and auditing.[1]

Section Heads.—In providing for the internal organization of a department it is important to see that the persons in charge of each section possess proper qualifications. When section heads receive their positions on a political basis or because of friendship with the department head, morale will usually suffer seriously.

[1] See: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration*, pp. 32–33.

Tyrannical section heads can cause as much, or more, damage within their sections as unreasonable department heads within a department: for one thing, they have more intimate contacts with the people who do the work. If they are unreasonable, indifferent, interfering, irritable, or partial, the work of the section cannot be expected to reach superior standards.

The Importance of Uniform Rules and Regulations in All of the Administrative Departments.—In some cities every department makes it own rules and regulations in regard to hours of labor, vacations, sick leave, salary scale, night work, and other such matters.[1] The approval of the city council or of the mayor may, of course, be required. In such cities there is almost bound to be lack of uniformity, with one department allowing a liberal sick leave, and another making no provision; or one department paying $100 per month for the same work that another department allows $125 for. One department has no night work, while another works its employes two or three times each week after hours. Some departments close at four o'clock in hot weather, but others make no provision for summer hours.

Some of these variations are more important than others; perhaps the most important of all is that having to do with different salaries for the same work. But, in general, such variations in practices serve no useful purpose and frequently actually cause considerable damage. Morale on the part of large numbers of employes may be seriously affected by what seems to them unjustifiable discrimination; the public money may be wasted; and inefficiency may be encouraged. There seems to be no good reason why such matters cannot be put on a uniform basis throughout the administrative departments of a city.

Integration of Administrative Services.—It is not enough to have each department adequately organized; all of the departments should be working together for the welfare of the city. Where a mayor or a city manager is given the power of appointment and removal of department heads, such integration is possible. Where the administration officials are elected by the voters or otherwise are

[1] For a good discussion of the importance of standardization consult W. C. Beyer, "Employment Standardization in the Public Service," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 9, supp. 391 (June, 1920).

not responsible to a central authority, satisfactory integration is almost beyond attainment. In those cities where the mayor or the city manager has authority over the departments, meetings of all department heads often serve a useful purpose. At these meetings common problems may be discussed and perhaps decided; conflicts of authority may be settled; and functions can be slightly rearranged in such a manner as to promote efficiency. A general policy can be adopted.

In addition to meetings of all the department heads, mayors and city managers may accomplish much in the direction of integration by calling in individual department heads for conference. On these occasions the work of one department may be discussed, weaknesses pointed out, and departments which are out of line with the general administrative policy brought into line with the other departments.

If the mayors or the city managers are to make these conferences worth while, they must have information as to what is going on. This may be obtained in many instances by requiring frequent reports of a detailed nature from all of the administrative departments. Where department heads persist in refusing to integrate the work of their departments with that of other departments, the mayor or manager will serve the best interests of the city by removing the department head and appointing someone else who will follow a different policy.[1]

Relations of Administrative Departments with Each Other.—Unless a cabinet is provided, the various departments have little formal opportunity of ironing out disputes, although, of course, the heads of the departments concerned may attempt to settle matters by personal conference, telephone conversation, or correspondence. The cabinet plan may be more satisfactory for this purpose in many instances because it places the responsibility directly on the departments involved and lets the other departments know what is going on. Departments sometimes coöperate closely with sister departments, and then again they refuse to have anything to do with them. Much depends upon the department head. If he is jealous, individualistic, and touchy, departmental relations with

[1] See: J. O. Garber, "The Municipal Cabinet in the United States," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 168 (March, 1930).

other departments are likely to be far from cordial, but, if he is generous, coöperative, and reasonable, the department will probably willingly extend its services to sister departments.

Interdepartmental committees sometimes serve a valuable purpose in promoting coöperation among the departments. All of those departments interested in certain aspects of city government or in certain projects may be represented on such a committee. The committee goes over the whole problem, draws up plans or recommendations, and then attempts to secure the assistance of the departments concerned in carrying the plans to completion. Some of these committees are temporary and fold up after they finish a certain project, while others shoulder themselves with problems of a more recurring nature and hence may function indefinitely.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, William, *American City Government* (New York, 1925), pp. 432–441.

Garber, J. O., "The Municipal Cabinet in the United States," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 19, p. 168 (March, 1930).

Gibbon, I. G., "Types of Administration Organization," *Public Management*, Vol. 10, p. 595 (September, 1928).

Hodges, H. G., *Municipal Management* (New York, 1939).

Kneier, C. M., *City Government in the United States* (rev. ed., New York, 1947), Chap. XXV.

MacCorkle, S. A., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1942).

MacCorkle, S. A., *American Municipal Government and Administration* (Boston, 1948), Chap. XV.

Munro, William B., *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926) Chap. XVIII.

Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), Chaps. I–II.

Pfiffner, John M., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1940).

Reed, T. H., *Municipal Management* (New York, 1941).

Ridley, C. E., "Some Principles of Administrative Organization," *Public Management*, Vol. 11, p. 580 (September, 1929).

Siebenschuh, R. W., *The Administration of Municipal Legal Services* (Chicago, 1942).

White, Leonard D., *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (New York, 1939), Chaps. III–XII.

Willoughby, W. F., *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), Chap. VI.

PART VI

THE ACTIVITIES OF CITY GOVERNMENT

XX

MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

Numbers of Municipal Employes.—In 1946, New York City had 87,465 employes exclusive of public school teachers. Counting the city enterprise workers the total number of persons on the payroll of New York City in 1946 reached the very large number of 127,200. Chicago employed 25,729 persons in 1946; Philadelphia 20,150; and Los Angeles 17,413.[1] Large cities sometimes account for more public employment than the states in which they are located, and ordinarily they employ more persons per 100,000 inhabitants than the state governments. For example, New York State employs approximately fifty thousand persons, or less than half the number working for New York City. Illinois maintains a working force of slightly over twenty thousand, which approaches but does not equal that of Chicago. Detroit employs more than 25,000 in contrast to the some 15,000 on the Michigan payroll. In 1945 cities over 10,000 in population gave employment to some 861,000 persons. At the same time states had 479,000 employes, counties and other local governments 588,000, and public education 1,260,000 persons on the payroll.[2]

Cost of Municipal Employes.—Cities not only give employment to large numbers of persons, but they spend large sums each year on salaries and wages. In 1945 a total of $1,290,000,000 was required to meet municipal payrolls, which represented 12.62 per cent of all public payrolls in the United States, including those of public education employes. States expended some $764,000,000 in the same year for their employes, or less than sixty per cent as much as their

[1] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 136–162.

[2] See: "Municipal Personnel Data," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 123, and *The Book of the States, 1945–46*, p. 165.

creatures: the cities.[1]

Importance of Competent Municipal Personnel.—The importance of competent municipal personnel is not limited to mere numbers or amounts of money involved in salaries and wages. To a large extent, the character of the entire city government, as well as the administrative services performed, depend upon the calibre of the public officers and employes. The form of government may have something to do with the standards maintained by a certain city; the mayor and the council, the city manager and the council, or the commission exert considerable influence; but in the last analysis a more important role, especially in large cities, is played by the municipal employes. If they are well trained, honest, and faithful to their duties, the government of their city will prove reasonably satisfactory. If they are selected on the basis of political activity, personal friendship, or similar considerations, it is not probable that the city will enjoy a good government. Of course, they need able leadership and will increase their efficiency if the mayor, the city manager, and the department heads furnish such leadership, but no amount of vision or ambition on the part of these major officials can fully compensate for untrained, indifferent, and unintelligent employes.

The Record in Cities of the United States.—Distinguished visitors from foreign countries have been known to express amazement that cities of the United States should in general enjoy the services of fewer well trained persons than cities in certain other prominent countries of the world. They have found it difficult to reconcile the much more elaborate university facilities and the consequently larger numbers of professionally trained people in the United States with the situation that exists in cities. Logically cities of the United States should stand out among the cities of the world because of the relative ease with which they could recruit trained staffs. There are several explanations for this singularly strange state of affairs. In the first place, there have been so many opportunities for able people in private employment in the United States that relatively few really competent people have displayed much interest in municipal employment until comparatively recently. Private business and the professions have offered more

[1] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 123.

permanent tenure and for the higher ranks more attractive salaries than cities.

Localism in the United States has played a part, for professionalism depends upon the opportunity of going from one place to another to work. When cities limit their employes to local inhabitants, they discourage professionalism and encourage amateurism in public employment. Perhaps most important of all has been the political set-up under which most city governments have operated. Appointments have gone to those who had political backing, and promotions have often depended upon political activity rather than upon service. Under such a system there are few opportunities for trained people and consequently little incentive for able young men and women to contemplate municipal employment. Fortunately some change has taken place during recent years, and the interest among promising young people is distinctly greater than it was a decade ago.[1]

The Merit System of Employment in Cities.—The merit system of public employment has made considerable headway in cities of the United States during recent years. While small cities have for the most part persisted in the old spoils system, medium size cities have been more interested in civil service, and a fairly large number have actually set up some form of merit plan. Large cities display the best record—more than 90 per cent of cities with populations of 100,000 or over now operate under at least a partial civil service system.[2] At the beginning of 1946 600 cities with populations over 10,000 chose some or all of their employes under a civil service arrangement.

It is interesting to note that these cities are not evenly distributed over the United States. Cities in the South and the Rocky Mountain states have made little progress in this respect. The Middle West, the North Atlantic states, the Pacific Coast, and New England contain most of the civil service cities, but even within these

[1] Recent examinations given by municipal civil service commissions have been taken by large numbers of people both young and old. University students are looking toward administrative posts in cities to a much larger extent than ten years ago. The establishment of interneships has added interest in certain cities. The Board of Transportation of New York City may be cited as a recent example of this practice designed to attract promising new material.

[2] All cities over 500,000 inhabitants, 95.7 per cent of those in the 250,000–500,000 class, and 87.3 per cent of those in the 100,000–250,000 class had some civil service coverage in 1946. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 135.

sections there is wide variation. For example, civil service in New England is largely confined to Massachusetts, although a few cities of Maine and Connecticut have adopted the plan.[1]

Civil Service Not Always Operated on a Merit Basis.—It should be remembered that civil service is not entirely synonymous with merit employment. Cities may use a nominal type of civil service system for one department—say the police department—and be classified as civil service cities, while as a matter of fact the great majority of their employes are being selected on a spoils basis. Or cities may supposedly apply civil service to their entire administrative set-up, but the plan may actually be largely ignored in practice. At times political civil service commissioners administer the system and do their very best to preserve the spoils system under the guise of civil service. Temporary and special appointments may be made in such numbers that the civil service system scarcely functions at all. A complete picture of the role played by merit in city appointments is very difficult to obtain. It is not only that forms mean comparatively little; the fact that a given city varies in its practices during a relatively brief period of time complicates the picture.

CIVIL SERVICE MACHINERY

Methods of Administering Municipal Civil Service Systems.—Approximately 80 per cent of the cities that use civil service as a basis for public employment in whole or in part have their own public personnel agencies. More than 400 cities fall into this category. In some 100 urban places public employment is on civil service basis, but states or counties administer the personnel systems.

In a survey made recently 600 cities of over 10,000 population were found to have some merit coverage; of these 117 depended upon states or counties for personnel services while 479 had their own provisions. A considerable number of the cities which operate their own civil service commissions have joined the ranks during the last two decades. California passed a law in 1935 which makes it possible for small cities to avail themselves of such a service without undergoing the costs of setting up their own personnel

[1] For current information as to the distribution of cities using the merit system, see the latest issue of "Civil Service Agencies in the United States," published by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada at frequent intervals.

agencies. Under this law cities may contract with other cities, with a county, or with the state personnel board for the administration of technical personnel services. Several cities in Los Angeles County have made such arrangements with the county government.

Legal Bases of Municipal Civil Service Agencies.—Most of the cities now operating in whole or in part under civil service have such systems as a result of state statutes, state constitutions, or city charters. In 1946, 232 cities belonged to the group which had such systems as a result of state statutes. In certain of these the state statutes made local civil service mandatory, while in other cases cities were given permission to avail themselves of such a plan. In the same year 122 cities owed their systems to provisions in the constitutions of their states, while 91 cities based their civil service systems on provisions in their charters. Only 34 cities depended upon local city ordinances.[1]

Organization of Municipal Civil Service Agencies.—More than 80 per cent of the cities which have their own civil service agencies have commissions consisting of three persons. Approximately half of the cities provide terms of six years for each commissioner, although terms of three, four, or five years are also fairly common. Terms usually overlap in order that continuity of service may be provided—more than four hundred cities arrange for overlapping terms.

The members of the commissions commonly receive their positions through appointment. Of 459 cities recently reporting their own public personnel agencies, 302 authorized the mayor to select the commissioners; 108 gave that power to the city council or commission; 14 provided for joint appointment by city officials and civic groups; and 11 placed such a duty on the shoulders of the city manager. Only three cities handled the matter by popular election. In 233 of the above cities no confirmation was required, but 217 cities specified approval by the city council or commission.[2]

In large cities a salaried executive officer is, as a rule, employed

[1] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 134–135, for a breakdown of the 600 cities reporting as of January, 1946. This list does not include places of under 10,000 population.

[2] Current information relating to the organization of municipal civil service agencies may be conveniently found in "Civil Service Agencies in the United States," published periodically by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

by the civil service commission to oversee the actual operations, but in small cities members of the commission act in such a capacity. Recently 189 commissions chose one of their own members to act as executive officer, and an additional 26 arranged for such service by seniority.[1]

Personnel Techniques in Civil Service Cities.—The number of examinations, the type of examinations, requirements as to eligibility and passing marks, forms of certification, and similar matters vary considerably from city to city. Much depends upon the size of the city. If a city uses a merit system for only one or two departments, it will obviously differ from another city which places all non-policy-determining positions under such a system. In general, cities make use of the same techniques that are employed by public personnel agencies which operate on a merit basis in the states or the national government. They select some employes on the basis of written examinations, although technical experts may be chosen entirely on the basis of non-assembled examinations. Personal interviews by an oral board may or may not be used. As a rule, cities attempt to make examinations as practical as possible. Stenographers are given tests involving their ability to take dictation, their accuracy of spelling and punctuation, their neatness, and their speed. Accountants have to deal with accounting problems and exercises. Some cities provide that the highest name on the eligible list shall be certified for appointment. Many follow the federal practice and certify the three highest names. Unfortunately a few do not see the importance of taking employes from the top group; they permit selection from the entire list at the discretion of the appointing officer.[2]

A Classification Plan.—A satisfactory municipal personnel system depends more than a little upon an adequate classification plan. Standard titles are useful in almost every phase of personnel administration as well as in budgeting. The job analyses which are a part of such a plan are of primary importance in appointing, transferring, and promoting personnel as well as in the establishment of a service-rating system and the development of in-service-

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] For a discussion of the problem which is somewhat out-of-date now, see: Governmental Research Conference, *The Character and Functioning of Municipal Civil Service Commissions in the United States* (1922).

training courses. A definite statement of duties and responsibilities assists employes and supervisors in understanding their own and related functions. Classification is important in organizational study and planning and is essential in setting up a compensation plan which will provide equal pay for equal work.[1]

PROMOTION

No system of public personnel administration can expect to achieve satisfactory results unless it provides for promotion based on accomplishments. Able people will not be attracted to municipal employment if they cannot expect advancement or if promotion depends upon political favoritism. One of the most difficult problems in public employment has to do with an adequate plan for promotion. If political considerations are not to determine advancement, some other plan must be set up. Promotional examinations are made use of in a good many services. Various rating schemes have also been devised for this purpose, but none of them has proved entirely satisfactory, although they frequently serve a useful purpose. Too often the rating systems reflect in large measure the personal likes and dislikes of the officials in charge. An official who dislikes women may take his spite out when making a rating of such an employe, while an official who likes attractive young blondes may give such stenographers high ratings despite their slovenly work.

The Probst Rating System.—The Probst plan, which is employed by a sizable group of cities, may be cited as an example of a service-rating system. It seeks to avoid the rather meaningless ratings of some systems by substituting a large number of definite items for the general points of other rating plans. The officials in charge—usually three—are asked to describe employes on the basis of approximately one hundred points, such as "lazy, slow moving, quick and active, too old for work, minor physical defects, talks too much, good team worker, too blunt or outspoken, resents criticism or suggestions, and too much self-importance." [2] On the

[1] For additional discussion see: A. W. Proctor, *Principles of Public Personnel Administration* (New York, 1921), Chap. IV; Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Municipal Personnel Administration* (Chicago, 1943); Ismar Baruch, "Facts and Fallacies of Position-Classification," Civil Service Assembly, Pamphlet no. 10 (1937); and W. E. Mosher and J. D. Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration* (New York, 1941).

[2] Quoted from Probst system. For additional details see: J. B. Probst, *Service Ratings* (Chicago, 1931).

basis of the items checked a letter grade varying from A down to E− is assigned.

The Probst plan permits less leeway in ratings than the more general systems, but even so officials have some room for bringing in their own prejudices. What constitutes too much self-importance? A political official, who resents the superiority of subordinates, may rate an unusually tactful and friendly person low on such an item. It would seem that scoring by three different persons might obviate unfairness, but actually it is not easy to provide three independent judgments in many cases. There may not be three persons who are familiar with the work of a given employe. One of the ratings may be by his immediate superior who is jealous or politically-minded, and the other two by higher officials will probably depend almost entirely upon the biased rating of the immediate superior.

The Importance of Training Supervisors as to the Techniques of Service Ratings.—Whatever plan of service ratings may be adopted by a city, it should not be expected that the system will operate itself. It is very important that the officials who are to do the rating receive training in the techniques of performing such a function. When a service-rating system is inaugurated, classes may be arranged for the various supervisors who will be expected to contribute to it. After general instructions have been given by competent persons, it is often advantageous to hold an informal discussion as to what is meant by a certain item on the rating sheets, for this may result in an agreement as to what attention should be given to various habits of public employes. Without some uniformity of practice among the officials who assign ratings any system of service ratings is likely to prove unsatisfactory.

DISMISSALS

An adequate municipal personnel plan will provide a definite procedure regulating separations from the service, for if employes can be dismissed arbitrarily, the morale of the public employes will be low.[1] The various rating systems are supposed to furnish reasonably adequate data as a basis for lay-offs and dismissals as well as for promotions. The various reasons for dismissal as well

[1] Fred Telford, "Evaluating the Worth of Work," *Public Management*, Vol. 15, p 131 (May, 1933).

as for suspension and other penalties for less serious offenses may properly be listed in the personnel rules. A discharged employe may rightfully expect to be informed in writing as to the reasons for his dismissal—a mere statement that separation is for the "good of the service" is probably not sufficient in most cities because such an indefinite reason can cover up too many improper reasons. On the other hand, separation from the service ought not to be made too difficult. In certain departments of a city the problem is not to protect people from being arbitrarily dismissed, but to weed out of the public service large numbers of incompetents. The legal provision in some cities which requires lay-offs to follow the seniority rule is, in general, not satisfactory.

Hearings.—Some cities have adopted the plan of written notice of causes for dismissal, plus a public hearing at the option of the person affected. Such an arrangement adds to the security of public employes, but at the same time it prevents at least some desirable removals. Many public officials fear the newspapers and will do almost anything to avoid undue publicity. Under a plan of public hearings they will refrain from removing employes from the service, even where such persons should clearly be discharged.[1]

TRAINING FOR MUNICIPAL SERVICE

Pre-Service Training.—Few municipal employes have had any special pre-service training for their public positions. A fairly large number of schools, including Syracuse, Cincinnati, Louisiana, Colorado, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, Denver, Southern California, and California, now offer such training, but they are relatively new-comers in this field. There is no general agreement, to begin with, as to what training municipal employes should receive. Some of them perform technical service, while others act as clerks and stenographers. Many drive trucks and furnish manual labor. Of course, no one type of training would be valuable for all of these. The truth probably is that many of these workers need little special training for municipal employment—the important thing is that they be trained as accountants, stenographers, lawyers, public-health experts, and

[1] For a good discussion of the methods of disciplining municipal employes see: Leonard D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, Chap. XV.

engineers. Nevertheless, city departments of public health, accounts, and public works do not present exactly the same problems as private employment in similar capacities.[1]

In-Service Training.—A logical arrangement might be to have a few of the executives especially trained in public administration in the several schools that offer such training. The rank and file may properly be expected to have adequate training in their special fields. In addition, in-service training courses may advantageously be offered where the number of public employes is large enough to justify such courses. Considering the work carried on by the American Institute of Banking in training the employes of banks it would seem feasible to provide at least some in-service training in cities as small as five or ten thousand. Much more is possible, of course, in larger cities. These courses might seek to add to the professional training of municipal employes some knowledge of public administration, personnel management, public finance, and similar aspects of municipal government. In addition to these general courses, practical courses could be offered to members of the police and fire departments, for policemen and firemen have rarely had any training in their work before joining the public service—as a matter of fact, there are few facilities available for obtaining such training. Recruits to these services need instruction as to the proper exercise of their duties. Policeman can be instructed in city ordinances, use of weapons, collecting of evidence, presentation of evidence in court, and various other matters.

As a matter of fact, cities are providing a good deal of in-service training already. Large cities frequently maintain police and fire schools. Municipal leagues and conferences of mayors have made valuable contributions in such states as New York, where 62,658 persons received training from 1928–1938. However, much remains to be done. It is probable that the George-Deen Act which was passed by Congress in 1937 will stimulate much interest among cities, for federal grants-in-aid may well challenge

[1] See: International City Managers' Association, *Training for Municipal Administration* (Chicago, 1936); and *Ibid.*, *A Career Service in Local Government* (Chicago, 1937). Also consult C. W. Ham, "The Profession of Public Administration," *Public Management*, Vol. 12, p. 3 (January, 1930); H. W. Dodds, "Why Not a Career in the Public Service?" *Public Management*, Vol. 12, p. 507 (October, 1930); and "Report of the Committee on Curricula," *Public Management*, Vol. 11, p. 131 (March, 1929).

many cities to provide courses for their employes. New York set up a Bureau of Public Service Training in 1937 which in its first year enrolled some 16,000 persons in various courses for firemen, policemen, assessors, and so forth. The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration offers eight correspondence courses which have attracted numerous public employes during recent years.[1]

PENSIONS FOR MUNICIPAL EMPLOYES

The General Problem.—In many instances cities have not provided pensions for their employes after they reach an age when they can no longer perform their work efficiently. A number of large cities have general pension schemes, and many more cities provide pensions for teachers, policemen, and firemen. What is needed is a large expansion of general pension schemes.[2] In small cities a joint arrangement might well be made with other municipalities if the state does not extend its facilities. Large cities can set up their own funds. The practice of some cities, which do not have such plans, of keeping elderly employes on as street sweepers and watchmen may be humane, but it is not very satisfactory. To begin with, it does not encourage efficient work. In the second place, the cost may be as high as a regular pension plan.

Some Essentials of a Satisfactory Pension Plan.—The Municipal Finance Officers' Association has prepared a statement as to what may properly be expected in a municipal pension plan. This statement emphasizes the point that "A sound and practicable retirement system must be on an actuarial basis and under most conditions should be jointly contributory." [3] It is not possible to set up a model plan, for the problems of every city are different; this necessitates having competent actuarial advice in each pension plan. In drafting a plan the interest of future employes must be considered first, and then the present employes can be fitted into the system.

[1] The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration is sponsored by the International City Managers' Association, but it offers its services to non-manager cities. Its manuals on municipal police administration, fire administration, personnel administration, recreation, municipal finance, and general municipal administration are frequently revised and achieve a high standard.

[2] Some 22 states have made provision for retirement systems for their cities.

[3] *Retirement Systems for Public Employees* (Chicago, 1938), p. 2.

It is recommended that there should be one system for all classes of employes, although the rates and benefits may vary, that membership should be compulsory, and that the "savings bank" basis is most acceptable for handling contributions from employes. While benefits may include accident-disability benefits, ill-health-disability benefits, death benefits in line of duty, and super-annuation provisions, the primary purpose is to provide a retiring allowance which should be based on age and not on years of service alone. It is advisable to relate the amount of benefits to the amount of contribution, to allow employes some option as to how the retirement will be paid, and to provide careful auditing and accounting at regular intervals, with supervision by the state insurance department. Careful investing of the funds is, of course, of very great importance.[1]

AN EVALUATION OF PRESENT-DAY MUNICIPAL PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

Strong Points.—Great progress has been made in improving municipal personnel administration since the beginning of the present century and indeed during the last decade. It is probable that Lord Bryce would find it difficult to reconcile the municipal personnel standards of today with the situation which he described so realistically half a century ago. The fact that more than ninety per cent of all cities over 100,000 population now operate wholly or in part under a merit system is impressive in itself.

The development of classification plans, service ratings, testing techniques, and administrative procedures during the last few years deserves considerable praise. Personnel research, in-service training courses, adequate retirement allowances, public reporting of personnel activities, and employe organizations have all come in for a good deal of attention, with consequent achievement of substantial improvement. More widespread interest in municipal employment among university students and other promising persons as well as the greater sympathy among the rank and file of citizens have accomplished something already and augur well for the future.

[1] The material in this paragraph is taken very largely from the report of the Municipal Finance Officer's Association cited above. For additional discussion see: Paul Studensky, "Pensions in Public Employment," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 11, p. 96 (April, 1922); and "State-Administered Retirement Systems Covering Municipal Employees," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 109–111.

Weaknesses.—Looking at the other side of the ledger, it is not difficult to point out serious defects in current personnel administration in cities. Altogether too many cities of small and medium size continue to operate under an outright spoils system, and even in many large cities politics still plays a major part in determining appointments and promotions. Many cities so narrowly limit the application of the merit plan that little respect or attention are commanded and adequate personnel machinery is not available. At times the people who handle personnel problems know so little about modern practices that their efforts are singularly futile, even where they try to perform their duties conscientiously. Testing techniques display serious weaknesses in many agencies, and appropriations are so small that long delay is involved in preparing eligible lists.

Possibly the most discouraging situation is the one where a merit system has been set up only to serve as a facade for the manipulation of politicians. Mayors see to it that the civil service commissioners come from the ranks of their political friends and supporters, and the commissioners in turn fill the personnel positions with incompetents. Of course, such commissions have little or no ability to operate a satisfactory personnel system, even if they have the desire—and their desire is ordinarily at a very low level. The examinations given by such commissions are usually very poor, and if political candidates cannot pass even such easy tests, temporary appointments may be made.[1] Where public opinion makes too many temporary appointments dangerous, examinations are sometimes given again and again although eligible lists have not been used—with the hope that political favorities may finally pass. During the regime of "Big Bill" Thompson in Chicago 30,675 temporary appointments were made in a five-year period, largely for the purpose of evading the merit requirements.[2] There is a question whether some of the cities which have theoretically operated under a merit system have not actually been as weak in personnel administration as the out-and-out spoils cities.

One of the mistakes which has been common has been the emphasis upon the formal system rather than upon its operation.

[1] See: Frances L. Reinhold, *The Provisional Appointment in City Civil Service Systems* (Philadelphia, 1937).

[2] Harold Zink, *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 283.

The personnel machinery is not unimportant, but its details may receive so much attention that more significant aspects of the problem go unheeded. Sometimes a fine paper plan may not work at all, whereas a faulty personnel structure may accomplish much good if it is operated conscientiously. Finally, it may be pointed out that small cities have not been too successful in their experiments with independent personnel agencies. Insufficient funds make it difficult to employ trained examiners, and the number of employes is not great enough to warrant elaborate machinery. Such cities might advantageously follow the example of certain California municipalities which have contracted with their counties to furnish such service. In certain cases a contract could be entered into with large cities located in the vicinity or with state departments of public personnel.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baruch, Ismar, "Facts and Fallacies of Position-Classification," Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, Pamphlet no. 10 (1937).

Citizens Budget Commission, *For Better Personnel Administration in the City of New York* (New York, 1946).

Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *News Letter* (published monthly).

Falsgraf, W. A., *The Merit System Marches On* (Cleveland, 1942).

Hodges, H. G., *City Management* (New York, 1939), Chap. III.

Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Municipal Personnel Administration* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1947).

International City Managers' Association, *A Career Service in Local Government* (Chicago, 1937).

International City Managers' Association, *Training for Municipal Administration* (Chicago, 1936).

Miles, Arnold, "In-service Training for Municipal Employees," *Public Management*, April, 1938.

Mosher, W. C., and Kingsley, J. D., *Public Personnel Administration* (rev. ed., New York, 1941).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Retirement Systems for Public Employees* (Chicago, 1938).

Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934).

New York State Conference of Mayors, *Municipal Training Schools in New York State* (Albany, 1934).

New York, State University of, *Training in the Public Service in New York State* (Albany, 1938).

Pfiffner, John, *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1940), Chap. VII.

Probst, J. B., *Service Ratings* (Chicago, 1931).
Public Administration Service, *Personnel Programs for Small Cities* (Chicago, 1940).
Reinhold, Frances L., *The Provisional Appointment in City Civil Service Systems* (Philadelphia, 1937).
Wilmerding, L., *Government by Merit* (New York, 1935).
White, Leonard D., *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (rev. ed., New York, 1939).
White, Leonard D., *Trends in Public Administration* (New York, 1933).

XXI

MUNICIPAL REVENUES

Magnitude of the Problem.—All cities need money in substantial amounts to meet payrolls, purchase supplies, construct improvements, and pay debt charges. In the case of large cities the revenue requirements reach tremendous proportions—not uncommonly exceeding those of state governments. Exactly how much cities have to raise in the way of revenue it is difficult to ascertain, because many of the smaller cities especially do not make reports which are readily available. Cities having populations over 25,000 are currently faced with the task of collecting approximately three billion dollars per year for governmental purposes.[1] All city governments in the United States, including both the large and small cities, would of course account for a substantially larger sum.[2] New York City alone reported revenues of approximately one billion dollars in 1947—which approaches the total income of the national government at the beginning of the century.[3]

The Municipal Share of the Tax Dollar in the United States.—Despite the vast sums which cities are now collecting in revenue, their share in the tax dollar has diminished perceptibly during recent years. As recently as 1932 local governments levied 57 per cent of the aggregate tax burden in the United States, in contrast to 20 per cent imposed by states and 23 per cent by the federal government. By 1937 the local share had declined to 36 per cent, the state portion had increased slightly to 23 per cent, and the national place had risen sharply to 41 per cent. By 1947 cities could claim only about 10 per cent.

[1] The exact amount was $2,713,879,000 in 1945. See: *City Finance, 1945*, p. 4. With the higher prices current during the postwar years, the amount has probably increased substantially since 1945.

[2] See: a current *Municipal Year Book* for further discussion of municipal revenues.

[3] See: the *New York Times*.

The Revenue Problem a Very Serious One in Many Cities.—With the municipal share in the tax dollar considerably reduced during recent years and costly new services demanding attention, many cities are finding it very difficult to collect anything like adequate revenues. The general property tax rate has reached a point in most cities where it can hardly be raised further without constituting an intolerable burden which would discourage the ownership of real property. The enactment of over-all tax-limitation laws by certain state legislatures makes it difficult if not impossible to increase revenue from general property in those cities where the tax rate remains within reason. The net result is that municipal officials are anxiously investigating new sources of revenue.

The Search for New Sources of Municipal Revenue.—If one attends almost any meeting of city officials, it is probable that he will find the topic of new sources of municipal revenues being discussed both at length and with great interest. Indeed at times the anxiety displayed by those responsible for city finances is almost frantic. Many cities are imposing service charges of one kind and another in an attempt to balance their budgets. Sewerage taxes based on water bills have received wide attention, while parking meters have been installed in very large numbers. A number of cities have imposed sales taxes on general purchases; others have limited such taxes to items other than food. Cigarette taxes, liquor taxes, rent taxes, amusement taxes, and hotel-room taxes have all come in for attention. Fees and licenses of divers varieties, including automobile use and new types of business levies, have been resorted to by some cities. Philadelphia has raised large amounts by levying a tax on all wages and salaries received by those employed in that city irrespective of whether they live there or not. Toledo professes to see distinct hope in a municipal income tax. Of course there have been many cases of disappointment where expected revenues have not been forthcoming. Moreover, most of these new sources of revenue involve various problems of administration which may in the last analysis cause cities many headaches. The economic effect of some of these levies is considered at least partially bad by certain experts. But cities are facing such serious financial problems that they have had to experiment with new taxes and fees to a point hardly dreamed of a few years ago. Time will be required to evaluate their efforts.

THE GENERAL-PROPERTY TAX

Important Role in Cities.—Although the national government does not currently levy direct taxes on real and personal property at all and the states in general decreasingly rely upon such a source of revenue, cities still derive their chief income from general-property taxes. However, even in the municipal field the importance of the general-property tax is not as great as it has been in the past. During recent years this tax has accounted for some two-thirds of all revenues received by cities over 25,000 in population—in 1945 the exact proportion was 63.0 per cent.[1] It should be pointed out that the exact role of this tax varies widely from city to city, for there are cases where more than 80 per cent of all revenue is brought in by such a tax and other cases where less than half of the revenue comes from the general-property tax.[2] With few exceptions, however, this one source accounts for 50 per cent or more of the total income of cities in the United States.

The Nature of the General-Property Tax.—The most important type of general-property tax is that which is levied directly upon real property located within the boundaries of a city. The value of this kind of property is ordinarily great, and because of its very nature it is comparatively simple to levy and collect taxes upon it. The general-property tax may also involve personal property, both tangible and intangible, when it is imposed directly and apportioned by methods similar to those used in the case of real property. The old plan was to assess both real and personal property on the same basis and levy a uniform tax rate on all forms, and this course is still followed in some cities—in the case of certain cities because the state so ordains.

In a good many cities a distinction is currently made between the tangible forms of personal property and real property and intangible personal property, with a lower rate applying to the last. This may be the result of municipal charter or ordinance, but it frequently is based upon state authorization. Such a practice encourages the citizens to report their intangibles and consequently may yield a greater revenue than where a uniform rate applies.

[1] See: *City Finance: 1945*, p. 5. The general and selective property tax produced $1,712,181,000 in these cities in 1945

Assessing.—The satisfactory operation of a general-property tax depends in no small measure upon an adequate system of assessing the property which constitutes the tax base. If carelessness, political favoritism, and general ineptitude characterize the process of assessing, there will be much inequality among the property owners of the same wealth, wide lack of respect for the tax system among the people, and a great deal of popular grousing. (At the present time many cities both large and small handle the assessing process themselves, mainly because the states in which they are located make such a provision by law.) However, numerous cities have not been given this function by their states and consequently depend upon counties and townships to perform this service for them.[1] (The National Association of Assessing Officers is of the opinion that small and medium size cities are not ordinarily satisfactory as assessing agencies and that except in the case of large cities this function should be handled by counties or other sizable units of government.[2])

SOME ESSENTIALS OF AN ADEQUATE ASSESSING SYSTEM

Despite the fact that cities in general probably do not make very satisfactory units for performing the work of assessing, many cities are shouldered with such a responsibility, and consequently it may be advantageous to consider certain principles that may properly be observed by cities in such an activity.[3] Assessing is a full-time job and calls for a considerable amount of experience if it is to be done reasonably well. Therefore, cities that undertake this function ought to employ a full-time assessor and as many experienced assistants as necessary. When property is assessed in a few weeks or a few months by part-time employes, it is very difficult to obtain the services of reasonably able persons, and, as a result, the process tends to become quite haphazard and lacking in uniformity.

The Assessing Personnel.—Authorities in the field are generally

[1] Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles may be cited as examples of large cities that depend upon counties for assessing. Indiana cities still look to townships for this service.

[2] National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Principles* (Chicago, 1939), Chap. III.

[3] A very good discussion of the whole problem of assessing will be found in *Assessment Principles* (Chicago, 1939), which has been prepared and adopted by the National Association of Assessing Officers.

agreed that assessing should be organized under the single-commissioner rather than the board set-up, for concentration of authority in the hands of one official has much to do with the efficiency of the agency. The National Association of Assessing Officers is of the opinion that assessors can best be appointed rather than elected, although several of its prominent members do not accept this point of view.[1] It seems to this Association that partisanship has no place in such a field and that officials should be selected for a four-year term or longer on the basis of their qualifications, with no rule which limits a choice to local residents.[2] Removals may be proper before terms expire for cause to be stated in writing; a fixed annual salary sufficient to attract competent persons is essential; and adequate allowances should be made for equipment and assistance.

State Supervision of Municipal Assessing Officials.—Certain types of assessing, such as that involving the property of railroads and most other public utilities, can probably best be handled directly by the state tax officials. Complicated problems arise in connection with such assessing, and, in addition, there is likely to be duplication, omission, or confusion where several authorities attempt to value the property of a single corporation which covers several taxing units. Even where purely local property is involved, municipal assessors may properly be supervised by the state tax authorities to such an extent as to avoid competitive underassessment and low standards. The assessing officials in certain large cities dissent from general state supervision on the ground that large cities may have more elaborate organizations and better personnel than state departments. The National Association of Assessing Officers has gone on record as favoring state assistance in the form of conferences, expert advice, and in extreme cases removal of unfit personnel, although in general the "big stick" method is not favored.[3]

Frequency of Assessment.—If the assessing officials are full-time, there seems to be no valid reason why assessing should be periodic. Instead of providing for assessment of real property every two, three, four, or six years, the process may well be continuous. If

[1] Mr. James J. Casey, of the Board of Assessors of Cambridge, Massachusetts, may be cited as an example. He believes that appointment makes for partisanship.

[2] See: *Assessment Principles*, Chap. III.

[3] See: *Assessment Principles*, Chap. III.

there are important changes in a certain section of a city within a short period, it may be quite fair to assess real property there at the end of one year, whereas in more stable neighborhoods several years may elapse without necessitating a new assessment. But the chief point here is that the process should be continuous.[1]

Full-Value Assessments.—There is wide variation among the cities of the United States in the extent to which they apply full market value to property assessments. In 18 out of 249 cities the ratio of assessed value to actual market value in 1946 was under 40 per cent; in 71 cities it ran to 100 per cent. On the basis of 137 cities studied in 1935, 1940, 1945, and 1946 the assessment ratio averaged from 77 to 80 per cent.[2] With the spectacular increases in property values which followed as an aftermath of World War II, assessment ratios of course fell sharply unless the most vigorous efforts were made to keep abreast of changing prices. Under ordinary circumstances, there is no valid reason for assessing at anything other than actual value.

Under-valuation has frequently grown up to reduce the municipal share of state and county taxes which are based on city assessments, while over-assessment is sometimes resorted to in order to secure greater grants-in-aid from a state or to raise the municipal debt limit. None of these reasons can command a great deal of respect because they are based on unfair advantage. The question may be raised as to whether under-valuation will not merely mean a higher tax rate and over-valuation a lower tax rate. That may be an incidental effect, but much more important is the lack of uniformity which almost always accompanies under- or over-assessment, and this defect in a taxing system is very serious.[3]

Assessments Should Be Made by Assessors Rather than by Taxpayers.—Signed tax lists prepared by taxpayers are commonly required by cities and serve a useful purpose in many instances, especially if they are made under oath. However, assessors cannot rely on these self-assessments entirely because of the wisespread tendency among owners of property to understate their holdings. Some people will not hesitate to swear falsely to tax returns, and many

[1] A very good discussion of this topic will be found in *Ibid.*, Chap. III, no. 15.

[2] See: "Tax Rates of American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 35, pp. 572–573 (December, 1946).

[3] For a good discussion of this topic see: National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Principles*, Chap. IV, no. 19.

others do not regard unsworn statements as in the same category as other commitments. There is a very general feeling that the tax system is bad and that consequently an honest citizen has to protect himself by minimizing his holdings. Assessing officers can do very little unless they have the authority to investigate these taxpayer-returns and in cases of understatement increase the assessment.

The Importance of Tax Maps.—The assessing of real property is especially important because of the large extent to which it constitutes the tax base in many cities. One of the essentials in assessing such property takes the form of tax maps. These may be of the ground or aerial type and vary in scale from forty or fifty feet to the inch up to several hundred feet per inch; they obviously should include all the land within municipal boundaries. Subdivisions, streets, blocks and lots are indicated by name or number on these maps.[1]

Land-Value Maps.—Land-value maps differ from tax maps in that they omit lot lines and exaggerate the width of streets. The names of streets are indicated, but there is nothing pointing to the identity of the property-owners. In front of the land which abuts a street figures indicating the value of that land per front foot, without taking into account corner influence or deviations from standard depth, will be marked. Several systems are used in making these maps, but they tend toward the technical and belong more to courses in real-estate appraising or public finance than to a course in municipal government. Definite rules determining the additional value of land located on the corner, the value of irregular plots, and the value of unusually deep lots have been worked out by several experts in appraising. An urban assessing agency will need to adopt one set of these rules and make an effort to acquaint the public with them as well as with the unit values attached to the land-value maps. Before the land values are finally adopted, they may have to be modified as a result of information furnished by interested persons. By keeping informed of sales and rentals a municipal assessing agency may

[1] For further discussion of tax maps see: R. M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values* (New York, 1924); W. W. Pollock and K. W. H. Scholtz, *The Science and Practice of Urban Land Valuation* (Philadelphia, 1926); National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Principles*, Chap. V; and *Ibid.*, *Construction and Use of Tax Maps* (Chicago, 1937).

make adjustments in the unit values from time to time as land values within a city change because of population movements or other causes. All of this presents complicated problems and is one reason why most cities are too small to be regarded as satisfactory units for assessing.[1]

Appraisal Cards.—In making assessments of standard lots which are not located on a corner it is comparatively simple for an employe in the assessor's office to look at the tax map showing lots or to consult a file containing the descriptions of all plots within the city. By multiplying the unit value indicated on the land-value map by the width of the lot the assessment on that particular lot will be arrived at. Where corner or non-standard lots or plots are involved, the National Association of Assessing Officers recommends an appraisal card which contains the data which are necessary in computing such assessments. The same card may contain data in regard to buildings on the land, although some cities prefer separate cards for the land.[2]

Assessing of Buildings.—It is the habit of some municipal assessors to combine lots and buildings in making an assessment, but this is not regarded as an approved technique by most experts in municipal assessing, although the New York City Charter of 1938 provides for land valuation and land-and-improvement valuation. Under the New York City plan the value of the improvement is computed by subtracting the land value from the combined value. The National Association of Assessing Officers regards the New York system as fine in theory and satisfactory for private appraising, but believes that it is too difficult for public assessing.[3] Whatever system is employed, the assessment of the land and the assessment of buildings or improvements should be finally separated.

In assessing buildings there are several systems that may be used: one uses the cubic foot as a basis, another the square foot of floor space, and still another the square foot of ground area plus the number of floors. Tables which classify buildings into twenty-five to one hundred categories on the basis of construction are available and may be used in computing the original cost of the

[1] For an additional discussion of land-value maps see: National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Principles*, Chap. V.

[2] See: *Op. cit.*, Chap. V, no. 35.

[3] *Report* of the Committee on Principles of Assessment Practice, dated October 1, 1938, p. 6.

improvement. There are also standard physical depreciation tables for buildings of various types which may be employed in determining the deduction to be made from the first cost. Finally, there is the matter of obsolescence which requires attention. Both depreciation and obsolescence are very controversial questions among assessing officials and can scarcely be dealt with here in any detail.[1]

Assessment of Personal Property.—If the assessing of real property is complicated, the problem of assessing personal property is even more difficult. Cities in New York exempt all personal property from taxation; cities in Ohio do not have to bother with tangible personal property not used in business; and Wisconsin authorizes its municipalities to exempt all intangible property. There is a question in the minds of some students of public finance whether the receipts from a tax on personal property justify great care on the part of municipal assessing officers. Much depends doubtless upon the size and wealth of a city: ordinary household effects in small cities are not very valuable, whereas office equipment, certain types of machinery, inventories, and intangibles may represent a considerable investment in some cities.

If a tax is to be levied on personal property, the National Association of Assessing Officers believes that assessing should be carefully performed. A comprehensive check list of all persons owning taxable personal property, a signed and sworn tax list from each personal-property taxpayer, and a personal visit at least once each year by assessing officers to each personal-property taxpayer are recommended by the above Association.[2] Moreover, business concerns should be required to furnish balance sheets with their tax returns, and every taxpayer who pays a state or federal income tax a copy of his income tax return, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers.[3] Lists of motor vehicles, watercraft, and aircraft should be furnished by the department of government which registers them, and public records of mortgages, estates of decedents, minors, incompetents, and bankrupts will, of course, be consulted by alert assessors. Data in regard to

[1] On depreciation and obsolescence see: the *Report* cited above, p. 7; and *Assessment Principles*, issued by the National Association of Assessing Officers, Chap. V, nos. 47–48.

[2] *Assessments Principles*, Chap. VI, nos. 49–51.

[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. VI, nos. 52–53.

taxable stocks and bonds are available in reports of the United States Securities and Exchange Commission as well as from the lists furnished by corporations to departments of state government in a few states. The National Association of Assessing Officers is convinced that banks should be required by law to give assessors access to their books.[1]

Some experienced persons are of the opinion that the National Association of Assessing Officers goes too far in its recommendations in regard to the assessing of personal property. Professor M. H. Hunter is not convinced that such methods will achieve satisfactory results.[2] Other critics object to what they regard as an invasion of personal rights.[3] The National Association of Assessing Officers replies to this last objection by pointing out how difficult it is to locate personal-property holdings and stressing the importance of full inclusion of such forms of property on the tax list.[4]

Review and Equalization.—After the assessors have finished their work, the assessing process has not been completed until boards of review and equalization have had an opportunity to act. The boards of review, which consist of at least three persons appointed on the basis of their competence or designated to serve by virtue of some office which they hold, may or may not include the assessor in their membership. If the assessor is not included, it is important that he should attend the sessions and coöperate fully especially in the case of local boards. It is ordinarily felt that the members of these boards should not be named by the same official who appoints assessing officials. Within a reasonably short time after the original assessment rolls have been prepared, taxpayers who object to their assessments may file their complaints in writing with the board of review. These boards, which can advantageously meet in continuous session until they dispose of their work, have the power to cut or increase assessments; in the former case they may be expected to act only in open meeting and in the latter after thay have afforded the taxpayer an opportunity for a public hearing. Ordinarily it is possible to appeal from a local board

[1] *Ibid.*, Chap. VI, no. 57.

[2] See: *American Economic Review*, March, 1938, p. 181.

[3] For an example see: M. F. Reidy, *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, November, 1937, p. 434.

[4] *Report* of the Committee on Principles of Assessment Practice, dated October 1, 1938, pp. 7–8.

of review to a court, but the National Association of Assessing Officers believes that this course should be allowed only after other remedies have been exhausted and then only on points of law.[1]

Boards of equalization exist to iron out inequalities in the assessments of a governmental unit which includes several taxing districts. Consequently they are ordinarily to be found in larger units of government than the city and are primarily important to cities in that they check the uniformity of the municipal assessing standards with those of other districts. This presumably prevents municipal property owners from paying more or less than their fair share of county and state taxes.[2]

The General-Property Tax Rate.—After the assessing process has finally been completed and the budget has been adopted, the tax rate is computed. Some cities express the tax rate in mills, others in cents, and still others in dollars. For example, the tax rate may be 36.3 mills on every dollar of assessed valuation, $3.63 on every hundred dollars, or $36.30 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation. Of course, in all of these cases the actual tax rate is the same—the difference is merely in the assessment unit. Tax rates vary widely in the cities of the United States, although it is difficult to compare them because of the difference in the assessment standards and because of the great variation in functions performed. The fact that some cities depend upon counties and other agencies of government for services which other cities shoulder themselves makes a fair comparison almost impossible.

The Spread of Municipal Tax Rates.—Despite the difficulty of comparing tax rates on any equitable basis, it may be interesting to note that the average tax rate in 249 cities in 1946 amounted to $41.23.[3] When adjusted to full valuation this figure became $28.09 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation. On an unadjusted basis the 249 cities ranged from Steubenville, Ohio, with a tax rate of $13.20 per thousand dollars of assessed valuation, to Duluth, Minnesota, with a rate of $122.10.[4] After adjusting the rates to full value, Columbia, S. C. had the lowest tax rate, $5.61 per thousand dollars, but the highest place went to Atlantic

[1] See: *Assessing Principles*, Chap. VII, nos. 77–78.
[2] See: *Ibid.*, Chap. VII, for additional discussion.
[3] "Tax Rates of American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 35, p. 572 (December, 1946).
[4] *Ibid.*

City, with a rate of $64.50 per thousand.[1] In this connection it may be pointed out that the assessed valuation per person averaged $1,426 in 249 cities in 1946, with Class I cities reporting $1,549 and Class V cities $1,353. Assessed valuations are generally somewhat higher now than they were several years ago; for example, the average per-capita assessed valuation in 249 cities increased 15.8 per cent during 1941–46.[2]

OTHER SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL REVENUES

Grants-in-Aid and other Financial Assistance from States and the Federal Government.—Although it has not been many years since cities received comparatively little financial assistance from states and the federal government, at the present time this represents their second largest source of income. In 1945, grants-in-aid accounted for 17.8 per cent of all governmental revenues in cities of over 25,000 population, but this does not show the actual extent of state and federal aid, because much of the assistance takes other than a grant-in-aid form. It is estimated that no less than 24.5 per cent of all local revenue came from the federal government in 1935, although as recently as 1932 nothing was realized from this source.[3] States collect gasoline taxes, sales taxes, motor-vehicle taxes, liquor taxes, income taxes, bank taxes, tobacco taxes, inheritance taxes, taxes on public utilities, admission taxes, and other taxes which they share to varying extents with their cities. About two-thirds of the revenue from this source comes from gasoline, sales, and motor vehicle taxes. In 1945, amounts received by cities over 25,000 from states amounted to some $450,000,000.[4]

Earnings.—The third largest source of municipal revenue takes the form of charges and miscellaneous which in 1945 amounted to 9.5 per cent of all governmental revenues received by cities having populations of over 25,000.[5] Most of this particular variety of revenue in the case of large cities comes from hospitals, court costs and fees, schools, and sewage charges.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] The exact amount was $450,127,000.
[5] *City Finances: 1945*, p. 5.

Enterprises.—Many cities own water, electricity, transit, gas, port facilities, airports, and other enterprises which bring in sizable revenue, though the operating costs also bulk large. In 1945 cities with populations over 25,000 received $732,068,000 from various municipal enterprises and paid out $417,120,000 in operating expenses.[1] Water, transit, and electricity enterprises brought in the largest amounts; water and electricity returned the largest sums after operating expenses had been paid. Occasionally a city makes enough from such enterprises to abolish the general-property tax.

Miscellaneous Sources of Revenues.—Sales and gross receipts taxes are coming into greater prominence as sources of general revenue. In 1945 cities over 25,000 received in excess of $100,000,000 from such levies.[2] The years following World War II will doubtless show an even larger revenue from sales and gross receipts taxes. Various licenses and permit taxes bring in an appreciable amount each year; in 1945 more than $90,000,000 flowed into municipal treasuries from a wide array of these taxes.[3] Here are to be found alcoholic beverage licenses and fees, public utility fees of one kind and another, street privileges and permits, building structure and equipment licenses and fees, motor vehicle and drivers licenses, parking meter earnings, animal licenses, together with other minor imposts.[4] Some of these may seem to cause more trouble than they are worth as revenue producers, but they are indicative of the vigorous search which cities are carrying on for new sources of revenues. It is probable that their number will increase rather than diminish during the immediate future. Income, payroll, entertainment, and hotel-room taxes are among the most recent additions to the list.

Collection of Municipal Revenues.—Small cities because of provisions in a state law frequently depend upon the counties in which they are located to act as fiscal agents in the collection of taxes. The county collects the general-property and other taxes along with its own taxes and then turns over to the city its share. However, some small cities are given the authority by state law to have

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5. The exact amount was $128,020,000.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5. The exact amount was $93,192,000.
[4] For good discussions of new sources of municipal revenues see: A. M. Hillhouse, *New Sources of Municipal Revenue* (Chicago, 1935); and "New Sources of Municipal Revenue," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 185–190.

municipal taxes paid directly to the city treasurer. Large cities often have their own collecting machinery: property taxes may be paid directly to the city treasurer, collector, or comptroller, while fines go to the courts, libraries, and other departments of government. Licenses may be sold by clerks or comptrollers, by central license bureaus, or they may be disposed of by other city departments. The proceeds go for the most part into the general municipal treasury.[1]

Care of Public Funds.—The financial departments of cities do not, as a rule, keep city funds in their own vaults beyond amounts needed for daily business; most municipal funds find their way into banks. In order to secure such deposits banks have to be approved and frequently must put up bonds or make some other arrangement to protect the city against loss. These banks which act as depositories of city funds pay out such moneys on order of the comptroller or treasurer.[2]

MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTING

The General Situation.—Great improvements have been achieved in the field of municipal accounting during recent years, although there are still cities that have given relatively little attention to this important aspect of municipal financial administration. For some years various states have required their cities to maintain certain standards in accounting, but this factor has probably been less important in bringing accounting practices to their present high level than the interest of cities themselves and the activity of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting. San Francisco, Baltimore, Pasadena, Topeka, and Saginaw are among the cities that have built up enviable reputations in this field. One evidence of the widespread interest in improved municipal accounting—as well as one of the factors entering into the improvement—has been the comparatively large number of publications on various aspects of this problem which have appeared during recent years. One of the most important of these, entitled *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure,*

[1] An informing discussion of tax collection may be found in the Report of the Committee on Tax Collection Procedure of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, entitled *Tax Collection Procedure* (Chicago, 1935).

[2] A good discussion of the care of public funds is to be found in Martin L. Faust, *The Security of Public Deposits* (Chicago 1936).

embodies the work of ten years on the part of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association and contains principles which were adopted by unanimous vote at its national meeting held in 1937.[1]

Many cities have installed machines for accounting and billing purposes, especially for tax billing, accounting and receipting; utility accounting; budget and expenditure accounting; and payroll, pension, and emergency-relief accounting.[2]

The Purpose of Adequate Municipal Accounting.—An adequate municipal accounting system is essential to the efficient handling of financial problems by cities. Because it furnishes accurate data in regard to every phase of municipal financial administration, it is basic in financial planning. Not only may the city officials know the general condition of municipal revenues, expenditures, and indebtedness, but detailed information is available in regard to the various subdivisions of these broad fields. In addition to this function, superior municipal accounting systems make for proper care in the handling of city finances: order is the rule rather than confusion, accuracy prevails instead of errors, embezzlement on the part of municipal employes is made more difficult. On the basis of such accounting the mayor may exercise intelligent supervision over the various administrative departments. Then, too, citizens have a stake in up-to-date accounting, for such a system makes it easier to furnish data, reduces the amount of time required in transacting business with the city, and, in general, increases the respect of the people for city government.[3]

MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTING SYSTEMS

Double-Entry System.—For the most part, a consideration of the technical details of municipal accounting probably belongs to the field of public finance or even to a special course of its own rather

[1] Among other publications may be mentioned: National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *Municipal Accounting Statements* (Chicago, 1936); *Ibid.*, *Municipal Funds and Their Balance Sheets* (Chicago, 1937); *Ibid.*, *Municipal Audit Procedure* (Chicago, 1939); Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Manual of Water Works Accounting* (Chicago, 1938); W. O. Harris, *A Municipal General Ledger and Principal Supporting Records* (Chicago, 1934).

[2] See: C. H. Chatters, "Municipal Accounting," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938*, p. 42.

[3] For a more adequate discussion of the purpose of municipal accounting the student is referred to *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure*, issued by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association (Chicago, 1937).

than to a general course in municipal government. A careful consideration of the various systems, such as the combined bill and ledger plan, stub accounting plan, and the register plan of customer accounting, would require more time than is available in an ordinary course in city government and, in addition, might involve technical points for which the average student in political science would have little background.

Nevertheless, it may be justifiable to mention a few of the general fundamentals of modern municipal accounting. In the first place, the double-entry system is almost universally employed by cities which have given accounting any attention, for, as C. H. Chatters, the executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, puts it, this system is "generally recognized as the only acceptable method for any public body except those so small that they contain no citizen eligible to public office who is or can become familiar with elementary bookkeeping methods." [1] This system of accounting is defined by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting as follows: "A system of bookkeeping based on the fundamental theory that every business transaction has a two-fold aspect and, therefore, a complete record is obtained by entering equal amounts to the debit of one or more accounts and to the credit of another account or accounts." [2]

Cash-Basis Plan.—For many years it was the practice of most cities in the United States to follow a cash-basis plan in their municipal accounting, and this plan not only still has adherents from an earlier period, but it has experienced what may be called a "new birth," especially in the cities of New Jersey. This system has been explained by C. H. Chatters thus: "The cash basis of accounting recognizes only the cash transactions of the government and fails to record the amounts that may be due to the city for taxes or services rendered and does not ordinarily recognize the obligations represented by purchase orders and contracts which later will become definitely determined liabilities." [3] When the depression following 1929 brought widespread tax delinquency,

[1] C. H. Chatters, "Financial and Accounting Standards," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 292 (June, 1937).

[2] *Municipal Accounting Terminology* (Chicago, 1936).

[3] C. H. Chatters, "Financial and Accounting Standards," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 293 (June, 1937).

and numerous cities faced default, New Jersey's legislature gave impetus to the cash-basis plan by passing a law which permitted cities of that state to operate on cash-basis budgets. At the beginning of 1938, 71 cities, which could claim 47 per cent of the entire population of New Jersey and over half of the taxable valuation of the state, employed the cash-basis plan.[1]

Accrual-Basis Plan.—Progressive business concerns in very large numbers have employed the accrual-basis system in their accounting, and there has been much agitation in the direction of having municipalities follow such a plan. A large proportion of the experts felt until 1930 or thereabouts that such a plan offers many advantages to cities; probably most of them continue to hold such an opinion. At any rate a number of cities adopted such a plan for their municipal accounting, and a considerable number still employ such a plan, although the revived interest in the cash-basis plan, which has been noted in New Jersey, has caused desertions. The National Committee on Municipal Accounting defines this plan as follows: "When revenues are accounted for when earned or due, even though not collected, and expenditures are accounted for as soon as liabilities are incurred, whether paid or not, the system of accounting is said to be on the accrual basis." [2] C. H. Chatters, the secretary of the above committee as well as the executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, explains the advantages of such a plan thus, "A city knows at all times not only what it has paid out in cash but also the obligations it has incurred that must later be met in cash." [3] The earlier forms of accrual accounting did not write off delinquent taxes even after several years had elapsed without payment, but it is felt by several experts in the field that certain modifications of this character may wisely be adopted.[4]

The Importance of Funds in Municipal Accounting.—A modern system of municipal accounting provides a general ledger for

[1] For additional discussion of the New Jersey movement see: "New Jersey's Experience with Cash Basis Budgets," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 578 (December, 1937).

[2] *Municipal Accounting Terminology* (Chicago, 1936).

[3] C. H. Chatters, "Financial and Accounting Standards," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 293 (June, 1937).

[4] See: *Ibid.*, p. 293; and Frederick L. Bird, "Current Trends in Municipal Finance," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, pp. 567–573 (October, 1937).

recording "in detail or in summary all the transactions of the organization unit for which such accounts are kept," and subsidiary ledgers for each fund.[1] A fund has been defined by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting as "a sum of money or other resources (gross or net) set aside for the purpose of carrying on specific activities or attaining certain objectives in accordance with special regulations, restrictions, or limitations. A fund is a distinct financial or fiscal entity." [2] Too many funds unduly complicate the accounting of a city, but a reasonable number are necessary for achieving the results which may be expected of an efficient system. While every city has its own problems, and it is consequently not possible to lay down a hard and fast rule for all cities, C. H. Chatters recommends the following funds where appropriate: general, special revenue, working capital, special assessment, bond, sinking, trust and agency, and utility.[3]

Auditing.—Auditing is often included in municipal accounting and whatever status it may be given is closely related to accounting, for an efficient accounting system depends upon regular audits. There are two types of audits: internal and post. Internal audit is a routine function connected with the payment of debts; no debt can be paid out of municipal funds until it has been ascertained whether appropriations have been made for such a purpose and whether the debt is bona fide. Post-audit is ordinarily an independent checking of municipal accounts by either state officials or independent accountants. C. H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, states the reason for such an activity as follows: "The purpose of the annual post-audit is not only to assure all the officials that all property and cash have been accounted for, but also to see that the accounting plan itself is sufficient to provide information needed by interested parties." [4]

[1] National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *Municipal Accounting Terminology* (Chicago, 1936).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] C. H. Chatters, "Financial and Accounting Standards," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 294 (June, 1937).

[4] C. H. Chatters, "Financial and Accounting Standards," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 26, p. 328 (June, 1937). A very good source of additional information in regard to municipal auditing is *Municipal Audit Procedure* (Chicago, 1939), prepared by the National Committee on Municipal Accounting.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bird, F. L., *The Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930–1940* (New York, 1941).
Bonright, James C., *The Valuation of Property* (New York, 1937), 2 vols.
Buck, A. E., *Municipal Finance* (New York, 1926).
Chatters, C. H., and Tenner, Irving, *Municipal and Governmental Accounting* (New York, 1940).
Graham, G. A., *Special Assessments in Detroit* (Urbana, Illinois, 1929).
Faust, Martin L., *The Security of Public Deposits* (Chicago, 1936).
Hillhouse, A. M., *New Sources of Municipal Revenue* (Chicago, 1935).
Hillhouse, A. M., Magelsson, Muriel, and others, *Where Cities Get Their Money* (Chicago, 1945).
Lutz, H. L., *Public Finance* (New York, 1936).
McMichael, S. L., *Appraising Manual* (New York, 1931).
Morey, Lloyd, and Diehl, O. W., *Municipal Accounting; Principles and Procedure* (New York, 1942).
Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Finance*, a quarterly journal.
Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure* (Chicago, 1937).
Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Tax Collection Procedure* (Chicago, 1935).
National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Principles* (Chicago, 1939).
National Association of Assessing Officers, *Assessment Organization and Personnel* (Chicago, 1942).
National Association of Assessing Officers, *Construction and Use of Tax Maps* (Chicago, 1937).
National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *A Standard Classification of Municipal Revenues and Expenditures* (Chicago, 1939).
National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *Municipal Accounting Statements* (Chicago, 1936).
National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *Municipal Audit Procedure* (Chicago, 1939).
Reed, T. H., *Federal, State, Local Fiscal Relations* (Chicago, 1942).
Tax Systems of the World, published annually by the Tax Research Foundation of Chicago.
Twin Cities Research Bureau, *Postwar Taxes* (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1944).
University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Local and State Government, *A Report on Real Estate Assessments in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937).
Welch, Ronald B., *Urban Land Appraisal* (Chicago, 1940).
Wengert, E. S., *Financial Problems of the City of Detroit in The Depression* (Detroit, 1939).

XXII

MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES

The Cost of City Government.—The cost of city government in the United States is large whether viewed in aggregate or on a per-capita basis. With the law of increasing costs in operation, costs are, of course, very much higher on a per-capita basis in cities with numerous inhabitants than in small cities, but even in the latter the figure is not inconsiderable. There are so many factors involved in municipal expenditures that it is decidedly difficult to get anything like a birdseye view. Some cities bear relatively complete responsibility within the local sphere of government: they may go so far as to combine city and county functions, but in any case they perform all of the services which are ordinarily rendered by cities. On the other hand, some cities share their load to a considerable extent with counties, townships, school districts, and numerous other special governmental units. Such a situation enters materially into the costs reported by the various cities in the United States.

The Sharp Upward Trend.—While costs of individual cities may fluctuate from time to time, a glance at the overall picture will reveal a sharp upward trend. In 1905 cities with populations of 25,000 or over were spending less than three hundred million dollars for current general expenses; forty years later this amount had increased to well over two billion dollars.[1] If provision for debt retirement is added, these cities spent considerably over two and one-half billion dollars in 1945.[2] This rise is of course less than that to be noted in the case of the national government, but it is nevertheless impressive. It might be reasonably expected that the cost of city government would be reduced during periods of economic depression and it is true that certain municipal costs do go down during such periods. But the heavy burden which must be assumed in the relief field is enough to counterbalance any ordi-

[1] The exact amount was $2,388,768,000. See: *City Finances: 1945*, p. 5.
[2] The exact amount was $2,682,199,000. See *ibid.*, p. 5.

nary economies. The inflationary prices which characterized the years following 1945 were naturally reflected in city expenditures. Labor costs, supplies, equipment, capital improvements all soared and despite the curtailment of capital outlays the total costs of cities went up substantially, despite the complaints from municipal employes that they fared less well than others.

Municipal Costs in Relation to State and Federal Costs.—Despite the fact that the cost of city government reaches a high level, it is interesting to note that the municipal share in governmental expenses in the United States is distinctly less than a decade or so ago. For example, in 1927, 58.1 per cent of all governmental costs were incurred by local governments; by 1935 it had fallen to 39.2 per cent; and by 1947 the local share had been reduced to under 10 per cent. The corresponding figures for state-government costs were: 15.3 per cent, 14.9 per cent, and less than 10 per cent; but in the case of the federal government there was a definite inverse relationship to local cost trends, with shares of 26.6 per cent, 35.1 per cent, and more than 80 per cent in the years noted above.[1]

A Classification of Municipal Expenditures.—The federal Bureau of the Census breaks municipal costs down into several classes which may be of interest to students of municipal government. Expenditures relating to governmental functions are at present classified under "general expenditure" and amounts paid out in connection with municipal water plants, electric utilities, and other publicly-owned undertakings as "enterprises." "General expenditure" is subdivided into two large categories labeled "provision for debt retirement" and "general expenditure less provision for debt retirement." The latter which accounts for the greater part of city expenditures is broken down into "operation," "capital outlay," "aid paid to other governments," "interest," and "contributions." In 1945 cities over 25,000 population paid out over two and one-half billion dollars for general expenditure and more than one-third of a billion dollars as operating expenses of enterprises.[2] Debt retirement came in for just under three hundred million dollars,

[1] See the National Industrial Conference Board, *The Cost of Government in the United States, 1934–1936*, for the 1927 and 1935 statistics. The 1947 figures are estimates in round numbers.

[2] The exact amount was $2,682,199,000 for general expenditure and $417,120,000 for operating expenses of enterprises.

leaving some two and one-third billion dollars for other general expenditures.[1]

Operation.—The largest single category in municipal expenditures is that which involves the operation of the various departments and agencies of city government. With capital outlays reduced during the war years and discouraged by high prices during the period immediately following the war, unusual emphasis was given to current operating costs, but at any time a city will pay out a large proportion of its expenditures for such purposes, though perhaps not the 70 per cent devoted in 1945. Operation of a city government involves many items, but the Bureau of the Census currently uses a breakdown as follows: general control, public safety, highways, sanitation, health and hospitals, public welfare, correction, schools, libraries, recreation, and miscellaneous.

General Control.—The cost of supporting the city council, the mayor, executive boards and commissions, the auditor or comptroller, special accounting and auditing agencies, the treasurer or collector of revenue, assessment and levying of revenue, purchasing department, legal department, clerk, engineer, civil service, city manager, city planning agency, courts, and election machinery is put into the category of "general control" by the Census Bureau. Obviously such agencies are very important in any city, but they do not involve as heavy expenditures as might be supposed. In recent years between five and ten per cent of general expenditures have gone for such a purpose.

Public Safety.—Public safety includes the police, fire, and certain related functions in city government. These are not only highly important but distinctly expensive because of the elaborate administrative setups which are required. Cities over 25,000 have recently paid out approximately half a billion dollars per year or almost one-fifth of all their general expenditures for such purposes. With the increase in the crime rate following the war, an all-time fire loss rate, and the increasingly complicated character of traffic regulation, this category is not likely to diminish appreciably in amount.

Schools and Libraries.—Public education has long been a costly function of cities, though there has recently been much criticism at

[1] Debt retirement required $293,431,000, leaving $2.388.768.000 for other general expenditures.

the niggardly support given. Schools in cities over 25,000 receive something like half a billion dollars per year, or about one-fifth of general expenditures. Libraries fare much less well, despite their potential role in the education process. Something like thirty million dollars per year, about one per cent of general expenditures of cities over 25,000, represents the library share.

Highways.—Cities are sometimes judged to a considerable extent by their streets, especially by motorists passing through. Adequate maintenance of streets has become more and more costly, as hard surfacing has become almost taken for granted. Cities over 25,000 have recently paid out something like $150,000,000 on this function, or about five per cent of their general expenditure.

Sanitation, Health, and Hospitals.—Modern cities are to be distinguished from medieval cities in a number of respects: perhaps sanitation and public health activities are the most important. Cities may spend less than they should on such activities, but they do currently pay out large sums. Cities over 25,000 population have recently spent something like $160,000,000 per year on sanitation and about $165,000,000 per year for health and hospitals. Something over five per cent of general expenditures goes for each function.

Public Welfare and Correction.—During the height of depressions cities may be forced to spend more for public welfare than any other function; at any time public welfare activities require substantial sums. During the prosperous period of World War II cities over 25,000 population expended more than two hundred million dollars per year, or somewhat less than ten per cent of general expenditure on public welfare, but in 1936 something like 15 per cent went for this function. Correction is much less expensive, with cities depending on states to shoulder many types of correction. Approximately twenty million dollars per year, less than one per cent of total general expenditure, has been paid out recently by cities over 25,000 population.

Recreation and Miscellaneous.—Cities over 25,000 population have recently expended about eighty million dollars per year on recreation, or approximately three per cent of their general expenditure. Miscellaneous items have accounted for some fifty million dollars per year, or about two per cent, in the same cities.

Capital Outlay.—With materials scarce and prices high, cities

have recently attempted to keep capital outlay to the minimum. Nevertheless, approximately one hundred million dollars per year, or four per cent of all general expenditure, has gone for this purpose in cities over 25,000 population. At times of course cities have spent much larger amounts for construction of new buildings, development of airports, paving of streets, and other capital purposes.

Interest and Aid Paid to Other Governments.—A sharp cut in indebtedness and exceptionally low interest rates have brought interest charges down during recent years. Cities over 25,000 spend something like $150,000,000 per year, or five to six per cent of general expenditure, for interest. Aid paid to other government is a minor item, running to some five million dollars per year.

Contributions.—Finally, there are the contributions which cities make to trust funds and to various enterprises, such as transit projects and airports. Approximately two hundred million dollars per year, between seven and eight per cent of all general expenditure, has recently gone for contributions in cities over 25,000 population.

THE MUNICIPAL BUDGET

The Rapid Spread of the Budget System among Cities.—At one period in the municipal history of the United States there was comparatively little planning in connection with financial affairs: the city council appropriated sums of money for various purposes and hoped that the revenues from taxes and other sources would be sufficient to meet these appropriations. As cities grew in size and assumed more functions, their financial burdens increased at a rapid rate, and consequently such a haphazard system of finance proved unsatisfactory. During the years since the beginning of the present century virtually all cities have adopted some form of a budget system either on their own initiative or because of the provisions of a state law. Some of these budgetary systems are very adequate and involve the most modern financial practices, while others are largely nominal in character. Many cities have systems that stand between these two extremes.

What a Budget Includes.—A satisfactory budget involves a care-

fully worked-out plan for spending municipal funds over a period of one year, together with a plan for raising the amount of money required by the spending plans—at least in so far as the revenues depend upon local action rather than state and federal grant.[1]

Types of Municipal Budgets.—Municipal budgets are of three general types: executive, legislative, and commission. Under the executive type the mayor, comptroller, or the city manager is charged with the general responsibility of preparing the budget for submission to the city council, while under the legislative type a committee of the city council performs this function. The last type, sometimes referred to as the combination or mixed plan, sets up a commission of several members to handle the preparation of the budget. This commission may include representatives of the executive and administrative departments acting in an ex-officio capacity, members of the city council, private citizens, nominees of chambers of commerce and taxpayers groups, and other persons. The exact type to be used in a given city depends to some extent upon the form of government in that city as well as upon local conditions, but, in general, the executive type is regarded as offering the most advantages.

The Importance of Adequate Data in Preparing and Administering a Budget.—A satisfactory budget depends upon complete and accurate data in regard to the financial needs and resources of a city, for guesswork on the spending side ordinarily makes for extravagance or starvation, while on the revenue side it may frequently mean a deficit. A modern accounting system will go far in the direction of furnishing the necessary data for efficient budget-making, although it cannot, of course, guarantee that the officials in charge of preparing the budget will make proper use of basic materials. After the budget has been prepared and adopted, it cannot be expected to administer itself: that duty devolves upon the mayor and the administrative heads of the city. Modern accounting procedure will supply these officials with the data which are essential to proper supervision and control of the provisions of the municipal budget.[2]

The Estimates.—An early step in budget-making involves the

[1] For a more formal definition of a budget see: National Committee on Municipal Accounting, *Municipal Accounting Terminology* (Chicago, 1936).

[2] See: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure* (Chicago, 1937).

submission of estimates of income and expenditure by the departments which have to do with collecting revenue and spending money. Where there is a unified department of finance, the revenue estimates can be supplied by this department, but in some cities it may be necessary to ask several agencies to furnish such information. The greater task is the collection of estimates from the various departments and offices which spend public funds: this, of course, takes in every branch and service of the government.[1]

Cities may or may not employ standard forms for securing estimates, but the modern trend is in the direction of standardization. As long ago as 1924 twenty-seven out of forty-two large cities made use of standard forms, and while small cities may continue to use informal techniques in preparing estimates, the great majority of larger municipalities prefer a more formal system.[2] Where definite forms are prescribed, the chief financial officer of the city sends them to each agency concerned, together with instructions in regard to their preparation. There is some difference of opinion as to how long before the beginning of the new municipal fiscal year the estimates should be prepared, but, in general, it is agreed that the material contained in the estimates should be as up-to-date as possible. Something, of course, depends upon the size of the city and the amount of work involved in revising estimates and preparing the formal budget, but a period of six weeks would perhaps be sufficient in an average city.

What Is Included in the Estimates of Expenditures.—There is naturally a certain amount of variation in the practices of cities in preparing estimates. As a rule, the progressive cities ask for a detailed compilation showing not only the total amount requested but full information in regard to the specific purposes for which money is desired, together with comparative data on the basis of the last fiscal year and perhaps one or more other past fiscal years. Some cities use three general forms for collecting estimates: one for personal services, one for supplies, materials and equipment, and one for all other expenditures.

The personal-service forms are used for listing salaries and wages

[1] In 1924, 45 out of 46 large cities used estimates in preparing budgets. See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), p. 128.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

for permanent employes as well as for temporary employes and also include fees and compensation for other types of personal service. It is common to list each type of employe separately and to break down classes of employes in so far as different salary or wage scales are involved. Thus, the position of department head is put down on a line by itself, but in the case of clerks a subdivision is made on the basis of pay received: a given number of clerks are listed under the $2,500 rate, perhaps others under a $2,000 rate, and still others under a $1,500 group.[1]

In the case of forms for reporting supplies, materials, and equipment the same kind of detailed information is required. The number of tons of coal requested, the unit cost of each, the total amount asked for coal, and the amount received for coal during the last and past fiscal years must be indicated. The third type of form may provide space for such items as salaries other than personal; fixed charges and contributions; land, structures, and other capital outlay; debt charges; and miscellaneous.[2]

What Is Included in the Estimates of Revenues.—Just as it is important to have at hand a detailed set of estimates from each spending agency of the city government, it is also important to have on hand an itemized picture of the revenue. The Bureau of the Census with the assistance of the Municipal Finance Officers' Association has drafted a classification of revenue that may be advantageously used by cities as a basis for their estimate forms having to do with revenues. The subdivisions are as follows: general and selective property taxes; sales taxes and gross receipts taxes; licenses and permits; other taxes; aid received from other governments; charges for current services; special assessments for capital outlay; contributions from enterprises; aid other and undistributed earnings and miscellaneous.

Revision of the Estimates.—After the estimates are in the hands of the budget-making authority, approved budgetary practice calls for their careful review and revision, for otherwise the whole system will differ comparatively little from the unintegrated

[1] See: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Budget Making and Budgetary Control* (Chicago, 1935).

[2] See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), Chaps. VII–VIII, for additional discussion of budgetary practices. This book is somewhat out-of-date in certain particulars but nevertheless valuable.

financial set-up which prevailed before financial planning came to the fore. Revision may cut down the total of the amount requested by the spending agencies, but it also has the purpose of separating the justifiable items from the extravagant or doubtful items. In most cases the budget-making authority has a considerable amount of discretion in revising estimates, although state laws or charter provisions may dictate certain allowances for fixed charges, debt service, and school purposes.

During the revision of the estimates the budgetary authority will ordinarily confer with the departments concerned in order to bring about mutual understanding of what is at stake as well as to achieve cordial relations and coöperation as far as possible. After that step has been completed, it is often the practice, especially in large cities, to schedule hearings for the further consideration of budgetary proposals.[1] Representatives from the departments may again present themselves to urge a certain course of action, and in the case of public hearings an opportunity is also given to private citizens, representatives of taxpayers' associations, and agents of chambers of commerce to express their views either in favor of certain items or in opposition. On the basis of this data the budget-making authority may decide to make changes either in the direction of restoring amounts asked by the departments or in the way of cutting down or entirely deleting items that are subject to considerable opposition.

Submission of the Budget to the City Council.—After final revisions have been accomplished, the budget-making authority drafts the budget for submission to the city council. At this stage the appropriation ordinance which is necessary as a part of the enactment process is drawn up either by the legal department of the city or by the budget-making authority. Some cities submit the budget as a series of appropriation measures, but the approved practice is to prepare a single proposal which contains the amounts recommended for appropriation, the estimates of revenue, and the changes in the tax set-up suggested to care for any excess in expenditures over estimated income. If the mayor or city manager

[1] In 1924, 22 out of 43 large cities held public hearings on the budget proposals. Some of these attracted considerable interest, but for the most part the general public manifested slight interest. See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), p. 174.

act as budget-making authorities, they frequently send in a budgetary message to the city council explaining the budget and discussing the general financial condition of the city.

The Budget in the City Council.—The budget should be presented to the city council sufficiently long before the beginning of a new fiscal year to permit due consideration of its provisions. At the same time the council may be expected to give prompt attention to the consideration and passage of the budget, for cities are seriously handicapped if no appropriations are available during the early part of a new fiscal year, particularly if there is no provision that allows spending temporarily on the basis of the old budget.

Some councils devote a considerable amount of time to the budget and make numerous changes, while others dispose of it in a comparatively short time. A good deal depends upon whether a city has the strong-mayor-weak-council form of government or whether it has a strong council and a relatively weak mayor. Moreover, the power of the council to add new items and to increase the amounts allocated to existing ones also plays a part. With few exceptions, city councils have the power to decrease or delete entirely, but their psychology is such that they do not ordinarily develop any great enthusiasm in exercising this power.[1] A relatively large number of cities with sizable populations—perhaps approximately one-third—do not permit city councils to add or increase items, but in small cities such a limitation is less common.[2]

Councils may refer the budget or sections thereof to standing committees for recommendation, or they may proceed to a consideration of the budget as a committee of the whole. Even if they refer to standing committees for recommendation, they may discuss the budget provisions in committee of the whole.[3]

The Veto Power of the Mayor in the Budgetary Field.—In a majority of cases cities permit the mayor to veto budgets which have been approved by the city councils, and a smaller number also authorize

[1] In 39 out of 43 cities councils possessed the power to decrease or delete in 1924. See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), p. 189.

[2] In 28 out of 43 cities councils could increase or insert items in 1924. See: *Ibid.*, p. 189.

[3] In 23 out of 42 cities recommendations were made by standing committees of the council on budgetary matters in 1924. See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), p. 189.

the veto of specific items or provisions of the budget by the mayor.[1] The extent to which mayors make use of such a power varies widely, although where the itemic veto is permitted, there is, of course, usually more frequent use than where a veto must cover an entire budget.

Review of City Budgets by State and County Authorities.—Ordinarily a budget becomes law after it has passed the council and been approved by the mayor, but in those states which follow the Indiana Plan or which lay down overall tax limitations there may still be another stage. Where the Indiana Plan is followed, a small number of taxpayers may appeal provisions of the municipal budget to state or county authorities. These state or county agencies review the provision complained of and if they disapprove proceed to issue an order cutting out or reducing such an item.[2] Where the overall tax-limitation laws operate, municipal budgets, as a whole may go automatically to the county or state authorities if they involve more than the maximum tax rate permitted by state law. In Indiana if the county board of tax adjustment approves a budget which carries more than the maximum tax rate, the budget must go to the state board of tax commissioners which has the power to approve the original budget, strike out or decrease provisions, or increase provisions that have been cut by the county board. Cuts of from one to two million dollars have been made in local Indiana budgets annually since the plan went into effect in 1921. Iowa, North Carolina, and other states impose similar limitations upon the budget-making authority of their cities.

The Importance of Controlling the Execution of the Budget.—In very few cities will budget systems be entirely satisfactory unless they are carefully supervised in their execution by the mayor, the comptroller, or the city manager. Some municipal departments take their responsibilities seriously enough, but there are almost always some which do not see the need of following the provisions of the budget. If there is no authority to supervise these latter departments, the budget will come to naught at least in part.

Some cities have used the device of permitting departments to

[1] In 1924, 25 out of 40 cities gave the mayor a veto power over budgets. See: *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[2] See: Carl Dortch, "The 'Indiana Plan' in Action," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 525 (November, 1938).

spend only one-twelfth of their appropriations each month, but this does not take into account the needs of departments which are seasonal in their activity. A system of monthly reports from the accounting agencies does much to throw light on the situation, if the accounting system is efficient. If the mayor, comptroller, or city manager pays careful attention to these reports and has the authority under the law to hold the departments responsible for violating the terms of the budget, much good will be accomplished.[1]

Unforeseen Financial Demands.—Although a city may prepare its budget with great care, it cannot always foresee what financial demands will be made upon it during the course of a year. Some of these unexpected situations, such as those involving epidemics, floods, and earthquakes, present problems which have to be met, despite the fact that the budget makes no specific appropriation to care for them. Many cities set aside contingent funds to handle such emergencies, but these funds may not be sufficient.[2] A rather common practice is to allow the transfer of money from some item specified in the budget which for some reason has not had to be used. As long as such transfers are properly safeguarded by submission to the mayor or to some other appropriate municipal agency, they serve a useful purpose in assisting a city to handle efficiently its complicated problems.

MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS

Types of Indebtedness.—As a rule, cities in the United States have bonded indebtedness, and many of them also from time to time have floating indebtedness which they accumulate from deficits in current revenues.[3] Bonded indebtedness is incurred in connection with capital projects, coping with emergency poor relief, financing current deficits, and funding floating indebtedness. A

[1] See: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure* (Chicago, 1937); and *Ibid.*, *Municipal Budget Making and Budgetary Control* (Chicago, 1935).

[2] In 1924, 28 out of 42 cities provided contingent funds for meeting emergencies. These funds varied from San Jose with $1,379 to Philadelphia with $2,000,000. See: R. E. Taylor, *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 191–192.

[3] For good discussions of municipal debts see: A. M. Hillhouse, *Municipal Bonds: A Century of Experience* (New York, 1936); Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Debt Administration* (Chicago, 1935); and C. H. Chatters and E. D. Woolpert, annual articles entitled "Trends in Municipal Debt," in *The Municipal Year Book.*

city cannot always take funds for a new city hall out of current revenues; paving of streets may seem too expensive to finance on a pay-as-you-go basis. The purchase of land for parks and playgrounds may require considerable sums of money, and municipal housing projects and great undertakings, such as subways and tunnels, almost always involve large borrowing. Not only is it difficult to pay cash for such purposes, but it is argued that the cost should be spread out over the life of the project. Temporary indebtedness which matures within one year is quite frequently incurred in anticipation of tax revenues.

Fluctuation in the Amount of Debt.—Until 1930 municipal indebtedness in the United States increased rapidly: during the period 1916–1931 the amount approximately quadrupled. Then for a few years there was little change. But during the years of World War II a considerable reduction was achieved. In 1942 the gross debt of 397 cities amounted to $8,135,000,000; in 1945 this had been cut to $7,325,603,000. In 1942 the net long-term debt of the same cities totaled $6,791,000,000, while in 1945 it ran to $5,243,472,000.[1] It may be interpolated that gross debt differs from net debt in that it does not take into account sinking-fund assets that have been accumulated to retire city bonds when they mature. Short-term debts decreased even more sharply than long-term indebtedness during 1942–1944, going down 17.6 per cent in 1943 and 25.5 per cent in 1944. The range of indebtedness among individual cities is very marked. In 1945 New York City reported a net long-term indebtedness of over two billion dollars,[2] while Kalamazoo, Michigan could boast of being the only genuine debt-free city. The significance of the reduction in indebtedness is regarded as greater by some observers than others. That there should have been a cut at all is of course not without importance, but it must be kept in mind that cities could not obtain materials for most major improvements during the war years. After V-J Day prices soared so rapidly that only the most desperate or daring cities undertook large-scale improvements. It will be strange indeed if substantial borrowing is not resorted to by cities as the years pass

[1] See Lewis B. Sims, "The Municipal Debt Situation," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 204–208.

[2] The greater part of the New York City debt was accounted for by subway and other enterprise projects. The general government indebtedness ran to $723,450,000; the total to $2,285,233,000.

and the demand for various new services becomes insistent. The fact that Milwaukee voted in 1946 to float a sizable new issue of bonds to finance an elaborate program of improvements, thus departing from its much-publicized policy of attaining a pay-as-you-go status, is to be noted as significant, though Milwaukee professes not be regard this as a complete break with its former financial policy.

METHODS OF BORROWING

Types of Bonds.—Short-term funds are obtained by selling municipal notes, short-term bonds, or tax-anticipation warrants, which, as a rule, are purchased by banks.[1] Long-term funds are usually arranged by issuing bonds which may be sold to banks, private investors, insurance companies, over the counter to citizens, or to sinking funds. These bonds fall into several general classes, among which may be mentioned: general-obligation bonds, public-service enterprise or revenue bonds, and special-assessment bonds. Improvements of benefit to the entire city are financed through general-obligation bonds which are based on the "full faith and credit" of the city.[2] Revenue bonds provide funds for the purchase or improvement of municipally-owned utilities, and the debt charges are usually taken care of by the earnings of such utilities. Municipal improvements that primarily concern a limited number of property owners may be financed through special-assessment bonds. Paving of streets and construction of sidewalks may be handled by issuing special-assessment bonds.

Registered, Coupon, and Convertible Bonds.—Another method of classifying municipal bonds divides them into three classes: registered, coupon, and convertible coupon. Registered bonds provide an element of safety to the purchaser, in as much as his ownership is registered with the municipal authorities. Coupon bonds, being payable to bearer, provide interest coupons which may be detached and presented either in person, by mail, or through a bank for collection; these bonds, of course, pass easily from one owner to another. Convertible coupon bonds are originally issued in the form of coupon bonds, but they may be

[1] For a good discussion of selling municipal bonds see: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Marketing Municipal Bonds* (Chicago, 1935).

[2] Lent D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), p. 105. This is the system used by the Bureau of the Census in *City Finances.*

changed into registered bonds. It is also possible to classify bonds as callable and non-callable; and it may be added that there has been a considerable amount of interest during recent years in callable bonds.[1]

The Maturity of Bonds.—When cities float bond issues to finance municipal improvements, it is important that the bonds do not run for a longer period than the life of the project. All too many cities have issued bonds for such purposes as paving streets, only to discover that the improvement had to be replaced before the bonds matured. There are various estimates as to the probable life of an improvement. Pavements are not likely to last for more than ten or fifteen years, and consequently bonds for such purposes cannot properly run for a longer period. Departmental equipment, such as automotive and mechanical apparatus, has an even shorter life as a rule; five years may be regarded as the term of bonds for such a purpose. Public buildings may be good for twenty or thirty years, while sewers may last thirty years. The greatest length of any bond issue ought very rarely to exceed fifty years; such improvements as parks last indefinitely and may fall into such a class.[2]

Serial versus Sinking Fund Bonds.—The older type of municipal bond issue ran for a stated number of years, and consequently all of the bonds of the issue fell due at the same time. These bonds are less and less in general use.[3] In order to pay off the bonds when they mature, a sinking fund to retire the debt has to be built up over a period of years by the city, and unfortunately sinking funds are subject to certain evils. Cities may be tempted to postpone annual payments to sinking funds on the plea that a particular year finds the municipal treasury hard pressed. Or these funds may be dipped into for current expenses. Again popular psychology may be mislead by the postponing of payment, and consequently extravagance may result in the way of public improvements. To obviate some of these defects, cities now make much use of serial bonds.

[1] See: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *The Call Feature in Municipal Bonds* (Chicago, 1938). In 1937, Cincinnati, Dallas, and El Paso availed themselves of callable provisions in their bonds and affected savings.

[2] Lent D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration*, p. 106.

[3] The Model Bond Law of the National Municipal League favors serial rather than sinking fund bonds for cities.

The ordinary serial-bond plan calls for paying off a certain part of the bonds every year, until at the end of the period all the bonds have been retired.[1] A modified form, known as annuity bonds, involves the same general principle, but adjusts the amount to be paid every year. In other words, ordinary serial bonds are retired in equal amounts every year, but annuity bonds are paid off in increasing amounts as interest charges decline, thus making the total debt-service charges equal from year to year. These bonds prevent loss of public money in sinking funds; they serve to curb extravagance to some extent, in that people are more likely to realize that bond issues have to be paid for. Whether serial bonds cost cities less depends upon the rate of interest which cities can earn on their sinking funds and upon the period of years covered by the bonds. Any categorical statement is likely to be inaccurate.[2] Many cities have substituted serial or annuity bonds for sinking-fund systems, and quite a few states require cities to use the former types of borrowing.

Pay-as-you-go Policy.—Some cities, including New York City, Chicago, Kalamazoo, and Milwaukee, have attempted to finance certain public improvements out of current income. Very expensive projects perhaps cannot be handled in this fashion, but paving, school buildings, sewer repairs or extensions, and various other recurring improvements which a large city must more or less constantly provide, seem to offer an excellent opportunity for such a policy. Large interest charges are saved, and extravagance tends to be reduced. Milwaukee [3] applied pay-as-you-go to many of its undertakings until 1946 when an election saw its defeat, while on November 1, 1937, Kalamazoo became free from debt, after following a pay-as-you-go policy for fifteen years. Kalamazoo thus gained for itself the distinction of being the only city of 50,000 or over to have no debt. One of the chief difficulties which cities experience in adopting such a policy involves the transition from the old to the new. During the first years that a city operates under such a policy, its financial problems will be especially complicated

[1] For additional discussion of serial bonds see: Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Debt Administration* (Chicago, 1935).

[2] See: L. D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration*, pp. 113–116, for detailed conclusions as to the comparative costs of serial- and sinking-fund-bond issues.

[3] See: D. W. Hoan, *City Government, The Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1935), Chap. X.

because it must provide for interest and retirement charges on old bonded indebtedness and at the same time must pay fully for certain new projects. It seems doubtful whether the rank and file of cities will be able to cope with such difficulties.

Limitations on Municipal Indebtedness.—As a rule, cities cannot incur indebtedness beyond a certain point. State constitutions, state laws, or city charters provide that the total indebtedness shall not exceed a certain per cent of the assessed valuation of property in the city. A constitutional amendment adopted by New York in 1938 bases debts on assessments over a period of years, with the purpose of preventing material fluctuations. Some states, including New York, lay down an overall debt limitation for any geographical area and consequently attempt to prevent pyramiding by cities, counties, school districts, and other special governmental units. Where a per-cent limit is used, the most common maximum is five per cent, although some cities may go as high as ten per cent or more. Occasionally an arbitrary amount is specified, or voters may be required to approve all debts above a nominal amount.

Indiana, as well as several other states such as Iowa and North Carolina, have set up systems which permit a small number of taxpayers to appeal proposals to incur indebtedness beyond a small amount to the state board of tax commissioners.[1] The state board may veto such indebtedness if it regards the purpose as unnecessary or questionable. It is customary to provide for some exemptions in applying municipal debt limitations. Municipal public utilities which do not depend upon the city for financial assistance, special-assessment projects, and emergencies caused by flood or other catastrophes frequently do not come under the debt-limitation provisions of state constitutions or laws or city charters.[2]

Municipal Defaults.—Although municipal debt problems became very acute following 1931, and large numbers of cities found it

[1] For a discussion of the so-called Indiana Plan which claims to be the model for other state plans see: P. Zoercher, "The Indiana Scheme of Central Supervision of Local Expenditures" *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 90 (February, 1925). See also: C. B. Masslich, "North Carolina's New Plan for Controlling Local Fiscal Affairs," *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 328 (June, 1931).

[2] Much current data in regard to recent developments in this field will be found in the annual articles by C. H. Chatters and E. D. Woolpert, entitled "Trends in Municipal Debts," appearing in *The Municipal Year Book.*

impossible to meet their debt charges, the situation had improved materially by 1936. The Municipal Bankruptcy Act passed by Congress in 1934 assisted many cities to arrange matters with their creditors, although no large number of cities took direct advantage of the law. This act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in May, 1936, but a somewhat similar act was passed by Congress in 1937, and this was upheld by the Supreme Court. On January 1, 1938, there were 1922 local governments which had defaulted; of these 753 were cities and towns.[1] Cities in Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and Michigan accounted for well over half of these defaults, while eleven states could boast of not a single city in such a status.[2]

Municipal Credit.—During the period 1932–1934 it was difficult for cities to obtain credit without paying high interest rates. The bonds of 20 large cities yielded 4.87 per cent on January 1, 1932, 4.61 per cent a year later, and 5.48 per cent on January 1, 1934. By 1937 the rate had fallen sharply to 2.62 per cent, and cities found it comparatively easy to interest financial institutions in their bonds.[3] If one were to judge municipal credit on interest rates alone, the general situation since 1937 has been for the most part a distinctly favorable one, but it is only fair to point out that municipal interest rates depend upon the financial market and other factors rather than solely upon the affairs of cities. The unprecedented rates prevailing during the years 1943–1947—almost any issue of municipal bonds was eagerly sought after at rates which brought a yield to investors of between one and two per cent—were accounted for to a considerable extent by the very high federal income tax rates and the tax-exempt status of interest received from municipal securities. The problem of adequate municipal revenues which faced so many cities following World War II has a bearing on municipal credit which should not be overlooked, despite the low interest rates prevailing. By 1948 purchasers of municipal bonds had become more selective and various cities found to their embarrassment that proposed bond issues were no longer eagerly sought after irrespective of the financial standing of the cities behind them. Interest rates also began to harden.

[1] *Bond Buyer* figures.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] On January 1, 1939, the average rate of the 20 cities was 2.83 per cent. See: *Bond Buyer.*

CENTRAL PURCHASING

The General Problem.—The traditional method of purchasing city supplies is to have every office or department buy what it requires. Under this system purchases are frequently made from friends or political supporters of the department head or from firms named by the political organization which is in the saddle. Moreover, under such an arrangement quantities usually do not attain any large proportions, and consequently cities often pay a great deal more than is necessary for supplies, for small-lot buying cannot expect favorable rates. Besides, friends and politically important firms have little incentive to quote low prices. During recent years a great deal of progress—at least along nominal lines—has been made in the direction of putting municipal purchasing on a sounder basis. Most large cities—more than 250 cities report such agencies—now have central purchasing agents which supposedly handle the buying of supplies for city departments.[1] They theoretically place orders where prices are the lowest, and because they buy for all or several departments, they can ask for bids on large enough quantities of many items to attract favorable prices.

Accomplishments in One City.—An illustration of what may be accomplished by an efficient central purchasing agency is offered by New York City. Such a department was created in New York City in 1934, when Mayor La Guardia saw how unsatisfactory a decentralized system was, and placed in charge of Russell Forbes whose background especially recommended him for the position. Mr. Forbes discovered that numerous monopolies and combines had fastened themselves on the city through various means. Plans and specifications were frequently "fixed" in such a manner that only a favored firm could bid. One such firm placed one of its employes in the department of correction. The result was that when furniture and equipment were to be purchased for the Rikers Island Penitentiary specifications were drafted in such a manner that only one manufacturer could furnish the articles. This manufacturer wanted $200,000 for the equipment. By correcting this situation the department of purchase saved the

[1] See: "Municipal Purchasing," *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, pp. 182–185.

city approximately $40,000 on this one purchase. One group of items quoted at $25,000 by the above manufacturer actually cost the city about $10,000.

Mr. Forbes discovered that the fire department was spending $5 each for safety gasoline cans; by breaking a virtual monopoly he reduced the price to $3.50. Life-belt hooks had been purchased by the fire department at $12.82, but under competitive bidding the price fell to $7.19. Approximately $650,000 was returned to the city treasury in 1938 as a result of savings resulting from curbing unnecessary expenditures and purchases at lower unit costs than the appropriation estimates.[1]

DEFECTS IN CENTRAL PURCHASING MACHINERY

Political Control.—Some of the improvement in buying city supplies has been more apparent than real; for example such a device has occasionally been used to strengthen the control of a political organization. Where supplies are bought by a number of departments, it is not easy for the political machine to keep its hands on everything, but by placing the purchasing under a single agency it is much simpler to throw all city purchases in the direction of one or two favored firms. Not infrequently the firms are owned by the political leaders themselves. Although in most cities the purchasing agency is required to ask for bids on substantial orders, there are various methods of avoiding such legal provisions. Large orders may be split into numerous small ones which can just pass under the legal line. Specifications can be written in such a fashion that only favored firms find it possible to bid at all. Contracts may be awarded to politically strong firms which submit high bids on the ground that they are the lowest "responsible" bidders.

Lack of Technical Skill.—A second defect which sometimes characterizes central purchasing agencies is lack of skill. The satisfactory buying of municipal supplies requires a considerable amount of knowledge, but at times the city purchasing agent and his assistants are selected because of their political backing. They have had no training and little experience in their new duties; they do not know how to prepare specifications; they do

[1] See: the *Report* of the Department of Purchase as quoted in the *New York Times*, August 8, 1938.

not know how to inspect purchases to see whether the specifications have been complied with. In such cases, although the agents may mean well and orders are not placed on a purely political basis, the purchasing is not satisfactory. Inferior goods are palmed off on the city at a price which should warrant a much higher quality.[1]

Redtape.—A third defect which sometimes characterizes central purchasing agencies takes the form of undue redtape. Some agencies insist on making every purchase, however small, for every department in the city; an article costing fifty cents must be ordered through the central purchasing agency. Requisitions must be made out at least in triplicate, and the clerical expense to the department making the requisition and to the central purchasing agency is large. Finally, the central purchasing agency has to pay the same price for the article that the department would pay. Messengers have to deliver the purchase; receipts must be signed in triplicate; and much clerical expense is essential. Petty purchases may actually cost the city twice or three times as much under such a system as when handled by each department. Central purchasing, like almost anything else, requires the application of common sense. Articles which are used in large quantities may be advantageously handled through a central agency, while petty purchases may properly be left to the departments themselves. Such a system saves time, which may be an important consideration, reduces redtape, and means less expenditure of public funds.[2]

Current Developments in the Central Purchasing Field.—There is at present a considerable amount of interest in central purchasing on the part of municipal authorities. Seattle, Cleveland, New Orleans, New York City, and Charlotte, North Carolina are among the cities that have recently entered this field or have materially expanded the scope of their programs. Another development of special interest to students of public administration has been the progress in the direction of co-operative purchasing. Small cities have ordinarily not possessed the volume of business

[1] For discussions of central purchasing by cities see: A. F. Macdonald, *American City Government and Administration* (New York, 1937), pp. 420–422; H. G. Hodges, *City Management* (New York, 1939), Chap. IX; and William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration*, pp. 107–115.

[2] See: A. E. Buck, *Municipal Finance* (New York, 1926), Chap. IX, for a more detailed discussion of central purchasing.

that encourages a central purchasing agency which is sufficiently elaborate to be efficient. Co-operative purchasing makes it possible for several or even many small cities to club together for such a purpose. Cities in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Colorado, North Carolina, and Oregon are among those that have recently entered this field. In Cincinnati an interesting central purchasing project has recently been set up, with the board of education, county, and city co-operating in certain purchases.[1]

Several recent pieces of federal and state legislation have served to complicate central purchasing. The Miller-Tydings Act, which has been approved by more than forty states, permits price-fixing by manufacturers as well as the determining of re-sale price; this has handicapped central purchasing agencies in certain cases. The Robinson-Patman Act has caused certain discounts once enjoyed by cities to be abolished. Finally, several states, including Illinois, Washington, and New Mexico, have passed laws requiring cities to purchase certain commodities, such as coal, produced within the state if the cost is within five or ten per cent of the lowest price.[2]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buck, A. E., *Budgeting for Small Cities* (New York, 1931).
Buck, A. E., *Municipal Finance* (New York, 1926).
Carr, R. K., *State Control of Local Finance in Oklahoma* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1937).
Chatters, C. H., and Hillhouse, A. M., *Local Government Debt Administration* (New York, 1939).
Cornick, P. H., *The Results of Premature Subdivision* (New York, 1937).
Dortch, Carl, "The 'Indiana Plan' in Action," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 28, p. 525 (November, 1938).
Forbes, Russell, *Purchasing for Small Cities* (Chicago, 1932).
Hansen, A. H., and Perloff, H. S., *State and Local Finance in the National Economy* (New York, 1944).
Hillhouse, A. M., *Defaulted Municipal Bonds* (Chicago, 1935).
Hillhouse, A. M., *Municipal Bonds: A Century of Experience* (New York, 1936).
Kilpatrick, Wylie, *State Supervision of Local Budgeting* (New York, 1939).
Kilpatrick, Wylie, *State Supervision of Local Finance* (Chicago, 1941).

[1] For a good diseussion of recent developments see the annual articles in *The Municipal Year Book.*

[2] See: *Ibid.*

Kneier, C. M., *Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration* (New York, 1939), Chaps. XII and XIV.

Lutz, H. L., *Public Finance* (New York, 1936).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Marketing Municipal Bonds* (Chicago, 1935).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Budget Making and Budgetary Control* (Chicago, 1935).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Budget Procedure and Budgetary Accounting* (Chicago, 1942).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Debt Administration* (Chicago, 1935).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Municipal Debt Defaults* (Chicago, 1933).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Standard Practice in Municipal Accounting and Financial Procedure* (Chicago, 1937).

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *The Call Feature in Municipal Bonds* (Chicago, 1938).

National Industrial Conference Board, *The Cost of Government in the United States*, published at frequent intervals.

Pontius, Dale, *State Supervision of Local Government: Its Development in Massachusetts* (Washington, 1942), Chap. VI.

Shattuck, Leroy A., Jr., *Municipal Indebtedness* (Baltimore, 1940).

Taylor, R. E., *Municipal Budget-Making* (Chicago, 1925).

XXIII

PUBLIC WORKS: STREETS

Definition.—A satisfactory definition of the term "public works" is difficult to find. Mr. Frank W. Herring, the executive director of the American Public Works Association, reports that he has searched unsuccessfully for an adequate definition for many years. Perhaps the best that can be done under the circumstances is to note the activities which cities ordinarily place under their public works departments and to point out certain characteristics that are common to these activities. Mr. Herring lists the following characteristics: (1) "the construction and operation of large-scale physical facilities, (2) the employment of common labor, (3) the utilization of engineering techniques, and (4) the consumption of relatively large amounts of materials, supplies, and so forth." [1]

General Importance of Public Works Departments.—All cities in the United States, whether they be large or small, pay a great deal of attention and spend large sums of money on the construction and operation of public works. This department of the city is especially important to the individual citizen, for his health, comfort, pleasure, and business enterprises depend to a considerable degree upon the efficiency of this department. Moreover, everywhere he goes, he is likely to see evidence of this department, although he may have a very hazy idea of what other departments are doing.

What Functions Are Performed by the Public Works Department?—As may be expected, cities vary somewhat in the functions which they assign to the department of public works. Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of the International City Managers' Association, studied twenty-five representative cities in 1929 to ascertain exactly what functions were performed by public works departments. These cities varied from New London, Connecticut, with 32,000 inhabitants, to Philadelphia, with more than two

[1] Quoted from a letter written by Mr. Herring, dated March 2, 1939.

million people; no very small city was included. He discovered a total of fifty-six functions performed by the various public works departments. Some of these functions were almost always assigned to public works; others fell only occasionally into such a department. Mr. Ridley classified the fifty-six functions into three groups: customary, occasional, and incidental.[1]

Customary Functions.—Twenty of the fifty-six functions were entrusted to departments of public works in a majority of the twenty-five cities. These included: street design, improvement, and maintenance; street cleaning; sidewalks; street lighting; excavation permits; street-name signs; house numbering; bridge design, construction, and maintenance; sewer design, construction, and maintenance; sewage disposal; refuse collection and disposal; maintenance of all city-owned motor equipment; and inspection of the construction of public improvements.[2]

Occasional and Incidental Functions.—Several functions were not found in the public works departments of a majority of cities, but they did fall into the hands of that department more frequently than in any other municipal department. Among these occasional functions may be mentioned: operation and supervision of municipal utilities; care of public buildings and grounds, equipment other than motor equipment, and drinking fountains and comfort stations; and the inspection of street lighting.[3] Still other functions now and then were performed by the department of public works, but other departments more commonly exercised them. Among these incidental functions were: care of street trees, cemeteries, and tourist camps; planning, improvement, and maintenance of parks and playgrounds; maintenance and operation of bath houses; inspection of municipal purchases; and all the service and regulatory inspections except street lighting.[4]

Organization of Departments of Public Works.—At one time many cities used boards or commissions to administer public works, but in large cities that type of organization has almost disappeared. Some small cities which maintain only skeletal administrative

[1] *The Public Works Department in American Cities* (New York, 1929), p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] Mr. Frank W. Herring informs the author that more than half of the cities having municipal water works in 1939 assigned them to the public works department for administration. Letter dated March 2, 1939.

[4] See: Ridley, *Op cit.*, p. 31.

organizations continue to entrust the responsibility to committees which are made up of the mayor, members of the city council, and the city engineer. Where a city is of any size, the single-commissioner type of organization offers definite superiority, for most of the functions of such a department involve prompt and efficient execution rather than the determining of policies. One man can handle such functions much more satisfactorily than a commission. In small cities it is not at all uncommon to have the city engineer act in the capacity of director of the public works department, although large cities ordinarily make other arrangements.

In most large cities the department of public works is divided into five or more bureaus or divisions, which specialize on such activities as streets, sewers, waste collection, water works, and public property. The exact number of these divisions will depend upon the population of the city and upon the problems of a given city and because of the complexities involved can scarcely be discussed in detail here.[1]

The Qualifications of the Public Works Commissioner.—Many commissioners of public works are professional engineers, but some cities prefer to employ laymen who have executive ability in large measure for this position. No general assertion can safely be made as to what a given city should do in this matter, for a great deal depends upon local conditions. Even a casual observer can perceive that much of the work of such a department involves engineering problems. If the commissioner is to do the work himself or even actively supervise it, he may well be a professional engineer. On the other hand, the commissioner of public works in a large city may be called upon to direct experts in street construction, sanitary engineering, and waste disposal, and he may also have to work closely with the mayor and with the other administrative heads. His contacts with the council and with the public may call for much attention and skill. Such a commissioner spends more of his time and energy in general administration than in engineering projects; if he has professionals to depend upon, he may well be a successful administrator brought from business or from some other field.

Mr. Ridley has prepared an interesting chart in his monograph

[1] For a good discussion of the organization problem see: Ridley, *Op. cit.*, pp. 41–45; and Donald Stone, *The Management of Municipal Public Works* (Chicago, 1939).

on public works departments in which he attempts to show the varying demands made upon an administrative head of such a department. In cities of 10,000 or less he estimates that 75 per cent of the job will have to do with engineering; 10 per cent with executive capacity; 5 per cent with business; 5 per cent with economics; and 5 per cent with past experience. As the city increases in size, engineering will play a less important role, until in the cities of over 500,000 it sinks to a mere 5 per cent.[1] Executive capacity and experience both become more important as a city increases in population. In cities of over half a million Mr. Ridley estimates that executive capacity occupies 50 per cent of the field and experience 25 per cent. Business and economics increase more slowly. In cities of over 500,000 they each account for 10 per cent of the field.[2]

Allocation of Funds by a Department of Public Works.—In general, municipal administrative departments spend a large portion of their incomes for personal services—in certain cases as much as 96 per cent of the entire appropriation for a department will go for salaries and wages. The average for police and fire departments will probably approximate 90 per cent. Health and education spend less for personal services, but they will devote as much as 80 per cent or more of their funds to such a purpose. Public works, on the other hand, uses large amounts for the purchase of supplies of one kind and another. Probably an average public works department will set aside about one-half of its appropriations for materials. While W.P.A. labor was abundant, an even larger proportion of municipal public works appropriations went for materials.

Public works departments also stand out because they spend large amounts for more or less permanent improvements. While much depends upon the economic conditions and popular psychology at a given time, large cities are almost always involved in some substantial undertakings which require sizable sums of money. Many of these projects come under public works. Before the depression and the war interfered with public construction and before the federal government set up P.W.A. to assist in

[1] "Engineering" here refers to the actual designing and supervision of construction. A thorough knowledge of such problems is an important qualification even in large cities.

[2] Ridley, *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

meeting the cost of permanent improvements to the extent of 45%, cities of over 30,000 devoted from one-fourth to one-third of their annual incomes to the acquisition and construction of more or less permanent properties and improvements.[1]

STREET CONSTRUCTION

Street Design.—Streets are important from several standpoints. They carry both foot and vehicular traffic; they provide light and air for the adjoining buildings; and they are used by public utilities for various purposes. Transportation companies use street surfaces for tracks and for the operation of buses, while electric companies string wires on poles erected along their sides or in alleys—in the downtown areas of large cities they build conduits underground for carrying their current. Telephone companies use both the air above streets and alleys and the subsurface for their wires and cables, and gas and water companies use the subsurface for their mains. The department of public works in designing a street must keep in mind all of these uses, if the street is to be satisfactory.[2] More than that, it must study especially the type of traffic which will traverse a given street, as well as the particular utilities which will depend upon such a street.[3]

Street Width.—Not very long ago departments of public works laid out streets on the principle of approximation. Streets were almost always thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, or one hundred feet wide. That arbitrary practice could not be justified at present. It may be wasteful from the standpoint of use of land; it fails to take into account the use which will be made of the street; and it may be extravagant in that additional costs may be involved for paving and maintenance. Progressive departments of public works now design a street on the basis of its use. For example, the pavement of a residential street, which obviously should permit parallel parking on both sides as well as allow moving vehicles to pass between the parked cars, will be laid out as follows: two

[1] *Financial Statistics of Cities of Over 30,000*, issues prior to 1930.

[2] Mr. Frank W. Herring, executive director of the American Public Works Association, regards the above paragraph as an understatement. He comments, "A 'city' without streets would be unthinkable. In fact, the street is the outstanding feature of the city—ancient or modern."

[3] For a good discussion of street planning see: Harlean James, *Land Planning in the United States for the City, State and Nation* (New York, 1926).

parking spaces (eight feet wide each) 16 feet, plus two traffic lanes (ten feet wide each) 20 feet, a total of 36 feet. A width four feet narrower or five feet wider would be unsatisfactory, for it would add nothing to the utility of the pavement and would in the latter case considerably increase the cost of construction and maintenance. By studying the use to which a street will be put, it is now comparatively simple to design streets. A retail business street may consist of two sidewalks, two parking spaces, four traffic lanes, and two street car tracks. Using the standard widths necessary for each it is easy to arrive at the width of such a street.[1]

Street Surfacing.—Even the most humble streets require some attention from the department of public works. The least that can be done is to grade the earth between the sidewalks so that water will be collected at the sides rather than allowed to stand in the middle where it will cause miring. If the street is of much consequence, gutters will be put in next to a curb, and unless the city is exceptional, some kind of material will be added to the natural surface to make an all-weather surface. Gravel has been employed very extensively on local streets which carry little traffic, but unfortunately it is dusty and in some territories has to be replaced almost every year because it sinks into the earth during the winter and spring.[2]

Paving.—If streets are considered important and the city is at all progressive, some form of hard surfacing will be given. There is no one type of hard surfacing which is recognized as being superior to all others under every condition, and consequently an extended tour over the streets of one city, to say nothing of all the cities of the United States, presents a varied picture of street surfaces. Cities are increasingly using certain types of tar and heavy-oil surfacing which require no foundation for residential streets.[3] The initial cost is not very great. Such pavements can be used throughout the year and reduce the dust, but heavy traffic wears them badly and even under ordinary conditions they require careful maintenance at frequent intervals.

[1] A good discussion of street widths is to be found in William B. Munro, *Municipa Administration* (New York, 1934), pp. 266–270.

[2] See: H. F. Clemmer, *Stabilizing Earth Streets and Roads* (Chicago, 1937).

[3] See: V. J. Brown and C. N. Connor, *Low-Cost Roads and Bridges* (Chicago, 1933); and J. T. Bullen, "Surface Treatment of Gravel Roads with Asphaltic Oils," *American City*, Vol. 34, p. 157 (February, 1926).

Arterial streets require a higher type of pavement laid on a foundation of concrete, macadam, brick, or some other durable material. Such a pavement not only needs to resist wear, but it is desirable to have it smooth, easy to clean, comparatively noiseless, and safe in wet weather. Concrete may be used; some cities prefer concrete with an asphalt top because of the greater resilience and quietness. Wood blocks, laid on a concrete base, have been used, but there have been no new installations for years. Streets in the industrial sections, where traffic is very heavy, require special attention, for not all pavements will stand up under such punishing use. Granite blocks offer as many advantages as any paving material for such streets. The cost runs high; they are noisy; no one could call them smooth; but they do wear.[1]

An Ideal Paving Material?—Public works departments would be happy if some type of paving material could be discovered which would be cheap, wear-resisting, smooth, noiseless, and easy to clean, but thus far no great progress has been made in developing such a material.[2] The wear-resisting types are invariably costly. Bricks may wear well, be relatively noiseless, and comparatively smooth, but they are not too easy to clean. Asphalt is smooth, noiseless, easy to clean, and wears well when properly laid, but it is costly and slippery when wet. Wood blocks sometimes cause trouble during very hot weather when the tar melts and they bubble out of place, and winter weather is also sometimes hard on them because water makes them swell. Moreover, they are extremely slippery with rubber tires in wet weather. Some authorities regard concrete as perhaps the best single type; however, it is expensive if properly laid. It sometimes cracks under severe winter weather.

The Cost of Streets.—Cities of the United States pay out large sums of money every year for construction and maintenance of streets. In the case of large cities something like three dollars per capita will be spent for this purpose every year. Something depends upon the size of a city, but in general size does not enter into this function to the extent that has been noted in certain other

[1] For a general discussion of paving types see: F. S. Beeson, *City Pavements* (New York, 1923).

[2] See: W. H. Barton and L. H. Doane, *The Sampling and Testing of Highway Materials* (New York, 1925).

cases. In 1943, cities over 500,000 population averaged $3.64 per capita; cities in the 250,000–500,000 group $2.84 per capita; and cities in the 100,000–250,000 group $3.12 per capita for streets.[1] Individual cities vary, however, to a marked degree, with certain cities spending approximately fifteen times as much on a per-capita basis as other cities. But it should be pointed out that statistics relating to individual cities, particularly when covering only a single year, are not likely to be very significant, though they may be of interest.

THE CARE OF STREETS

Street Cleaning.—Littered streets may not menace public health, but they do create an unpleasant impression. Some cities, especially in the smaller population groups, pay insufficient attention to this function, although practically all cities over 5,000 population accept municipal responsibility for cleaning of streets. Large cities at least go through the motions, despite the fact that certain of their streets give the appearance of receiving very little care. Of course, it must be realized that the street-cleaning problem is a very difficult one in certain congested sections of large cities. So many people live there; so few of them have adequate facilities for taking care of waste material; while many of them scarcely see any reason for not throwing whatever they no longer want into the streets. Ordinances may prohibit such conduct, but it is well nigh impossible to enforce the ordinances.[3]

Methods of Street Cleaning.—Cities have experimented with many different mechanical contrivances for cleaning their streets, and apparently they are still trying to find a device more satisfactory than anything yet developed. At least, New York City was featured in the newspapers recently because of an elaborate machine equipped with drum-appearing attachments which it is using by way of experiment for cleaning streets. For many years men with brushes swept the streets, and white wings made their

[1] *City Finances, 1943*, p. 5.

[2] Too much dependence cannot be placed on statistics relating to individual cities, for as Mr. Frank W. Herring points out, "Any city could make a low score by simply not undertaking any maintenance or construction." Quoted from a letter to the author, dated March 2, 1939.

[3] For an interesting study of street cleaning see: Works Progress Administration, *Street and Alley Cleaning Survey*, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Series no. 636–29.

deliberate way along the gutters spearing bits of paper and other wastes. Some cities still depend upon such simple housekeeping methods. Another common method of cleaning streets is to have them flushed with a machine. When supplemented by hand cleaning of the gutters, this method is highly effective, for it gives a freshness to the street surface that few other devices offer. Occasionally small cities continue to make use of old fire hose for flushing their streets, but this method is now quite uncommon.

The mechanical pick-up sweeper is the most common machine device used in cleaning street surfaces; by driving these vehicles along a street the dirt is collected into receptacles which can be emptied at intervals and hauled away. Where gravel and dirt surfaces still prevail, sprinklers may be employed to lay the dust.[1]

Snow Removal.—Cities located in the northern sections of the United States are confronted with the problem of removing snow from the streets in the winter time. The permanent personnel of the public works department cannot cope with such a problem in most cities, and consequently large numbers of temporary workers are recruited for this purpose, sometimes at a very considerable cost. Small cities frequently make no arrangement for removing snow from streets, and even large cities, such as Chicago, are sometimes very lax in this respect.[2]

Sidewalks.—Cities ordinarily require property owners to construct sidewalks in front of their lots, if the area is sufficiently developed to justify such improvements. Departments of public works frequently lay down specifications in regard to exact location in relation to the lot line, width, depth, and quality of materials used in the construction and send inspectors to see that the rules have been observed. Most cities also require property owners to keep sidewalks in repair and to remove snow and ice in the winter, although during the W.P.A. years crews were in certain places sent about to relevel sidewalks. Where shade trees exist near sidewalks, their roots have a fondness for tilting the sidewalk blocks into all sorts of strange angles. Hence the W.P.A. men cut out roots, relaid a foundation for the sidewalks, and replaced the blocks on a level. Occasionally crews may be set to work

[1] American Public Works Association, *Street Cleaning Practice* (Chicago, 1938), furnishes much information on this topic.

[2] For a good discussion of this problem see: American Public Works Association, *Municipal Snow Removal and the Treatment of Icy Pavements* (Chicago, 1938).

after a severe storm clearing the sidewalks of snow and ice, while a few cities employ snow plows for sidewalks. However, as a rule such a duty is left to the occupants of the adjoining property, and although some of them perform their task faithfully, many do not bother to remove snow from one year to another. Inspection on the part of the police department either does not exist or is so lax that careless householders shirk their responsibility with impunity.

STREET LIGHTING

Almost all cities irrespective of size make some effort to light their streets. At one time only the main streets received illumination at night, but increasingly the citizens have demanded lighting throughout the city. Until the middle of the nineteenth century such lighting as cities had was ordinarily furnished by oil lamps. That gave way to gas lighting, and gas in turn has largely surrendered to electric lights, although a few cities still cling to gas at least in part. Electricity has the advantage of central control, and it may be used by small cities without the expensive standards required by gas.[1]

Standard Lights.—Street lights may be classified into two general types: standard or post lights and suspended lights. Standard lights are provided now in the downtown areas of most cities, and even small cities pride themselves on their illuminated displays on main streets. Boulevards and other arterial streets may also receive such equipment throughout a city. This type of light requires a metallic standard, a frosted globe, and a high-candle-power bulb as a rule, although occasionally clear glass may be used for a globe and carbon may be provided instead of a bulb. Standards must be placed on both sides of the street in order to make a pleasing appearance.

This equipment is expensive to begin with, and some cities find it an alluring temptation to boys who like to try their skill with stones and other missiles. In as much as lights must be placed on both sides of the street and the height of the lights cannot be very great if an attractive appearance is to be maintained, this plan of lighting consumes more electric current than

[1] See: Ward Harrison, O. F. Haas, and K. M. Reid, *Street Lighting Practice* (New York, 1930); and C. J. Stahl, *Electric Street Lighting* (New York, 1929).

the suspended light. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of aesthetics it is superior to the suspended type, despite the fondness of some cities for ornate fixtures.

Suspended Lights.—Suspended lights are widely used for the illumination of residential and industrial districts, as well as by small cities for more general purposes. They may be suspended from electric-light poles which already exist to provide for the transmission of electric current. A simple bracket is sometimes attached to a single pole or the light may be hung between poles on different sides of the street. Carbon arcs at one time had more or less of a monopoly, but they have given way in many cases to powerful incandescent bulbs of the mazda type. Being high over head these lights illuminate a considerable stretch of street and sidewalk. Two or three in a block may be quite adequate in contrast to three to five or more lights of the standard type.[1]

Common Defects in Street Lighting.—The primary purposes of street lights are to illuminate the streets in such a way that: pedestrians may be able to see where they walk; criminals may be discouraged from prowling and committing crimes; and motorists may drive without undue hazard—this last purpose is the most important at present. However, many cities seem to place appearance above illumination, for they use standard lamps which may be fairly attractive, but which because of their frosted globes give insufficient light. Or they may want a great display so that they can compare themselves with Broadway; in such a case they consume much more electricity than adequate illumination calls for. Some lamps are so poorly placed that they shed little light; pedestrians find it hard to walk without stumbling over obstructions; and thieves are not discouraged.

One of the commonest defects in street lighting grows out of the faulty mounting height or the inadequate shading of suspended lights, although important improvements have been made in "directional" fixtures. Some lights throw such a glare that approaching motorists temporarily cannot see where they drive, with the result that numerous accidents, involving collisions of car with car, car with street car, car with electric poles, or injuries to pedestrians, occur. Departments of public works often do not

[1] F. E. Cady and H. B. Dates, *Illuminating Engineering* (New York, 1925), may be consulted for information in regard to accredited standards.

have anyone especially trained in illumination, and consequently the task is not handled well. Cities in the United States pay more for street lights than cities in most other countries, but they frequently do not get fair illuminating value for what they spend.[1]

Excavation Permits.—The streets of a large city may be virtual catccombs beneath the pavement. Gas mains and water mains, telephone and electric conduits, pneumatic tubes, heat pipes, storm and sanitary sewers, subways, underground railroad tracks, and basements of business establishments may use the subsurface of downtown streets in a large city. The residential streets of even small cities commonly have water and gas mains and storm and sanitary sewers under the surface. Unfortunately mains, pipes, and conduits do not last forever and consequently repairs are called for. As a rule, the street has to be used for an entry; excavations are made; and the necessary repairs accomplished. When new buildings are constructed, attachments will probably have to be effected with water, gas, and sewer systems, and these, too, require excavations.

As long as cities kept their streets unpaved, such excavations were fairly simple; they menaced traffic at times and proved unsightly, but they damaged the street itself comparatively little. Now that so many city streets have been hard surfaced, such excavating means drilling through the pavement, with the result that unless repairs are carefully made, a new pavement will soon be filled with rough places or even holes, and, what is more important, the pavement subgrade will be so impaired that permanent damage may result. Replacing the surface is not enough; replacement of an adequate foundation is essential.

As a result of the seriousness of the problem, departments of public works now have the responsibility of saying when excavations can be made and when they are not to be allowed. No excavation is ordinarily permitted on a street in most cities unless a permit is first obtained from the department of public works. Application for the permit must show exactly where the excavation is to be made, what the purpose is, and approximately how long

[1] For a very good discussion of proper lighting of streets see: Illuminating Engineering Society, Committee on Street Lighting, "Code of Street Lighting," *Transactions*, Vol. 30, no. 1 (January, 1935). Hartford, Connecticut reduced its accident rate 46 per cent by relighting its streets. See: R. E. Simpson, "46 Per Cent Fewer Accidents on Hartford's Relighted Streets," *American City*, Vol. 53, p. 55 (October, 1938).

the street will have to be torn up. Bonds for the proper reconstruction of the street may be required, but unless departments of public works also inspect the repairs, the mere requiring of permits avails little. Public service companies, which make repairs, often desire to get through with as little trouble and expense to themselves as possible. Unless they are compelled to do first class work in replacing the pavement, they will frequently content themselves with inferior reconstruction.[1]

Street-Name Signs.—Although departments of public works, as a rule, do not name streets, they are supposed to erect signs which will indicate to pedestrians or motorists the identity of the various streets. Various methods are employed for this purpose. Standards may be set up; signs may be attached to utility poles or lamp standards; the sides of buildings may be used; names may be printed on the curbing at street intersections; and at times street names are etched into the sidewalks themselves. The variety is great enough to lead to considerable confusion. Some cities go so far as to make use of several different methods. Not only is it difficult for motorists to discover street signs to begin with, but the lettering is often so illegible that the name can be read with great difficulty, if at all. Motorists have to stop their cars, get out, and go over to the vicinity of the sign to find out what the name of the street is. The problem of marking streets in such a fashion that those who need to identify them may do so easily may not seem very difficult, and yet it is probable that departments of public works have encountered more trouble here than in almost any other function. Anyone who has to find a street in a strange city will bear testimony to the generally unsatisfactory character of street markings.[2]

HOUSE NUMBERING

General System.—House numbering and street marking go along together in the minds of many people because both play a part in getting about a city and because both at present lack adequacy

[1] For a good discussion of this problem see: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), pp. 279–281.

[2] For a good discussion of this problem see: Adolph J. Post and George H. McCaffrey, *Street Name Signs* (New York, 1930); and B. J. Lockwood, "Selecting a Street Name Sign," *Public Management*, June, 1937. Washington, Detroit, Milwaukee, and New York City have handled this problem quite well.

in many places. There are several plans of numbering houses which may be encountered in cities of the United States, although generally all cities arrange the even numbers on one side of a street and the odd numbers on the other. One common plan depends upon city blocks for its basis. The houses in one block will all be numbered in the one hundreds; in the next block all houses will be numbered in the two hundreds; and so on along the street. This arrangement makes it comparatively simple to locate the block in which a building or house is located and serves well when the street pattern is fairly regular. Ordinarily under this system numbers following the hundred will go to twenty-seven or so—that is, the first house will be numbered 500 and the last 527. A second popular system is to go right on through the hundreds until all numbers are exhausted. The first building is numbered 500 and the last 599. Under this arrangement, if blocks are depended upon as bases, several blocks will be necessary to exhaust one hundred numbers. This plan is more complicated than the former one, in that it is difficult to calculate how many blocks will be involved before a certain number is arrived at.[1]

Individual Buildings.—Perhaps more confusing to the stranger who seeks a certain number is the haphazard practice in marking the numbers on specific houses or buildings. Some structures have no numbers at all, while others bear numbers on their doors. A place over the porch or on a pillar holding up the porch may be chosen. Front steps may reveal the identification, and occasionally the number is painted on the curb in front of the lot. All sorts of styles and sizes are used in the markings. Some of them stand out in contrast with the material of the structure and may be easily discovered; others blend so well with their background that it is very difficult to find them. Owners may love the artistic and choose such styles that it is not easy to decipher the numbers at any distance. In general, although departments of public works are charged with the duty of numbering houses, they leave it quite largely up to the individual householders.[2]

[1] One system sets aside a certain distance for every 100 numbers. When wide lots are encountered, allowance is made in the case of numbers which follow: for example, a house on a wide lot will be numbered 721 and the next number will be 729.

[2] Milwaukee furnishes numbers to every house and building. Before selecting the type, tests were made as to legibility, weathering, and fading. Milwaukee has found the cost to be small and the values resulting quite great.

They may attempt to enforce a rule that every building bear a number, but they rarely do anything toward seeing that the number is legible, and, as a rule, make no effort to achieve uniformity. Occasionally departments of public works appreciate the inconvenience caused by the ordinary lack of system and undertake to paint numbers on the curb in front of the houses.

BRIDGE DESIGN, CONSTRUCTION, AND MAINTENANCE

The General Problem.—Cities vary a great deal as to the number of bridges which they may be called upon to provide. Cities built around a network of streams obviously will have to pay a great deal of attention to bridges, while cities which include within their limits few waterways will naturally be less burdened, although if ravines or deep valleys occur they may have to bridge them. Moreover, there is the problem of carrying traffic over railway tracks in many cities. If a city has many bridges to construct and maintain, it is likely to find that large amounts of money will be required. The designing and planning of bridges is perhaps more difficult than the designing of certain other municipal structures. In the first place, a faulty design means the collapse of the bridge in many cases. Some cities have built bridges at a heavy cost, only to find a few years later that the work had to be done over again because of faulty designing, while others have made them too narrow, too expensive to maintain, and poorly located. Not only does the utility of the bridge depend upon good designing and proper location, but the appearance of the landscape may be ruined by an ugly structure; bridges should fit into the landscape rather than stand out as eyesores.

Construction Difficulties.—The construction of bridges sometimes involves unforeseen difficulties. Bridges have to have proper foundations, and it may be found, when the subsurface work is begun, that an adequate foundation is very difficult to find. For example, quick sand may cover bedrock for many feet. Because of such problems departments of public works have encountered serious difficulties. The expense of constructing foundations under such unfavorable conditions mounts very rapidly. If departments of public works depend upon political contractors—or perhaps even the mine run of contractors—to do the work, vigilant inspection must be arranged if the bridge is to give good service,

for some contractors may not hesitate to substitute lean mixture for good quality concrete, with the result that after a few years the bridge cracks or collapses and has to be replaced. After a bridge has been built, maintenance is very important in many cases. Particularly if steel has been used in exposed places, frequent painting is required to keep the structure from rapid deterioration.[1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Public Works Association, *Public Works Engineers' Yearbooks.*

American Public Works Association, *Standard Specifications for Public Works Construction* (Chicago, 1939).

Beeson, F. S., *City Pavements* (New York, 1923).

Brown, V. J., and Connor, C. N., *Low-Cost Roads and Bridges* (Chicago, 1933).

Doane, L. H., and Barton, W. H., *The Sampling and Testing of Highway Materials* (New York, 1925).

Harrison, Ward, Haas, O. F., and Reid, K. M., *Street Lighting Practice* (New York, 1930).

Hodges, H. G., *City Management* (New York, 1939), Chaps. XX, XXI.

Illuminating Engineering Society, Committee on Street Lighting, "Code of Street Lighting," *Transactions*, Vol. 30, no. 1 (January, 1935).

Lockwood, B. J., "Selecting a Street Name Sign," *Public Management*, June, 1937.

Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), p. 266 ff.

Post, Adolph J., and McCaffrey, George H., *Street Name Signs* (New York, 1930).

Ridley, Clarence E., *The Public Works Department in American Cities* (New York, 1929).

Stone, Donald C., *The Management of Municipal Public Works* (Chicago, 1939).

Upson, Lent D., *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), Chaps. XXV, XXIX.

Works Progress Administration, *Street and Alley Cleaning Survey*, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Series 636–29.

[1] See: V. J. Brown and C. N. Connor, *Low-Cost Roads and Bridges* (Chicago, 1933); and A. H. Blanchard and R. L. Morrison, *Elements of Highway Engineering* (New York, 1928).

XXIV

PUBLIC WORKS: SANITATION

SEWER DESIGN, CONSTRUCTION, AND MAINTENANCE

The General Problem.—The designing of sewers may be a complicated problem, especially in those cities where the topography of the earth is quite irregular. Sewers, of course, depend upon gravity for their successful operation in most cases, and consequently the various parts of a sewer system must incline toward the trunk sewers which in turn must incline toward the outlet or outlets. Where a city empties its sewage into a number of rivers or the arms of the sea, the problem may be less difficult because no large integrated system has to be designed—instead a number of little lines discharge waste into nearby waters. However, such a method of disposing of waste is increasingly frowned upon, and consequently cities are having to redesign their sanitary arrangements into unified sewer systems. In as much as the various high and low places in some cities make it impossible to depend upon gravity entirely, pumps and pumping plants have to be installed at certain points in these unfied systems to lift the sewage from the branches into the trunk lines. While this involves additional expense, it is a comparatively simple engineering problem.[1]

Another problem arising out of design is that of capacity. How large should a certain line of sewers be made? That depends not only upon present needs, but in many instances to a very large degree upon future developments. Sewers cannot be supplemented very easily or without great cost, and, therefore, it is important to design them originally so that they will meet demands which may be made upon them ten years or more in the future. Yet at the same time it is unwise to design sewers larger than is required,

[1] For good discussions of the problems involved in cities of the United States see: Leonard Metcalf and Harrison P. Eddy, *American Sewerage in Practice* (New York, 1936); A. P. Folwell, *Sewerage* (New York, 1936); and American Public Works Association, *Proposed Sewer Specifications* (Chicago, 1938).

for such a policy means the expenditure of additional money for construction and maintenance.[1]

Materials.—At one time cities used such materials as wood for constructing sewers, but at the present time more permanent materials are employed. Concrete, brick, vitrified-clay tiles, or cast-iron pipes may be chosen, depending upon such factors as the section of the city and the contour of the land. Branch sewers in purely residential districts require less elaborate construction than trunk sewers in downtown sections where such plants as packing houses and laundries may be located. The topography of the earth may also dictate a certain type of construction. After sewers have been constructed, there is the constant problem of maintenance. At times they cave in, but more frequently they become obstructed. In residential districts where shade trees abound, tree roots occasionally cause trouble. Certain equipment may deteriorate; pumps may break down. The problem of maintenance is complicated by the difficulty of access to the points where trouble develops. In very large cities trunk sewers may be spacious enough to permit workers to traverse them, but, as a rule, employes of the department of public works must depend upon equipment operated by remote control from the nearest manhole.[2]

SEWAGE DISPOSAL

Importance of Adequate Disposal.—Sewage is probably the most dangerous waste product of a modern city. If not properly disposed of and it gets into an unprotected water supply, it can cause typhoid fever epidemics, as well as other diseases, not only among the people of the city, but to residents of surrounding territory. For many years cities did not appreciate this menace to public health and consequently disposed of their sewage as easily as possible. The ordinary method was to empty it into some near-by body of water. A city situated on the sea could use the salt water, while inland cities made use of lakes, rivers, and even creeks. Where the

[1] For a valuable discussion of principles of municipal sanitation see: International Association of Public Works Officials, *The Measurement and Control of Municipal Sanitation* (Chicago, 1930).

[2] For a recent discussion of the management of sewerage divisions of public works departments see: Donald C. Stone, *The Management of Municipal Public Works* (Chicago, 1939), Chap. XI.

amount of water was large and the quantity of sewage not too great, such a plan worked out reasonably well. Nature took care of the problem, and sunlight and air killed large numbers of the pathogenic bacteria.

However, in many instances the amount of water did not prove to be great enough as cities increased in size and added to their plumbing facilities. New York City poured its sewage into the East and North Rivers as well as other waters until it was literally surrounded by a giant sewer. Beaches became contaminated, and shell fish often caused illness when taken from near-by waters.

Sewage-Disposal Plants.—The situation became so serious and so unpleasant that large numbers of cities, either of their own volition or because they were ordered by state boards of health or courts, constructed sewage-disposal plants. Even small cities now frequently have such disposal plants. Where these plants are in operation, it is essential that storm sewers be separated from sanitary sewers or that flow be diverted from the plant during storms; for otherwise the expense of treating such large quantities of liquid will mount high. The methods employed by sewage-disposal plants in treating raw sewage vary widely; in general, the treatment is a sanitary-engineering problem, involving engineering, chemistry, bacteriology, biology, and so forth, rather than a problem of municipal government.[1]

Simple Screening.—Although the adequate treatment of sewage presents so many technical aspects that it cannot be properly dealt with in a course in municipal government, a few generalizations may be permissible. The simplest but least effective method is that of screening. Various types and sizes of screens may be used, but this treatment does not get at the heart of the problem, for while it removes much of the solid matter, it leaves most of the organic content which constitutes the menace to public health.

Sedimentation.—A more complicated and more efficient process of treating sewage involves sedimentation. Simple sedimentation

[1] On the subject of sewerage and sewage disposal there is an abundance of printed material. Among other works see: L. Metcalf and H. P. Eddy, *Sewerage and Sewage Disposal* (New York, 1930); A. P. Folwell, *Sewerage* (New York, 1936); S. H. Adams, *Modern Sewage Disposal and Hygienics* (New York, 1930); T. P. Francis, *Modern Sewage Treatment* (London, 1932); and L. Metcalf and H. P. Eddy, *American Sewerage in Practice* (New York, 1936).

removes a large part of the suspended solids, and these are then disposed of as sludge. The more efficient sedimentation plants also provide for digesting the sludge in such a fashion as to reduce the organic content. The Imhoff tank and specially formed sedimentation tanks may be mentioned as examples of devices that are made use of in digesting the sludge.[1]

Aeration.—Sewage is also treated in tanks by a process of aeration which brings the sludge to an activated state where much of the organic matter is broken down into more or less harmless forms.[2] Contact beds pass the sewage into open tanks filled with cinders, coke, stone, or some other inert matter. A film of oxidizing bacteria forms on the surface of this material and reduces the organic matter into more stable types. Granular material is made use of in these beds to gain as much area as possible while also allowing the necessary ventilation to support the bacteria. The trickling filter allows the sewage to trickle or filter down through beds of stone which serve to oxidize the organic matter.

Chemical Treatment.—During recent years important advances have been made in the use of chemical precipitants to remove the finer suspended matter and colloids. The operating costs of such systems are expensive, but the installation cost is much less than that of trickling filters. Where a high degree of purification or deodorization are required, liquid chlorine or chlorine-producing chemicals may be employed.[3]

Standards.—No categorical statement can safely be made as to what type of sewage-disposal plant should be used by cities in the United States, although several systems have their ardent supporters. A great deal depends upon the quantity of sewage, the nature of sewage, and the location of the city both in relation to other settlements of people and to large bodies of water. In other words, a system of sewage treatment that may be quite satisfactory for one city might be entirely out of the question for another city which superficially would seem to be similar. Just how far the purification, which is expressed in terms of B.O.D.

[1] See: Leonard Metcalf and H. P. Eddy, *American Sewerage in Practice* (New York, 1936).

[2] See: A. J. Martin, *The Activated Sludge Process* (London, 1927).

[3] See: E. W. Steel, *Water Supply and Sewage* (London, 1938); and Leonard Metcalf and H. P. Eddy, *American Sewerage in Practice* (New York, 1936).

(biochemical oxygen demand) measured in parts per million, must be carried will play a large part in determining the exact system to be adopted by a given city.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF REFUSE OTHER THAN SEWAGE

Refuse—What It Is.—All cities produce large amounts of various kinds of wastes. The most dangerous of these is sewage which has been discussed above; other forms are garbage, ashes, and rubbish. Large cities are faced with the disposal of enormous quantities of some or all of these. Cities located in the South obviously do not have the problem of ash disposal to the extent of northern cities. In general, garbage presents the most serious problem aside from sewage. It is composed largely of organic refuse from kitchens and hotels, and during hot weather it decomposes rapidly and causes distinct unpleasantness unless promptly disposed of. Ashes come from furnaces and stoves, primarily in the winter time, are inorganic, and, except for their bulk and dust, have little effect upon either the health or comfort of a city. Rubbish includes a thousand odds and ends which are discarded by the residents of cities—old newspapers, rags, broken furniture, tin cans, and bottles are only a few of the items classed as rubbish.[2]

The Collection of Refuse.—Small cities often make little or no effort to collect refuse. Householders are expected to make their own arrangements to dispose of garbage and to have ashes and rubbish hauled away to the dump, unless the farmers in the vicinity establish collection routes to obtain garbage for feeding hogs. Such a system is not too satisfactory, for residents often make little effort to avoid the unsightliness, unpleasant odors, and inconvenience that accompany infrequent collection and farmers tend to ignore small sources of garbage. It may not be too easy for small cities to render this service, but more could probably be done in many cases than has been undertaken in the past.

Cities of substantial population almost always arrange for the collection of some refuse and often of all refuse directly as a munici-

[1] See: W. T. Sedwick, *Principles of Sanitary Science and Public Health* (New York, 1935); and A. P. Folwell, *Sewerage* (New York, 1936).

[2] An up-to-date discussion of the handling of the refuse problem is to be found in Donald C. Stone, *The Management of Municipal Public Works* (Chicago, 1939), Chap. XI.

pal function, by contract, or by licensing private collectors who may charge a monthly fee for the service. When wastes are used for dumping or land fill, all refuse is ordinarily collected together, and consequently it is not necessary for the householder to separate garbage from ashes and rubbish or to provide several containers. If incinerators are made use of, it is customary to require that combustibles be kept apart from non-combustibles, with a collection service for each. Of course, if a city uses its garbage for reduction purposes or for hog-feeding, the garbage is placed in a category by itself, and special arrangements are made for its collection.[1]

Frequency of Collection.—Garbage needs to be collected very frequently during hot weather, for otherwise it will decompose, cause objectionable odors, attract flies, and occasion much unpleasantness to the inhabitants of a neighborhood. During the winter time one collection per week in the North may be adequate. Time is not especially important in the collecting of ashes and rubbish, except that during very cold weather the quantity of ashes produced daily may be so great as to fill the available cans in a short time. Garbage and ashes are not very suitable for open cartage through the streets of a city, particularly during the daytime, because of the odors and dust. If daylight collection is arranged by the department of public works, closed trucks offer much greater advantages than open trucks. Some cities collect refuse during the night hours when the streets are more or less deserted. Such a plan may be superior to daylight collection, if the collectors do not bang cans around too noisily.[2]

Contracts with Private Interests to Collect Garbage.—Instead of instructing departments of public works to carry away garbage, some cities contract with private interests to perform such a service. They may pay the private collectors for their work, but, in many instances the collectors are supposed to derive enough profit from the use of the garbage to meet the attending costs. When cities do not pay for collecting of garbage, they frequently find that the

[1] See: H. S. Hersey, "Incinerators for Garbage and Refuse Disposal," *American City*, Vol. 53, p. 161 (March, 1938); and Rudolph Hering and S. A. Greeley, *The Collection and Disposal of Municipal Refuse* (New York, 1921).

[2] See: United States Public Health Service, *Municipal Wastes: Their Character, Collection, and Disposal* (Washington, 1920); W. T. Sedgwick, *Principles of Sanitary Science and Public Health* (New York, 1935); and Stewart Swift, *Sanitary Administration* (London, 1937).

service is not satisfactory, for the garbage contractor is not primarily interested in serving the citizens; he wants to make as great a profit as possible out of his contract. During hot weather he may decide that weekly collections will suffice, although if he uses the garbage for feeding hogs, he may be impelled to collect oftener. Being interested in profits private contractors do not like to call at houses where the quantity of garbage is not great, and consequently drivers very conveniently forget such houses on many occasions. If a city decides to farm out the handling of its garbage, it certainly would do well to specify the frequency of collections and other pertinent items. Moreover, inspection is needed to see that the contractor lives up to the contract terms.

DISPOSAL OF GARBAGE

As Feed for Hogs.—The most common method of disposing of garbage involves the feeding of hogs if private collections are taken into account.[1] Small cities, in so far as they collect garbage at all, almost invariably use it for such a purpose or for dumping, and medium size cities commonly get rid of some or all of their garbage in such fashion. Large cities may be so located and have such vast quantities of garbage that hog feeding does not offer an adequate outlet, but, nevertheless, some large cities do depend, at least to some extent, upon such a method of disposal. Cities have experimented with their own hog farms, although in many cases the garbage goes to privately owned farms. If cities collect the garbage themselves and do not maintain their own hogs, they may expect payment for garbage; otherwise the hog owners themselves perform the service.

Such a method of disposing of garbage is open to serious question, for the United States Public Health Service has recently discovered that garbage-fed pork is the major source of widespread trichinosis and condemns the practice without reservation. Moreover, other problems arise out of such a method. In the first place, if the hogs are kept near the city, residents are likely to suffer—the odors wafted by breezes from the hog farms are anything but pleasant. In the second place, care must be taken by the house-

[1] Worcester, Massachusetts, has been unusually pleased with this method of disposing of garbage. For a report from Worcester see: Lent D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), p. 463.

holders in preparing their garbage for collection. No broken glass or pieces of metal may be thrown into garbage cans, for such substances play havoc with the hogs that often do not have the sense to refuse to eat them.[1]

Filling or Dumping.—Frequently cities use garbage to fill in low land, although garbage does not make a very satisfactory filler, especially where any buildings are contemplated. Usually it will require sometime before the garbage has ceased to give off offensive odors even though covered over with earth. Seaboard cities have been fond in many instances of loading their garbage on scows and towing it out to sea to be dumped. The difficulty here is that the tides may carry the lighter garbage back to shore, and the water front and the beaches may be glorified garbage dumps as a result. New York City used such a method for many years, despite the complaints of New Jersey to the effect that much of the garbage floated back to New Jersey beaches. Finally, in desperation New Jersey resorted to legal action to compel New York City to desist and won an order from the Supreme Court of the United States compelling New York City to construct garbage-disposal plants.

GARBAGE-DISPOSAL PLANTS

Reduction Type.—The large cities of the United States are increasingly depending upon garbage-disposal plants.[2] These plants fall into two categories: reduction and incineration. Reduction plants require a population of 100,000 or more to support them. Garbage contains approximately three per cent grease or fat, and by cooking it or treating it with solvents under a dry process, much of this grease can be extracted and sold. The product which remains may be used as a fertilizer. The cooking process invariably produces unpleasant odors which ruin the neighborhood for residential purposes, but the dry process is less objectionable in this respect. When prices of fat are high and there is a demand for low-grade fertilizer, cities can sometimes do

[1] See: C. H. Kibbey, *The Principles of Sanitation* (Philadelphia, 1927); and United States Public Health Service, *Municipal Wastes: Their Character, Collection and Disposal* (Washington, 1920).

[2] For an informing study of the problem in one city see: Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Report on the Organization of the Garbage and Street-Cleaning Division of Detroit* (Detroit, 1924).

reasonably well with reduction plants. Many cities have built reduction plants only to shut them down or even abandon them entirely after a few years—as a matter of fact, only a few plants have been regularly in operation during the last two or three decades.

Incinerators.—Incinerators are less costly in the first place, as a rule, and can be built in several localities so as to reduce the haul. Large cities use them to a considerable extent. Incinerators make no profit, but they dispose of garbage in a more sanitary method and largely avoid the objectionable odors incident to the reduction plants. Low-temperature incinerators apply the principles of the ordinary fire and in general have not proved very satisfactory. High-temperature incinerators achieve a temperature of 1200 degrees Fahrenheit and require less fuel, less labor, and less space. In addition, they completely destroy the garbage and any odor.

ASHES AND RUBBISH

Disposal of Ashes.—Ashes make a reasonably satisfactory material for filling, and consequently cities which have marshes, swamps, or shallow adjoining lake or ocean areas can make good use of their ashes. Both New York City and Chicago have reclaimed large areas of water-front land which have added to the value of public property as well as to the attractiveness of the city. Municipal institutions have sometimes been located on such reclaimed land, and parks, beaches, and boulevards have often resulted. Where extensive reclamation is not possible, low-lying land, which is not suitable for building purposes, can be raised to the surrounding level.

Disposal of Rubbish.—Small cities ordinarily provide dumps where rubbish may be piled. The amount of rubbish in such cities over a period of years may not be great enough to constitute much of a problem, but these small-city dumps often constitute eyesores. When they are abandoned, no effort is made in many cases to cover them up or otherwise conceal them. Larger cities also often maintain dumps, but before they abandon rubbish, they sometimes sort it over to reclaim metal, rubber, rags, paper, wood, and other saleable items. If the municipal authorities do not salvage valuable articles, volunteers are usually not lacking in a large city. A visit

to such a dump will find a number of people busily examining all the recent additions, with the purpose of salvaging anything of value. Fires are often started—this may not be done deliberately—to burn whatever is combustible.

As low land is filled by a rubbish dump, cities will sometimes cover the unsightly heap with earth, and while such land may not be suitable for many uses, it is at least not an eyesore. Rubbish may be added to ashes and the mixture used as a filler, but such a practice is not very satisfactory. It may be combined with garbage in an incinerator. Combustible rubbish is consumed, but tin cans and metals do not fare so well. A variety of methods may often be used to advantage in disposing of rubbish after the loads have been sorted out.[1]

The Cost of Sanitation and Removal of Wastes.—Cities spend substantial sums of money every year for sanitation and waste removal. In large cities approximately three dollars per capita is devoted to such purposes each year, and very large cities spend considerably more than fairly large cities. For example, in 1943, the average of all cities over 1,000,000 amounted to $3.32 per capita, but cities in the 100,000–250,000 group spent an average of $2.28 per capita annually, and cities in the 25,000–50,000 group $1.76 per capita.[2] The variation among individual cities is very great: some cities spend almost twenty times as much per capita for this function as others. But here again statistics of individual cities, particularly when covering only a single year, are not too significant.[3]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Public Works Association, *Proposed Sewer Specifications* (Chicago, 1938).

American Public Works Association, *Public Engineers' Yearbook*, published annually in Chicago.

Bevan, E. V., and Rees, B. T., *Sewers; Theory, Design, Specification, and Construction* (London, 1938).

Clay, H. H., *The Sanitary Inspector's Handbook* (London, 1937).

[1] For a discussion of one method of disposal see: H. S. Hersey, "Incinerators for Garbage and Refuse Disposal," *American City*, Vol. 53, p. 161 (March, 1938).

[2] *City Finances, 1943*, p. 5.

[3] Statistics in this field are not very satisfactory because some cities spend little or nothing for garbage and rubbish collection, but depend upon private collectors who charge a fee to householders.

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Report on the Organization of the Garbage and Street-Cleaning Division of Detroit* (Detroit, 1924).

Ehlers, V. M., and Steel, E. W., *Municipal and Rural Sanitation* (rev. ed., New York, 1943).

Folwell, A. P., *Sewerage* (New York, 1936).

Herring, Frank W., annual articles on "Public Works," in *The Municipal Year Book.*

Hewes, Harry, "1500 Sewage Projects Studied by Federal Works Agency," *Sewage Works Engineering*, Vol. XVII, p. 156 (March, 1946).

Imhoff, Karl, and Fair, G. M., *Sewage Treatment* (New York, 1940).

International Association of Public Works Officials, *The Measurement and Control of Municipal Sanitation* (Chicago, 1930).

Keefer, C. E., *Sewage-Treatment Works; Administration and Operation* (New York, 1940).

Kneier, C. M., *Illustrative Materials in Municipal Government and Administration* (New York, 1939), Chap. XVIII.

Metcalf, Leonard, and Eddy, H. P., *American Sewerage in Practice* (New York, 1936).

Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), Chaps. XX–XXIII, XLII.

Payrow, H. G., *Sanitary Engineering; Water Supply, Sewerage, Water, and Sewage Treatment* (Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1941).

Ridley, Clarence E., *The Public Works Department in American Cities* (New York, 1929).

Sedgwick, W. T., *Principles of Sanitary Science and Public Health* (New York, 1935).

Steel, E. W., *Water Supply and Sewerage* (London, 1938).

Stone, Donald C., *The Management of Municipal Public Works* (Chicago, 1939).

Swift, Stewart, *Sanitary Administration* (London, 1937).

University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Garbage Collection and Disposal* (Seattle, Washington, 1945).

XXV

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Departmental Organization.—"Public utilities" is a somewhat ambiguous term; consequently the exact municipal functions that may be included under such a heading vary according to the city which does the classifying. Power and light, gas, street railways, rapid transit, buses, and ferries are commonly regarded as public utilities. Water may be placed in such a class, or it may be regarded as more closely related to public works. Wharves and docks, public markets, and municipal airports also find themselves variously classified.

A study of twenty-five cities, varying in population from slightly over 30,000 to more than two million, revealed a considerable diversity in municipal practices.[1] Eight of the cities gave water its own department, while five placed it in a department of public utilities. Light and power fell to departments of public utilities in five instances and to supervisors of public utilities in two additional cities. Two cities regarded power and light as properly belonging to public safety, and two others placed such a function directly under the city manager. Street railways were grouped with departments of public utilities in three cities and under supervisors of public utilities in two other cities, but three cities handled such a function through the city council, and three additional cities gave such a responsibility to the city manager.

Public markets were grouped by the twenty-five cities under eight different departments, while rapid transit was not given attention at all in fifteen of the cities and belonged to departments of public utilities in only two cases. Gas was grouped with departments of public utilities in five cities and under supervisors of public utilities in two cities. Bus lines were placed by three cities in each of the following: department of public utility, department

[1] Clarence E. Ridley, *The Public Works Department in American Cities* (New York, 1929), table II.

of public safety, and the city council. Only one city operated municipal ferries, and these were put in charge of the department of wharves, docks, and ferries. Four out of the twenty-five cities provided wharves and docks, and all handled them differently from the standpoint of administrative organization.

Tendency toward Single Commissioner Type of Organization.—Whatever department may be given the responsibility of administering these functions, there is a distinct tendency toward placing them under a single commissioner rather than a board. In general, all of these functions involve prompt and unified action rather than the adoption of policies, and for that reason a single commissioner offers advantages over a board or commission.

WATER

Almost all cities make an effort to provide water for their citizens from a central system, unless a private company has taken over such a service. During the last two decades there has been a substantial increase in the number of municipal water works especially in small cities. All cities of over 500,000 own their water works, and 21 of 23 cities in the 250,000–500,000 class report municipal systems. Out of 2,033 cities with population over 5,000 68 per cent own their water supply and distribution facilities.[1]

Public versus Private Ownership.—While there may be a question in the minds of many people as to whether municipal ownership of public utilities is desirable, few look with disfavor on municipal water plants. Dr. L. D. Upson goes so far as to say that "Public ownership is almost taken for granted in the field of water supply." [2] Where water plants are privately owned, it is probable that there will be more or less constant controversy over rates and service. On the whole, cities have found it possible to furnish water at a smaller cost to the consumer than private companies. In as much as an adequate supply of cheap water is very important in relation to good health, as well as to the general attractiveness and comfort of a city, the mere matter of cost alone points in the direction of public ownership. Nevertheless, a considerable number of cities for one reason or another have not as yet acquired such ownership.

[1] An additional 6.2 per cent owned water distribution facilities only in 1945.
[2] *Practice of Municipal Administration*, p. 505.

USES OF WATER

Household.—The amount of water required per capita is far beyond the expectation of the average citizen. Water consumption varies considerably from city to city, but it usually runs from one hundred to two hundred gallons per person every day. Obviously this is a very large quantity and causes cities of the United States to stand out in contrast to cities in other countries where the consumption is almost always very much less.

To some extent, the situation in cities of the United States is the result of extravagance, for a great many people look upon water as something furnished by nature in inexhaustible quantities and without charge. In their eyes it ranks with air and sunshine, and consequently they use far more than they really need. However, this trait does not alone explain the greater water consumption of cities in the United States, for large quantities are used for such things, as sprinkling lawns. To begin with, domestic water consumption does not account for the bulk of the water used in many cities. Even in the high class residential districts domestic water consumption will usually not exceed fifty or sixty gallons per person per day, while in very poor sections the daily per-capita consumption may fall to no more than ten gallons.[1]

Commercial and Industrial Uses of Water.—If cities are highly industrialized, particularly if they go in for textiles, power plants, paper munufacturing, and kindred industries, very large amounts of water will be required for industrial use. In small cities virtually no water may be needed for such purposes, but in certain cities well over half of all the water will be used by industrial establishments. Railroads use very large quantities in some cities and sometimes top the list among all consumers.[2]

Air-cooling devices have increased the demand for water beyond the limits of supply in some cities. In Indianapolis, for example, which has approximately one hundred such systems in stores, theatres, and office buildings, something like twenty per cent of the water consumed in the entire city goes for air-cooling plants. It should be explained that water for air cooling does not always come

[1] For a general discussion see: D. M. Baker and Harold Conkling, *Water Supply and Utilization* (New York, 1930).

[2] In Boston the Boston and Maine Railroad is one of the chief consumers of water.

from the water mains of a city. This water may be too warm in the summer to be of much use, and consequently the owners of air-cooling systems sink wells where ground water is available to obtain a water supply which has a temperature of about fifty-five degrees. But the consumption of this water ordinarily affects the supply of water available for municipal use, even if it does not come from the water mains directly. Air cooling has concerned some cities because of the burdens added to drainage systems.[1]

Public Uses of Water.—Fire departments depend upon water for fighting fires, but they use less than is commonly imagined. Probably, as a rule, they account for well under two per cent of the total consumption. Many cities use water to flush streets and sewers, and considerable quantities may be used in some cities for sprinkling streets to keep down the dust. Where municipal docks are in operation, very large quantities of water may be required for ships; at times one of the largest single consumers of water will be a steamship line. Public buildings, including schools, use fairly large amounts of water, while in arid climates much water may have to be used for irrigating parks and public lawns. No reliable statistics are available as to the proportion of water used for public purposes, for such water is not metered as a rule. The great variation among cities, depending upon geographical location and general type, makes even an estimate difficult.[2]

Waste.—Large quantities of water may be wasted in some cities because of leaky mains, bad pumps, inadequate plumbing, running of taps to prevent freezing in the winter, and general carelessness on the part of the consumers. A certain amount of seepage is unavoidable because it is not apparent to the eye, but some cities pursue a careless policy when it comes to maintaining the mains in good condition. Leaks, which allow thousands of gallons to escape every day, will remain unattended to for days or weeks.

The quantity of water allowed to run down the sewers during a

[1] For a general discussion of the problem in one city see: M. R. White, *Water Supply Organization in the Chicago Region* (Chicago, 1934). It may be noted that while Indianapolis air-cooling systems do not draw on the water mains, Chicago, New York, Detroit, and other large cities present a different picture, with the water mains being depended upon.

[2] For interesting discussions of water use in English cities see: H. C. Adams, *Waterworks for Urban and Rural Districts* (London, 1938); and E. W. Steel, *Water Supply and Sewerage* (London, 1938).

cold night in the winter may be very great in a northern city; in the small hours of the night water consumption may actually surpass the rate of consumption during the daylight hours when people are using water for legitimate purposes.

It has been estimated that as much as half of the water provided in some cities is wasted or otherwise lost, and in almost any city the wastage will account for a considerable portion of all the water produced. This problem is of increasingly great importance as many cities approach the limits of their supply and find that additional water in large amounts will require the expenditure of huge sums of money for land acquisition, construction of many miles of mains, and the building of reservoirs.[1]

SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY

Wells.—Many small cities and some large ones depend upon wells for all or part of their water supply. These wells may be deep or shallow; occasionally artesian wells may be drilled, but, as a rule, water has to be pumped. If the ground water is available in large quantities and if it is not unduly hard, such a source may be very satisfactory. Unless the water comes from very shallow wells, this water requires no purification, at least beyond chlorination, and can be circulated directly through the mains. Moreover, well water may enable the citizens to enjoy a somewhat lower temperature during hot weather than water drawn from most other sources.[2]

Lakes and Rivers.—If cities are located on fresh-water lakes or on rivers whose water is not too polluted or hard, they may depend upon such sources for their water supply. The cities on the Great Lakes frequently draw their water from such a source, while St. Louis, and New Orleans depend upon the Mississippi River. Several cities along the Ohio and Missouri Rivers tap these rivers, despite the fact that their water is usually badly polluted and sometimes very muddy. Cities situated near mountains often find small mountain streams a very good source of water. This

[1] For a good discussion of this problem see: Alfred D. Flinn, R. S. Weston, and C. L. Bogert, *Waterworks Handbook* (New York, 1927); and W. A. Hardenbergh, *Water Supply and Purification* (Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1938).

[2] For a good discussion of water supply see: H. E. Babbitt and James J. Doland *Water Supply Engineering* (New York, 1931); and W. H. Maxwell, *Water Supply Problems and Developments* (New York, 1935).

water is likely to be cold even in the summer months and rarely presents the pollution problem that large rivers do.

Watersheds.—Wells do not provide sufficient water where the demands are great, and no lakes or rivers may be available as sources. In such cases cities may find it necessary to acquire comparatively large tracts of land for the collection of water. New York City, Boston, Portland, Oregon, and Baltimore are among the large cities that derive most of their water supply from such sources. In order to make use of such a scheme land must be obtained where the rainfall is reasonably heavy, the inhabitants must be sparsely settled in the district, and sanitary policing must be provided to prevent undue contamination. Dams or reservoirs must be constructed for collecting the water and holding it until such a time as it is needed; ordinarily water is collected in large quantities during the winter and spring months and released during the entire year. Suitable areas may be difficult to find near a city, and consequently mains will have to be constructed to carry the water for long distances.

Qualities of Good Water.—Except in the case of some deep-well water, very little untreated water available to a city possesses the qualities which good water should have.[1] The first quality of satisfactory water is relative freedom from bacterial contamination, for no matter what other qualities water may have, it is not satisfactory if *B. coli* exist, for their presence indicates sewage pollution. Pathogenic bacteria should not be present at all. Good water is also free from color; while an amber tint derived from leaves may not be dangerous to public health, it makes water offensive to many people. Perhaps more important is the damage that colored water may inflict on the products of certain plants, such as laundries. Turbid water may not be objectionable from the standpoint of health, but few domestic consumers will cheerfully tolerate suspended mud or sandy particles.

Good water possesses neither unpleasant odors nor bad taste, but it is not necessary that it should be tasteless. Lawrence of Arabian fame drew the line quite eloquently between tasteless water and water of pleasant taste.[2] Water with a sulphurous taste

[1] For a good statement as to the qualities of water see: L. D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), p. 490.

[2] See: his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (New York, 1935), p. 258.

is not acceptable to most people. Algae may cause much trouble during the summer months; the water may be pure, but the staleness caused by the presence of algae renders the water unpalatable. Calcium and magnesium carbonates and sulphates cause some of the water available to cities to be so hard that it is not suitable for industrial uses and is of doubtful value for domestic purposes. Finally, there is the matter of temperature. While not of primary importance, it is desirable to have water cool during hot weather.

PURIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WATER

Treatment of Water.—In order to provide a water supply with reasonably good qualities, most cities have to treat their water. Where there is too great hardness, lime and sodium carbonate may be used to precipitate some of the objectionable content. Iron and manganese which cause discoloration and offensive taste are reduced by aerating water, but little can be done to remove salt from water—it has been said that purification processes can remove anything but salt and politics. Nor can a city hope to do much in the way of lowering the temperature of unpleasantly warm water. Suspended particles of earth and sand can usually be removed to some degree by plain sedimentation, although where clay is contained in a colloidal form, agglomeration or coagulation will be necessary. Certain chemicals added to such water will cause a gelatinous precipitate which in settling to the bottom will rid the water of much of the clay—alum and sulphate of iron are commonly used for such a purpose.[1]

Removal of Bacterial and Organic Contamination.—The most serious problem of treating water involves the removal of bacterial and organic contamination. Aeration is employed to reduce organic contamination and has some beneficial effect upon bacterial content. Open reservoirs are effective aerators if the problem is not very serious. In case this is not sufficient, oxygen must either be added to the water by force, or the water must be sprayed through mechanical devices which expose it to oxygen in the air. A simple method of reducing the bacterial content involves the

[1] For good discussions of water purification see: J. W. Ellms, *Water Purification* (New York, 1928); M. F. Stein, *Water Purification Plants and Their Operation* (New York, 1926); and United States Public Health Service, *Studies of the Efficiency of Water Purificatio Processes*, by H. W. Streeter (Washington, 1928).

addition of liquid chlorine or a chemical which produces chlorine. At one time chloride of lime was frequently made use of, but more recently liquid chlorine has been substituted. This method is not very expensive and involves no complicated process, but, it cannot be depended upon alone where the bacterial content is high.

Filtration.—During the last half a century cities have depended quite largely upon filtration for removing bacteria from water. Slow sand filters, covering anywhere from one-half an acre to an acre and a half, permit the raw water to seep through sand, gravel, and broken stone. The top layer, consisting of several feet of sand, is the most important and requires periodic cleaning. Odors and tastes may not be eliminated by the slow filter. Nor can it be successfully employed where the bacterial contamination is too great. Rapid or mechanical filters can take care of from 125 to 250 million gallons of water per acre per day. The beds are smaller and require a periodic backflow of clean water to wash out the dirt that has accumulated in the sand layer. Coagulation and sedimentation precede rapid filtration to agglomerate the sediment and make the entire process feasible.

Distributing Water.—Reservoirs or standpipes must be constructed to store water after it has been treated, for cities have to keep on hand a supply sufficient to last at least a short time in case anything happens to the source of supply or the treatment devices. Water has to be delivered to the mains under pressure, either by pumps or by force of gravity, as in New York City, for example. Large cities sometimes have high- and low-pressure systems. The residential districts can get along with pressures of thirty pounds per square inch, while downtown sections, with their higher buildings, require fifty pounds pressure. High-pressure systems in large cities, which are used for fire protection in business districts, may carry pressure to the extent of three hundred pounds per square inch, but these high-pressure systems usually do not draw on the treated water supply of a city. They are frequently not a part of the water department at all and fall under the care of the fire department.

Various types of pipes have been employed in the past to distribute water from storage facilities to consumers, but at present the ordinary main is made of cast iron. Unless interior deposit, called tuberculation, reduces their capacity, cast-iron pipes under

reasonably favorable conditions have a life of approximately one hundred years.[1]

Meters versus Flat Charges.—At one time cities frequently furnished water to consumers at a flat rate.[2] Domestic consumers paid so much per month, per quarter, or per year, sometimes based on the size of the house or the number of occupants of the house. This plan encourages adequate use of water, and lawns and gardens are likely to be more popular under such an arrangement than where meters are installed. On the other hand, a flat charge encourages waste and extravagance, for a householder will not bother to keep fires going during a cold winter night when he can protect his pipes at the expense of the city by turning on the faucet. Meters are being increasingly used by cities, although in some cases the flat charge still remains in effect. Under a meter system a minimum rate is usually fixed, and all subscribers must pay that, but above the minimum consumption the amount of the bill depends upon the quantity of water used. Large users may be given more favorable rates than small consumers.

ELECTRIC POWER AND LIGHT

A few cities have been very enthusiastic supporters of municipal electric-light plants. However, in general municipal ownership of electric plants has made nothing like the headway among cities of the United States that it has made among European cities. Approximately fifty per cent of the power and light plants in the United States are publicly owned and operated, but for the most part these plants are small affairs. Municipal plants have not much over five per cent of the total number of customers and generate something less than five per cent of the power.[3] In 1946, 265, or 13.0 per cent, of 2,033 cities over 5,000 population owned and operated electric generating and distributing utilities; 168, or 8.3 per cent, of these same cities owned and operated distributing facilities only.

[1] See: A. P. Folwell, *Water Supply Engineering* (New York, 1917).

[2] On the use of meters see: Allen Hazen, *Meter Rates for Water Works* (New York, 1919).

[3] National Resource Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 43. For discussions of the experience of certain cities see: E. J. Kenealy, *The Municipal Light Plant* (Cleveland, 1935); and R. A. Egger and J. E. Gates, *Municipal Ownership of Electric Undertakings in Virginia* (University of Virginia, 1937). Also see: Federal Power Commission, *Rates, Taxes, and Consumer Savings—Publicly and Privately Owned Electric Utilities, 1935–1937* (Washington, 1939), p. 4.

Numerous cities either have already contracted with the Tennessee Valley Authority to purchase electricity or are contemplating such arrangements. These cities do not generate power, but they do own and maintain distributing systems within the city limits. In most cases they attempt to buy the facilities of the private companies which have provided electric current. The Public Works Administration, under Secretary Ickes, gave a noticeable impetus to municipal ownership of electric utilities. Grants and loans were extended to a number of cities either to buy out private utilities or to construct competing municipal systems if the private utilities refused to sell or asked too high a price. The building of great public dams on the Colorado River and Columbia River provide a source of cheap electric power which has also encouraged neighboring cities to enter the electric power and light field.[1]

Cities as Agencies of the Federal Government.—Where cities enter into contract with an agency of the federal government, they frequently must agree to charge no more than a certain price for electric current. T.V.A., for example, desires to increase the use of electricity for household purposes other than lighting. By keeping the rate at a low level consumers are encouraged to buy electric stoves, water heaters, refrigerators, and many other devices. To some extent, cities become the experimental agents of the national government when they enter such a field as contractors with T.V.A. or some other federal project.

MISCELLANEOUS UTILITIES

Gas.—The number of cities owning and operating their own gas plants is small. Out of 2,033 cities with over 5,000 inhabitants, 44 maintain gas manufacturing and distributing utilities and an additional 40 distributing facilities only. For the most part, the cities engaged in the gas business have less than 25,000 inhabitants, although Philadelphia is a glaring exception. Unlike the electric power and light field there seems to be little prospect of any con-

[1] For a general discussion of municipal electric operations see: H. B. Dorau, *The Changing Character and Extent of Municipal Ownership in the Electric Light and Power Industry* (Chicago, 1929). See: also D. F. Wilcox, *The Administration of Municipally Owned Utilities* (New York, 1931); F. L. Bird, *The Management of Small Municipal Lighting Plants* (New York, 1932); E. C. Macmahon, *Municipal Electric Plant Managers* (New York, 1934); and National Electric Light Association, *Political Ownership and the Electric Light and Power Industry* (New York, 1925).

siderable increase in municipal activity in the gas business.

Transportation Facilities.—Only eleven out of 2,033 cities with populations over 5,000 own their street railways, while 33 own and operate bus or trolley bus lines.[1] San Francisco, Seattle, and Detroit have been most active in street-railway management, but at times almost every large city has become excited over municipal ownership of transportation facilities. Especially when rate increases have been imminent or service particularly poor, the citizens have agitated for municipal ownership and operation, and candidates for public office have embodied such planks in their platforms in such cities, as New York, Detroit, San Francisco, and Chicago. However, there is little to show for all the talk. The records of the municipal street railways have been only fairly satisfactory. The legal obstacles, to say nothing of the financial and labor problems, have prevented cities in even fair numbers from embarking upon such enterprises.[2] Chicago has displayed perhaps the greatest interest in this field recently, with elaborate plans for integrating its transportation facilities including the "El" and surface lines.

Rapid Transit.—The amount of capital required for rapid transit systems is so great and the profits earned by private companies are so small that municipal activity along such lines promises more than in the street-railway business. New York City has spent many millions of dollars in constructing fifty-three miles of municipal subways, and as a result of extended negotiations has finally also acquired the well-known I.R.T. and B.M.T. systems. By unifying these with the municipal subways already in operation and under construction New York City can claim one of the outstanding rapid-transit systems in the world.[3]

Chicago, with the assistance of a grant of $18,000,000 from the P.W.A., has constructed a much-needed subway under its congested Loop.[4] Boston has a combined system of subways and street-

[1] For an interesting discussion of transit see: H. Bartholomew, "Fitting Transit to the City," *American City*, Vol. 53, p. 59 (January, 1938).

[2] See: American Transit Association, *The Urban Transportation Problem* (New York, 1932); and D. F. Wilcox, *San Francisco's Street Railway Problem* (San Francisco, 1927).

[3] Negotiations for the B.M.T. properties were completed in June, 1939, and called for payment of $175,000,000 in three-per-cent bonds. See: *New York Times*, June 28, 1939.

[4] The subway was completed and placed in operation during the early nineteen-forties after predictions had been made that the lake shore would not permit a subway.

car lines which is operated by a state-appointed commission. The street-car lines are privately owned, but the subways themselves are largely public property. Philadelphia is another example of a city which has entered the under-surface rapid-transit field, but does not operate the service.

Wharves and Docks.—Something like 80 cities located on the seaboard have interested themselves in public wharves and docks.[1] In New Orleans most of the docks are controlled by the powerful dock board which is under state control. New York City has provided docks for many years, but has recently been particularly active in this field. Some of the most modern docks in the world have been constructed by New York City for use of the giant trans-Atlantic liners, though the war years saw a considerable obsolescence take place. Instead of locating these huge docks in the lower part of Manhattan Island or over in Brooklyn, the dock department decided to reconstruct the water front in the vicinity of West Forty-second Street and make these facilities more convenient to the hotels and residential sections of the city. Philadelphia and other cities have entered this field in some degree. While cities own these properties, they frequently lease them to private shipping lines for a period of years, and consequently the cities themselves do not operate the docks and wharves.

Ferries.—Cities which are located on arms of a large body of water must provide transportation for people who live across the bay or across a river. In San Francisco such a service was rendered by private companies until the big bridges took away much of their business. However, New York City operates an elaborate system of municipal ferries to various points. Some of its ferries are old, but many additions of the latest type have been made during recent years. For a few cents travelers can journey for a considerable distance from Manhattan to various points in the outlying boroughs. Philadelphia is another city which engages in the ferry business.

MARKETS

Two general types of public markets are operated by cities in the United States. In foreign countries the market movement has

[1] In 1945 exactly 80 cities were reported as owning and operating port facilities. See *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 49.

reached a much more advanced stage, with consequent greater diversification. In the United States the wholesale market, where farmers bring their produce to be disposed of to retail merchants, serves the greatest need, and, in addition, there is the retail market where farmers and others sell to the consumer.

Wholesale Markets.—The wholesale market is very important because it is an integral part of the process of distribution. Merchants cannot conveniently visit the numerous farms to purchase their vegetables, fruit, chickens, and eggs; nor can farmers very well set up stores where merchants can come to buy. What is needed is a place near the wholesale produce district where farmers can bring their wares and retail merchants can select what they want. The city is the logical agency for providing facilities to bring the farmer and the retailer together. Small fees can be levied against farmers for the use of the stalls or space. Such markets usually open from five to six or six-thirty o'clock in the morning and close before noon, except on Saturdays when an afternoon market may be justifiable.[1]

Retail Markets.—The retail market has lost ground during recent years in most localities. When grocery and food stores paid comparatively little attention to fresh vegetables, householders found it advantageous to make their purchases at public markets, but now they can get a good variety near their residences. Moreover, the chain stores have reduced prices to such an extent that farm products cannot be offered in public retail markets at prices appreciably lower. The enclosed type of municipal market has suffered especially during recent years, for rental of space is fairly high and the concessionnaires can only with difficulty compete with the ordinary stores. Many of the renters in these enclosed markets are not farmers at all, but do about the same type of business ordinarily carried on by a small retail merchant.

Despite the lack of success of enclosed retail markets cities continue to invest large sums of money in them. Newark, New Jersey put something like five million dollars in such a structure several years ago and has found that the venture is largely a failure.

Small cities especially find it desirable to provide simple open-stall or curb markets. Retailers in small cities offer an inadequate

[1] For more details on this problem see: A. E. Goodwin, *Markets, Public and Private—Their Establishment and Administration* (Seattle, 1929).

market to farmers who come in town to shop on Saturdays. A centrally located place where farmers can bring their products and display them to interested persons serves a useful purpose; otherwise they may use the main streets for that purpose or be forced to peddle their goods from house to house. These market spaces need to be situated very near the shopping district, else it will be difficult to attract possible purchasers.

AIRPORTS

Popularity among Cities.—There was a veritable craze during the nineteen-thirties in the direction of building municipal airports. By 1936 the number had reached approximately 750. Cities of three or four thousand inhabitants or less joined the procession and invested their small funds in airports, while New York City, at the other extreme, spent many million dollars on several airports which provide facilities for both land and water craft. Many of these small cities could scarcely justify an expenditure of money for such a purpose; the demand for their facilities was frequently almost nil, and the cities had only enough money to purchase land and make the simplest improvements. The result was a contraction of municipally-owned air ports. In 1945, 209 cities with populations over 10,000 owned and operated airports.[1] Large cities, it may be noted, have discovered that airports rank among the public improvements which they must provide. A postwar federal-aid program has given impetus to such activity.

During the early years of popularizing travel by air, private as well as municipal airports sprang up in large numbers, but increasingly the municipal airports have received the bulk of the traffic, and private airports have frequently languished. The early airports had many faults because city authorities constructed them more or less without experience, and then, too, the size of aeroplanes has increased so rapidly that larger spaces and more elaborate facilities are necessary.[2] Many of the early airports have had to be reconstructed or abandoned entirely, while cities such as New York have expended many millions developing new projects.

[1] See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 49.

[2] For a good discussion of the general problem of airports see: Public Administration Service, *The Airport Dilemma* (Chicago, 1941).

SOME ESSENTIALS OF AN ADEQUATE MUNICIPAL AIRPORT

Convenient Location.—Many municipal airports have not been conveniently located; it has been difficult to get to them from the other transportation depots or from the downtown sections of a city. While there is a place for the pleasure plane, the primary purpose of a municipal airport at present seems to be more utilitarian, and as long as this is the case, the location from the standpoint of the passengers is very important. Some municipal airports have been located so far away from the center of the city that any time saved in the actual air passage was consumed in getting to or from the airport to an ultimate destination. It must be admitted that it is not easy for a large city to provide adequate space near the center of the city, for space is very expensive and vacant areas of sufficient size may not exist. Cities located on large bodies of water can sometimes solve this problem by filling in shallow water front and constructing thereon airports.[1] These cities can also provide landing facilities for amphibian craft without great difficulty.[2]

Freedom from Hazards.—Although to the layman convenience ranks first among the qualities of a good municipal airport, other factors doubtless bulk larger in the eyes of the air pilots. Fog continues to be a menace to air craft, especially when landing, despite the great progress made in blind flying. Some areas of cities have more fog than others. Land located near marshes or rivers may be much worse than some other sites. Neighboring high-tension electric wires or other similar obstacles have been responsible for several serious accidents. As far as possible, the municipal airport should not be located near radio masts, tall buildings, bluffs, smoke stacks, water towers, or other obstructions of this kind.

Wind constancy plays an important part in safe air traffic. Valleys where gusts of wind sweep down at frequent intervals are not suitable for airports; a sheltered location or a site where the

[1] North Beach Airport in New York may be cited as an example. This airport may be reached by car in twenty minutes from midtown New York. See: *New York Times*, September 2, 1938.

[2] For an interesting discussion of airport size see: Fred D. Fagg, Jr., "The Problem of Airport Size," *Journal of Air Law*, October, 1937.

wind is fairly constant is more satisfactory. Smoke may rank with fog as a menace in those cities where smog is a problem. Areas free from heavy industry may prove more satisfactory than industrial sections. Well drained land is desirable, especially in those cities where the annual rainfall is great, and, of course, the surface of the land needs to be as level as possible. These requirements are more or less technical in nature and consequently beyond the ability of the ordinary municipal official to determine. Where cities anticipate any considerable investment, it is not only wise, but essential, that they employ experts to advise them in choosing and laying out the municipal airport.

Airport Rating.—One large city drafted a table to assist it in choosing a satisfactory site for an airport.[1] Out of 100 points it rated freedom from fog 15 points; freedom from bad air currents (as tested by flights) 10 points; area of site (with 250 acres required) 10 points; shape of site 5 points; approaches and surroundings 8 points; favorable prevailing winds 5 points; proposed neighborhood developments 4 points; possibility of expansion 4 points; accessibility to air routes 10 points; proximity to center of population 10 points; distance from railroad 4 points; distance from post office 10 points; and distance from aircraft factories 5 points.[2] It is probable that more attention would be given to size of site at present or at least to the possibility of adding to the area.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

The discussion of public utilities thus far has been based upon the assumption that cities own and operate or own or operate the utilities. It will be apparent that although much progress has been made in the direction of municipal ownership of water plants, wharves and docks, and airports and some progress in electric light and power, markets, ferries, and rapid transit, there has been comparatively little municipal ownership of other utilities. Certainly in comparison with cities in foreign countries cities of the

[1] Sacramento, California. Detroit also drafted a table based on 100 points. For a valuable discussion of these and other items see: A. F. Macdonald, "Airport Problems of American Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 151, entire issue of March, 1930.

[2] See: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 151, p. 229 (March, 1930).

United States make a poor showing as far as municipal ownership is concerned.[1]

Objections to Municipal Ownership.—Public ownership smacks of socialism in the eyes of large numbers of people who live in cities of the United States. One of the most tenacious beliefs of the ordinary business man or employe is that business should be in private hands. Public ownership is, therefore, regarded with great hostility and suspicion as a matter of principle. Public ownership makes the government paternalistic and bureaucratic, it is argued, and such a state of affairs should be definitely avoided.

The actual experience of some cities with municipal ownership has not been happy; political bosses and machines have fastened upon the utilities like leeches and refused to allow anything like a satisfactory administration.[2] The Philadelphia Gas Ring is cited as an example of the role that municipal ownership can play in giving sustenance for many years to a political machine. The docks in New York City offered Tammany Hall at one time a very handsome support.

Many of these utilities require technical experts for their successful operation, and there has been a feeling that cities could not recruit such assistance—if indeed they made any effort to do so. It is maintained that service rendered by municipal utilities is inferior to that of private utilities. Some critics argue that municipal utilities lead to deficits that have to be made up out of taxes. Acquisition of such property involves large financing, and there are those who fear to have the city shoulder such additional burdens. Labor troubles may be augmented under municipal ownership, according to some of those who oppose such a system.[3]

Advantages of Municipal Ownership.—In contrast to the critics who claim that costs will be greater and service poorer under municipal ownership, advocates of such a scheme maintain that rates will be cut materially and service improved very considerably. These supporters point to the experience of several cities which have done so well with their municipal utilities that they have either not had to levy general property taxes at all or could fix

[1] See: H. W. Laidler, *Public Ownership Here and Abroad, Before, During, and After the War* (New York, 1923).

[2] See: Chester C. Maxey, *Readings in Municipal Government* (New York, 1924), pp. 158–159.

[3] See: Austin F. Macdonald, *American City Government and Administration* (New York, 1937), pp. 715–737, for additional discussion of municipal ownership.

them at a very low figure.[1] Opponents will contend, on the other hand, that where rates have been lowered, it is because municipal utilities have not had to pay heavy taxes.

A recent study of the Federal Power Commission throws some light on this matter as far as electric utilities are involved. Data were gathered from 16,742 communities served by privately-owned utilities and 1,858 communities served by publicly-owned utilities. Except in places having less than 2,500 inhabitants the rates of the publicly-owned utilities were somewhat lower than those charged by the privately-owned utilities. In the case of residential service privately-owned utilities charged 31 per cent more for 25 KWH, 27 per cent more for 100 KWH, and 20 per cent more for 250 KWH in cities of 50,000 or over. In cities of 10,000 to 49,999 the corresponding figures were 11 per cent, 12 per cent, and 7 per cent, while in cities of 2,500 to 9,999 the figures were 6 per cent, 4 per cent, and minus 2 per cent. In places with less than 2,500 inhabitants rates of privately-owned utilities were lower than those charged by publicly-owned utilities in 1937 by from 4 to 22 per cent. In the case of industrial and commercial service privately-owned utilities charged from 2 to 62 per cent more than the publicly-owned utilities in communities of 2,500 or more inhabitants.

It is frequently maintained that where the rates of publicly-owned utilities are less than those of privately-owned utilities it is because the taxes of the former are either less or are not paid at all. The study of the Federal Power Commission does not substantiate such an allegation, but points out that where privately-owned utilities paid 13.2 per cent of their gross revenues out as taxes in 1936, publicly-owned utilities paid 17.3 per cent in the form of taxes and net cash contributions. Moreover, if free service is added, the figures become 13.2 per cent of gross revenues for privately-owned utilities and 25.8 per cent for publicly-owned utilities.[2]

Advocates point to cities where service is very satisfactory, and

[1] Experts are not so favorably impressed by such cases, for they point out that such a situation calls for rates that are unfair to the consumers and unduly favorable to payers of taxes. This comment was, for example, made by Mr. Frank W. Herring, executive director of the American Public Works Association.

[2] For a more detailed report of the study from which the above data are taken see: Federal Power Commission, *Rates, Taxes, and Consumer Savings—Publicly and Privately Owned Electric Utilities, 1935–1937* (Washington, 1939).

they claim that private utilities have had their day and proved themselves very short-sighted. As a result, there is nothing like the consumption of electricity that there should be to make life comfortable. These people say that only under municipal ownership can progressive management be obtained. Progressive management will look into the future and fix rates at such a low level that the consumers will be encouraged to put in all sorts of labor-saving devices that will relieve the household drudgery and make a good life more possible.

Some proponents of municipal ownership cite the weaknesses of private utilities as arguments for their cause. They point out the difficulty of adequately regulating private utilities; they refer to the evils incident to their financing; and they wax eloquent in describing the iniquitous practices of utilities in private hands as pressure groups in both city and state politics. All of these difficulties, they contend, would be obviated under a system of municipal ownership.[1]

Regulation of Privately-Owned Public Utilities.—Where cities do not own their own utilities, they at least attempt to impose certain conditions upon the privately-owned public utilities. At one time, they sought to regulate their rates, their financial practices, and other matters relating to service, but their success because of their limited power was not very impressive in this field, and consequently such control has been largely assigned to state agencies. Most states now provide public service commissions that regulate the utilities which operate in cities.

Nevertheless, cities do retain some power. Many of them still exercise the right to grant privileges at least to certain utilities—bus lines depend upon city authorities in many instances for their right to operate over city streets, and street car companies often must also obtain their franchises from cities. This enables cities to fix the frequency of operations, the obligations that the companies assume in keeping up the streets or the part of the streets which they use, and the amounts which the companies must pay into the city treasury by way of compensation for the privileges which they receive.

[1] For additional discussion of this problem see: H. W. Laidler, *Public Ownership Here and Abroad, Before, During, and After the War* (New York, 1923); C. D. Thompson, *Public Ownership* (New York, 1925); and F. L. Bird and F. M. Ryan, *Public Ownership on Trial* (New York, 1930).

Where cities have no authority over rates, they at least may send their representatives to the state public service commissions to ask for reduced rates. Moreover, by the exercise of the police power and by appealing to public opinion, cities, through their mayors, not infrequently find it possible to compel utilities to adopt a certain labor policy, improve their service, or meet the demands of the city in some other respect.[1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Transit Association, *The Urban Transportation Problem* (New York, 1932).

Baker, D. M., and Conkling, Harold, *Water Supply and Utilization* (New York, 1930).

Babbitt, H. E., and Doland, James J., *Water Supply Engineering* (rev. ed., New York, 1939).

Bird, F. L., and Ryan, F. M., *Public Ownership on Trial* (New York, 1930).

Bird, F. L., *The Management of Small Municipal Lighting Plants* (New York, 1932).

Dorau, H. B., *The Changing Character and Extent of Municipal Ownership in the Electric Light and Power Industry* (Chicago, 1929).

Ellms, J. W., *Water Purification* (New York, 1928).

Federal Power Commission, *Rates, Taxes, and Consumer Savings—Publicly and Privately Owned Electric Utilities, 1935–1937* (Washington, 1939).

Flinn, Alfred D., Weston, R. S., and Bogert, C. L., *Waterworks Handbook* (New York, 1927).

Goodwin, A. E., *Markets, Public and Private—Their Establishment and Administration* (Seattle, 1929).

Hardenbergh, W. A., *Water Supply and Purification* (Scranton, Pennsylvania, 1938).

Hubbard, H. V., McClintock, Miller, and Williams, F. B., *Airports: Their Location, Administration, and Legal Basis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1930).

Maxwell, W. H., *Water Supply Problems and Developments* (New York, 1935).

Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), Chaps. XXIX, XLI, XLIII–XLVI.

Mosher, W. E., and Crawford, F. G., *Public Utility Regulation* (New York, 1933).

Public Administration Service, *The Airport Dilemma* (Chicago, 1941).

[1] For a good discussion of this problem see: W. E. Mosher and F. G. Crawford, *Public Utility Regulation* (New York, 1933). Also see: C. M. Kneier, *State Regulation of Public Utilities in Illinois* (Chicago, 1927); C. M. Clay, *The Regulation of Public Utilities* (New York, 1932); and John Bauer, *The Effective Regulation of Public Utilities* (New York, 1925).

Stein, M. F., *Water Purification Plants and Their Operation* (New York, 1926).
Thompson, C. D., *Public Ownership* (New York, 1925).
United States Public Health Service, *Studies of the Efficiency of Water Purification Processes* (Washington, 1928).
Waterman, A. J., *Integration of Rapid Transit Facilities in the City of New York* (New York, 1943).
Waterman, Earle L., *Elements of Water Supply Engineering* (New York, 1938).
White, M. R., *Water Supply Organization in the Chicago Region* (Chicago, 1934).
Wilcox, D. F., *The Administration of Municipally Owned Utilities* (Chicago, 1931).

XXVI

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Relation of Public Schools to City Government.—Students of public administration would like to see public schools brought into an integrated relationship with city government, for they cannot fit an independent system into the orderly arrangement of agencies which they regard as logical. However, there is a widespread belief among municipal citizens that schools do not belong to the category of ordinary city departments and that they should consequently stand in a position apart from the city government. The argument in support of such a theory usually takes the form of an assertion that schools should not be tied up with politics and politicians and that an integrated arrangement condemns the schools to such subjection. Actually, there is considerable doubt whether an integrated status does necessarily mean political control. The Departments of Political Science and Education of the University of Chicago engaged over a period of several years in a study of the 191 cities in the United States having populations of 50,000 or over and arrived at the conclusion that politics plays substantially as great a role in school systems that are independent as in the integrated set-ups.[1]

As a result of the popular distrust referred to above, the majority of public schools in cities of the United States occupy a position somewhat apart from the government of their cities, although the relationship varies so widely that it is difficult to set up classes. Professors Nelson B. Henry and Jerome G. Kerwin found that school board members are chosen by popular election in 139 out of the 191 cities having populations of 50,000 or over.[2] However,

[1] The results of this significant study are reported in Nelson B. Henry and Jerome G. Kerwin, *Schools and City Government* (Chicago, 1938).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

these statistics do not tell the entire story for several reasons. In the first place, in several cities school boards are appointed by judges or state legislatures, or they are self-perpetuating, and consequently the school systems enjoy no more intimate relations with the city government than in those cities where school-board members are popularly elected.[1] In 43 cities of 50,000 or over school-board members receive their positions from city officials: in 26 cases from the mayor, in 11 from the city council or commission, and in 6 cases from miscellaneous sources.[2] Thus, in 22.6 per cent of cities of 50,000 or over school systems are clearly a part of their city government.

Financial Dependence of Schools upon City Government.—The test of real independence involves more than the method under which members of the school board are chosen, for school boards may be popularly elected without enjoying particularly full authority. And this latter situation is exactly what the University of Chicago research staff discovered in a fairly large number of cities. As a matter of fact, school budgets are sufficiently subject to city and county control to justify classing 92, or 48.2 per cent, of school systems in the 191 cities having populations of 50,000 or over as "dependent." [3] In 77 cities school boards are compelled to submit their budgets to city authorities, and in 66 of these cities the municipal agencies have the power to revise these budgets.[4]

Miscellaneous Relations between Schools and City Government.—Even in those cities where school boards exercise more or less complete control over financial matters, there may be numerous informal or formal relations between the schools and the city government. For example, the municipal health department quite frequently renders health services to the schools; the central purchasing agent assists the schools in their buying; the park board coöperates in an endeavor to provide a supervised program of recreation; and the municipal civil service commission drafts examinations for the non-teaching employes of the schools. In addition, city departments may assist in the construction and maintenance of buildings used for school purposes, the collection of school taxes, the handling of school bonds, the furnishing of library facilities, the care of

[1] Asheville, North Carolina, and Macon, Georgia, may be cited. See: *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 50–51.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

juvenile delinquents, and the giving of instruction in public safety.[1] Although these relations may not be formally provided by law, they indicate the dependence of school authorities upon city government.

The Future of the Relations between Schools and City Governments.—There is a considerable amount of evidence which would seem to indicate that schools will gradually become an integral department of city government. The experience in council-manager cities, as well as the informal relations noted above in large numbers of cities, point in this direction. Nevertheless, the deeply imbedded feeling in favor of independent or autonomous school systems will probably make such a development slow in arriving in many cities.

The Relation of City School Systems to State Departments of Education.—There has been a considerable movement during recent years in the direction of bringing local schools more or less under state control. The state may empower the state board of education to perform certain functions otherwise left to the local school authorities. Among these are: the selection of textbooks, the licensing of teachers, the drafting of uniform contracts for teachers, and the preparation of examinations to be given all eighth grade or high school candidates for graduation. States may also provide for the inspection and rating of city schools by agents of the state department of education; unless local schools have adequate buildings and equipment and unless they maintain certain educational standards, they will find themselves on substandard lists.[2] More and more, states are resorting to grants-in-aid to control local schools. By providing the larger part of the salary of every teacher in schools approved by the state board of education, Indiana, for example, has made a fair amount of progress toward integrating its public schools.

The Question of Separate School Elections.—As long as school-board members are elected by the voters rather than appointed by the mayor or city manager, the question will present itself as to whether such a process should be combined with the regular municipal election or whether a separate school election ought to be held. In a majority of the 191 cities having populations of 50,000 or

[1] For much pertinent data illustrating to what extent school systems depend upon city governments the reader is referred to Henry and Kerwin, *Schools and City Government*, Chaps. IV–VII.

[2] See: E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration* (Boston, 1927), Chap. XI.

more the University of Chicago study reports that school-board members are elected at the regular municipal elections, although in approximately 36 per cent of the cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants special elections are provided.[1] Despite the fact that the majority of cities, especially in the more populous groups, do not schedule separate school elections, there is considerable diversity of opinion as to which plan is preferable. Opponents of the combination plan maintain that politics plays a much larger role under such an arrangement because it is difficult to keep the election of school-board members free from the partisanship which characterizes so many city elections. Of course, where municipal officials are chosen on a nonpartisan basis this argument loses force.

The advocates of the combination arrangement mention the additional cost of separate school elections, the difficulty of getting out large numbers of voters for such an election, and the additional burden imposed upon the voter under the separate-election plan. The University of Chicago research staff found much opposition among taxpayers' associations, labor unions, and newspapers to the separate elections provided in Denver.[2] In that city the criticism of additional cost is emphatic as well as the charge that a representative vote cannot be attracted to separate elections. However, Professors Henry and Kerwin are not entirely convinced of the validity of the latter argument, for they observed that where the combination system is used the vote for school-board members is "always considerably lower than the vote for city officials." [3]

The Importance of Nonpartisanship in Electing School-Board Members.—Whether separate elections are held or whether city officials and school-board members are chosen simultaneously, it is desirable that school-board members be elected on a nonpartisan basis. Some cities continue to put up two slates of candidates: a Republican slate and a Democratic slate, but this practice is open to criticism, for politics does not make for a superior school system. The past experience of such cities as Chicago, New York, and Indianapolis, provides eloquent arguments against partisanship in school administration. To obviate such a vicious situation

[1] See: *Op. cit.*, p. 11.
[2] See: *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

Indianapolis in 1928 organized a Citizens' Committee which has been quite successful in influencing school elections. As a result, the standards of school administration have been raised materially, but labor raises an objection at times on the ground that well-to-do people are usually selected as board members and that the schools are consequently operated on a *bourgeois* basis.

Election at Large Preferable.—Occasionally cities choose their school-board members from wards or districts, but this is not regarded as very satisfactory. While it may be justifiable to make large sections of a metropolitan city the basis for election, the ward system is almost invariably bad, for it makes for localism and frequently for petty partisanship.

THE SCHOOL BOARD

The Size of the School Board.—Whether a school board is elected or appointed, it is well to keep its size relatively small. Not many years ago even small cities had school boards running as high as fifteen or more members, but such boards often proved unwieldy. So many members consumed undue time airing their views; agreement was difficult at times; and irresponsibility was not uncommonly encouraged. These defects have been generally recognized and school boards have been reduced to three, five, seven, or nine members in most cases, depending somewhat upon the size of the city. The members rarely receive any compensation for their services, although occasionally a small fee is allowed.[1]

Qualifications of School-Board Members.—Many cities have not been very happy in obtaining good school-board members under any system of selection but, on the other hand, the success of some cities has been notable. By and large, the calibre of school-board members probably exceeds by a considerable margin that of city councilors. Perhaps the first qualification to be demanded of a school-board member is interest in public education. Unfortunately many school-board members display little real interest in education itself; they may be on the board to represent pressure groups that want to keep taxes down. Sometimes their primary concern seems to be that a certain religious sect gets its share of the teachers and other employes or that a racial group receives

[1] See: F. M. Anderson, *Large City School Systems* (Washington, 1935); and E. P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration* (Boston, 1929).

similar consideration. Obviously such members are not likely to have a great contribution to make.

In the second place, it is not too much to expect that school-board members in cities of any size shall be well educated persons. In far too many cases the school-board members have never gone beyond the eighth grade or high school themselves. They may be interested, but it is almost impossible for them intelligently to pass on educational policies because of their lack of background. In the third place, members need to be open-minded, for the person who is controlled by prejudice and bias or who opposes anything in the way of change on general principles has little to offer on a school board. Finally, the members ought not seek to gain profit for themselves or their friends by the awarding of contracts for buildings or supplies or the appointing of teachers or maintenance employes. Members may be expected to represent the body of the people and not themselves or their friends.[1]

Functions of School Boards.—The functions of a school board depend to some extent upon the size of the city. In a large city boards can devote themselves to important policies, while in small cities they may have few important policies to decide and will handle more routine matters. But whether they function in a small city or a large one, they cannot interfere in the actual operation of schools without causing damage. Where they seek to select the teachers, decide increases of salaries in individual cases, or assign individual teachers to particular schools, they exceed their authority. They hire a superintendent to handle such tasks.

School boards apportion the available funds to the various purposes: so much for new buildings, so much for equipment, a certain amount for maintenance, and a given sum for instructional staff. They decide where new school buildings shall be located and in small cities call for bids and let the contracts for such buildings. They may debate certain matters, such as the length of the school year, the number of vacations, and the amount of emphasis to be placed upon athletics and vocational training where these items are not handled by state boards of education. These matters lie on the borderline between their proper field

[1] For a good discussion of the qualifications of school-board members see: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration*, pp. 444–447.

and the field of the superintendent. In small cities especially school boards have a fondness for interfering with the routine conduct of the schools; they want their fingers in everything, however petty it may be. It need not be said that such a situation is unfortunate.[1]

Relations between the School Board and the Superintendent.—The school board hires the superintendent and places upon him the responsibility for the detailed administration of the schools. He may be expected to report at frequent intervals to the board as to the condition of the schools. Of course, it is desirable that he work in close harmony with the board. He may attend the board meetings, participate in the discussion, and make recommendations, but he does not, of course, have a vote. If he is a superior superintendent, he will insist that the board shall not interfere in the carrying out of the administrative duties that belong to him.

The Internal Administrative Organization of Schools.—Immediately under the school board stands the superintendent who is generally responsible for the management of the school system as a whole. In small cities the next officers are the principals of schools. Under them come the teachers or possibly the department heads in large schools. Under the department heads, if they exist, the members of the instructional staff are grouped, while the maintenance force may be under each principal or directly responsible to the superintendent.

In larger cities the organization is more elaborate. Immediately under the superintendent there will be assistant or associate superintendents; if the city is large enough, the school system may be divided into two or three large divisions with an associate superintendent in charge of each. The divisions may be further subdivided into sections that are headed by assistant superintendents, but the more common practice is to have assistant superintendents immediately responsible to the superintendent. These may have charge of the schools within a given territory, but the usual arrangement is to divide authority along functional lines. One may be given charge of all welfare activities; another confines himself to personnel; and one of the subordinates will give attention

[1] See: N. L. and F. Engelhardt, *Public School Organization and Administration* (Boston, 1931).

to maintenance and perhaps equipment and supplies. Some schools have purchasing agents, building superintendents, or business managers for the last functions.[1]

One of the assistant superintendents may have oversight of all vocational training. In some cities one assistant deals with high schools and another with grade schools. Below the assistant superintendents the organization in large-city systems resembles that of smaller cities. Principals are in charge of each school. There are more likely to be department heads in large-city high schools than in small cities.[2]

QUALIFICATIONS OF A GOOD SUPERINTENDENT

Professional Training.—Although some school boards select untrained persons as superintendents, such a practice is comparatively rare at present. Ordinarily a person with some educational background receives the position. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the superintendent should have administrative training or whether he can be taken from the principals or teachers of a school system. A great many successful superintendents have come up through the ranks; any administrative training has been received through practical experience.

More and more universities offer special courses for public school administrators, and many professional educationists would like to separate school administration entirely from school teaching. Others see some advantage in taking a superintendent who knows at first hand the primary function of public schools. Perhaps a combination of training and experience is the happiest arrangement. One who has had actual experience as a teacher may also add to that courses in school administration and management.

Personal Qualities.—In the second place, the personal qualities of a superintendent are very important. Especially in a large city he needs abundant ability as a leader, for, however good his plans may be, he may not get far with them unless he can lead the members of the school board and even the people of the city to his way of thinking. In the third place, he will require considerable courage. In both small and large cities school boards like to

[1] See: Harry P. Smith, *Business Administration of the Public Schools* (Yonkers, N. Y., 1929).

[2] See: N. L. and F. Engelhardt, *Public School Organization and Administration* (Boston, 1931).

interfere with school affairs that do not belong to their province, and unless the superintendent insists that he be given a free hand in selecting teachers and directing educational policy, he will probably find that the school system suffers. In many cases it is not easy for a superintendent to be courageous, because it may mean his job, but, nevertheless, this is one of the most important requirements. It is also perhaps the commonest weakness in superintendents.

Superintendents need to be good judges of teachers and students, especially in small cities where they have active contact with both and where they select the teachers.[1] The quality of work will depend largely upon the teachers employed, and a poor judge of people may fill a school system with inferior teachers. Finally, a superintendent is more valuable if he is progressive in his educational and social thinking and at the same time remembers that education is not the only function of a city. The reactionary superintendent who has not had a new idea for years and opposes any change may be a great liability, but almost equally dangerous is the superintendent whose horizon is limited to public schools. Such an executive sees no reason why new gymnasiums, finer buildings, and larger appropriations are not always in order, despite the economic conditions prevailing in a city.

ADAPTING OF THE CURRICULUM TO THE NEEDS OF THE CITY

Vocational Courses.—Public schools in general have been backward in keeping abreast of the changing conditions in cities. Despite the fact that most children can expect no additional formal training after public school, many school systems have made no provision for vocational education. They have apparently assumed that no special training was required to obtain jobs. At one period in the economic development of the United States the demand for workers was so large that almost any youth had an opportunity, but during the years following 1929 everyone knows that a different situation prevailed. Despite that experience some school authorities feel no responsibility, and students in certain cities continue to go through substantially the same course of study as was required twenty-five or more years ago. Of course, some cities have appre-

[1] On the problem of the relation of the superintendent to the selection of teachers see: E. E. Lewis, *Personnel Problems of the Teaching Staff* (New York, 1925).

ciated the new problem and developed specialized schools. Students who contemplate college take about the same course that schools have required for many years, but, in addition, vocational high schools have been provided for those who expect to enter business or industry after public school.[1]

Attention to the Social Studies.—Furthermore, public schools have been far from responsive to the need for greater emphasis on the social environment of the present day. Although students may have a fair knowledge of literature, grammar, geography, hygiene, and art, they have very little opportunity to study the business organization, the social problems, or the political structure and functions of the world in which they live. While the former subjects have many advantages, so slight an emphasis on the latter fields can scarcely be justified. With so many complicated social, economic, and political problems facing people of every city, the public schools might be expected to give some background in such fields.

Adult Education.—A third respect in which public schools have not lived up to their opportunities involves adult education. The assumption often seems to be that the responsibilities of the public schools end with high school or junior college. With the sharp cut in working hours per week and the consequent abundant free time public schools might very well do what they can toward vocational guidance, vocational training for adults, and instruction in the more general fields. Where opportunities have been provided in such cities, as Des Moines, Milwaukee, Dayton, Little Rock, and Seattle, there has been a great deal of interest among large numbers of adults in studying political, economic, and social problems of a current nature.

The Cost of Public Education.—For many years cities in the United States have spent more for public education than for any other one function. While welfare has climbed rapidly into a commanding position and consumes vast sums of city and federal funds, public education still ranks first among municipal expenditures for operation and maintenance of general departments. Cities over 100,000 population currently spend approximately ten dollars per capita every year for education. The per-capita expenditure for public

[1] For the record of one city in this field see: D. W. Hoan, *City Government—the Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936), Chap. XIX.

education was more than twice as much as was set aside for public welfare in 1943 and almost twice as much as was devoted to police administration.[1]

Population has some effect upon such costs although far less than in certain other functions. In 1943, the average per-capita expenditure for schools by all cities of over 100,000 inhabitants amounted to $9.81. Cities over 500,000 spent $11.29 per capita; cities in the 250,000–500,000 group $8.15 per capita; and cities in the 100,000–250,000 group $7.80.[2] The variation among individual cities is much greater. It may be noted that these amounts are considerably under the per capita expenditures of 1936. However, substantial increases have been made since 1943, though they have ordinarily lagged behind the rise in prices.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Far from generous attention has been paid by cities in the United States to public libraries; some fairly sizable cities do not even maintain any kind of public library. In those cities where they do exist, they receive rather small appropriations—approximately fifty cents per person per year.[3] When the income of a city is reduced, the public library frequently suffers first and most seriously. Some libraries were closed entirely during the difficult years following 1929, and although most of them were kept open, they received very little for new books. Perhaps at no time in our history has there been a greater need for such facilities than during this period; yet the appropriations were far from generous in most of our cities.

Organization of Public Libraries.—There has been wide diversity in the practices of cities as to the organization of public libraries. Not infrequently they have been placed under independent boards, while at times they have been made a part of the large municipal administrative departments, such as public welfare or recreation. Some cities have given school boards the responsibility for public libraries. There is some difference of opinion as to what plan is best, but, in general, it is not regarded as satisfactory to place

[1] *City Finances, 1943*, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[3] In 1943, cities of over 25,000 spent an average of $.54 per capita for public libraries. See: *City Finances, 1943*, p. 5.

public libraries under such departments, as public welfare. The tendency is to neglect them when such an arrangement is resorted to. Independent boards have their supporters, although there seems to be less reason for independence here than in the case of public schools. Public libraries do not offer the political temptations that public schools seem to display.

There is something to be said for the plan of making public libraries a part of the public-school system. School children have to use library books, especially during high school years, and in large cities such an arrangement might permit public-school buildings to be used as branch libraries. Moreover, the primary function of public libraries is closely related to the purpose of public schools, and if adult education is to be made an important part of public schools, public libraries will be even more closely tied up with the schools. Professional librarians sometimes argue for an arrangement under which libraries would be made a separate department of municipal government and placed in charge of a single professional librarian. Students of public administration favor either this plan or an arrangement which would make the public library a separate administrative department under the direction of a library board. The members of the board would be appointed by the mayor.[1]

The Library Staff.—Immediately under the library board stands the librarian. If the single-commissioner type of organization is used, the librarian may be in charge and responsible only to the mayor. In a very large city the head might be an executive without professional library training, but in most cases the position of librarian calls for professional degrees from an approved school of library administration. In small cities members of the staff are directly responsible to the librarian, but in very large cities public libraries frequently fall into such divisions, as reference sections, periodical sections, juvenile sections, special collections, and cataloguing. Each section will have its own administrative officer, and the ordinary staff members work under the heads of the sections. For the most part, the members of library staffs need to be professionally trained. In small libraries the amount

[1] See: Arthur E. Bostwick, *The American Public Library* (New York, 1929), for a general discussion of library administration.

of money may not be sufficient to employ trained people, but libraries usually fail to serve their full purpose where untrained people run them.[1]

CHARACTERISTICS OF AN ADEQUATE PUBLIC LIBRARY

1. *Physical Equipment.*—Public libraries are more efficient where they have modern buildings. Adequate space is especially important, for where stacks, distributing desks, and reading tables have to be crowded into a small space, the confusion usually reaches such a point that neither patrons nor staff can do their work. Reading rooms, as far as possible, require separation from desks where books are received and given out; otherwise the noise will make it difficult for the readers to function without great difficulty. Reading rooms cannot be regarded as satisfactory unless the lighting facilities, both natural and artificial, are good. Unfortunately most public libraries have given relatively little heed to such an important consideration, and the result is that readers can rarely make use of the quarters provided without eye strain.

Chairs and tables might as well be comfortable as uncomfortable, but actually many of them are built in such a fashion that it is difficult for the reader to get the chair to a place near the table where he can do his work. The backs of the chairs frequently have such an angle that readers can scarcely use them for any length of time without back ache. Special cubicles in the stacks serve a very useful purpose for students, and almost any large public library is depended upon by serious students. It is not convenient to have books and periodicals brought to the reading room in large numbers. Well lighted tables in the stacks do not require large expenditure and reduce the strain on students very materially.

2. *Facilities for Obtaining and Locating Books.*—Library catalogues are not what they might be in many small libraries as well as in some large ones; it is difficult for patrons to ascertain just what the shelves contain in a certain field. More attention might well be paid to this as well as to a more logical classification, for despite the standard systems used by most libraries, books on the same subject somehow or other sometimes find themselves widely

[1] See: John Adams Lowe, *Public Library Administration* (Chicago, 1928).

separated. Some libraries have experimented with open-shelf locations for books which are in large demand. Such an arrangement makes it easier for the reader to select books; under such a system he does not have to depend upon titles and names only. Of course, a good public library makes every effort to obtain promptly the books requested by patrons, and, in general, libraries in American cities lead the libraries of the world in this respect.[1]

3. Adequate Funds for Book Purchases.—It has already been pointed out that cities in the United States do not furnish their public libraries very generous financial support. This results in some understaffing, but the most serious result is the lack of adequate funds for the purchase of new books. During recent years many libraries have been forced to spend almost all of their money for salaries, maintenance, binding, and similar routine expenses.[2] There has been little left for new books, and in as much as a library soon becomes out of date unless new books are constantly purchased, such a situation is very unfortunate. Another result of this shortage of funds is seen in the number of copies of a popular book which a public library can purchase. In a large city the demand is so great in certain cases that a number of copies will still leave the readers unsupplied, but where only one copy is acquired, libraries can scarcely claim to be fulfilling their purpose.

4. Attitudes of Library Staff.—During recent years public library staffs have been increasingly well trained, until from a technical standpoint they doubtless rate high among the librarians of the world. However, although many of them maintain an interest in the people who use the libraries, there is a widespread feeling that too many confine themselves to library technique. A library exists to be used and not as an end in itself, and consequently every legitimate means to encourage readers may be regarded as desirable. Of course, precautions have to be taken against undue losses of books; even as it is, the annual losses of some libraries run into large figures. But taking into account such a problem, there is still room for courteous interest rather than cold loyalty to rules and regulations.

To some extent, the indifferent attitude of some library staff

[1] Consult Jennie M. Flexner, *Circulation Work in Public Libraries* (Chicago, 1927).

[2] For a general discussion of library finance see: Carl Vitz, ed., *Current Problems in Public Library Finance* (Chicago, 1933).

members may be due to the fact that they are overworked and underpaid. However, some of them prove very helpful to readers, while others, with no more to do, dislike to be bothered with the more than routine demands of patrons. Doubtless many readers exhaust the patience of the library attendants, but perhaps it is fair to say that people whose patience is easily exhausted and who lack interest in the problem of encouraging reading have no place in public libraries.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, F. M., *Large City School Systems* (Washington, 1935).
Bostwick, Arthur E., *The American Public Library* (New York, 1929).
Cubberley, E. P., *Public School Administration* (Boston, 1929).
Dudley, L. L., *The School and the Community* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934).
Engelhardt, N. L., and F., *Public School Organization and Administration* (Boston, 1931).
Henry, Nelson B., and Kerwin, J. G., *Schools and City Government* (Chicago, 1938).
Hoan, D. W., *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936), Chap. XIX.
Hodges, H. G., *City Management* (New York, 1939), Chap. XXVI.
Lewis, E. E., *Personnel Problems of the Teaching Staff* (New York, 1925).
Lowe, John Adams, *Public Library Administration* (Chicago, 1928).
Munro, William B., *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), Chap. XXXII.
Sears, J. B., *City School Administrative Controls* (New York, 1938).
Smith, H. P., *Business Administration of the Public Schools* (Yonkers, New York, 1929).
Upson, Lent D., *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), Chap. XVI.
Vieg, John A., *The Government of Education in Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1939).
Vitz, Carl, editor, *Current Problems in Public Library Finance* (Chicago, 1933).

XXVII

PUBLIC WELFARE

What It Includes.—The term *public welfare* lends itself to several definitions, varying from a comparatively narrow one which limits the field to public social service to a very broad one which includes everything which pertains to the welfare of the people. A recent study which was carried on by the American Public Welfare Association indicates that cities in the United States present a varied picture as far as their concepts of public welfare go.[1] A few cities regard this field as one which has to do with parks, shade trees, playgrounds, and comfort stations, and another small group of cities places the licensing of newsboys, beggars, and scavengers and the censorship of movies under such a department. A larger number of cities combine public social service and public health into a single department under the name of department of public welfare or department of public health and welfare. In the case of cities exceeding 100,000 population the typical department of public welfare limits itself to public assistance; social service for adults, such as probation, psychiatric service, legal aid, and vocational rehabilitation; child welfare services, such as child placement, juvenile probation, and foster-home supervision; and the operation of such institutions, as general hospitals, tuberculosis sanitoria, workhouses, and jails.[2]

Several of these last functions have been discussed in connection with courts, the police department, and public works.[3] In this chapter some of the remaining items will be given attention, and, in addition, certain fields, such as health, recreation, and housing will be included, because they cannot receive chapters by themselves and they seem to the author to be more closely related to public welfare than to public works, public utilities, or any other general field.

[1] See: Marietta Stevenson, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938), pp. 91–92.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 91–94.
[3] See: Chaps. XXIII, XXVIII, XXX.

RELIEF

Municipal or County Function?—The administration of direct relief in the cities of the United States is ordinarily handled either by the cities themselves or by the counties in which the cities are located, although occasionally the states, townships, and other units of government may undertake at least certain aspects of the problem.[1] Dr. Marietta Stevenson points out that "among the smaller cities county agencies are more common" than municipal departments, but adds a caution against disregarding "the existence of a large number of city agencies" in these municipalities.[2] In the case of large cities municipal agencies seem to have the most favor, although several cities, including both Chicago and Los Angeles, depend upon counties to administer relief. A few years ago the American Public Welfare Association sent questionnaires to the cities having populations over 100,000 and received replies from sixty-four of them. In 31 of these cities relief was handled by a municipal agency; in 23 cases the county assumed the function; while in 10 cases both the city and county carried on extensive activities in this field.[3] In general, there seems to be a definite trend toward integrating the work of cities, counties, and states in the relief field.[4]

The Magnitude of the Relief Problem in Cities.—Although rural districts often find it necessary to assume heavy relief burdens, it is in the cities of the United States that the situation has presented the most serious aspect. During the great depression the 116 urban areas of the United States giving residence to 37.0 per cent of the total population of the continental United States received approximately one-half of all amounts disbursed by federal, state, and local governments for relief. When the special types of relief are excluded, the record of cities is even more divergent from rural areas; for example, 70.7 per cent of all general relief paid out of public funds prior to World War II went to the 116 urban areas above.[5] In the case of special types of public assistance, including old-age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind,

[1] Indiana, for example, continues to give some authority to townships.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.
[4] See: *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[5] *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 1, no. 12, p. 17 (December, 1938).

the 116 urban areas accounted for only 39.1 per cent of all disbursements, which is only slightly over their share on a population basis, although they received 50.0 per cent of all money spent on aid to dependent children. Of the amount paid out by the Works Progress Administration at the same time 51.2 per cent went to the 116 urban areas.[1]

The Situation in Boston and New York City.—A survey made by the Boston Municipal Research Bureau in Boston indicated that relief during periods of depression actually costs "more than the operation of all non-welfare departments under the mayor." [2] The money devoted to relief in Boston over a period of eight and one-half years was enough to maintain all other city departments for five years. Even toward the end of the depression the public relief load remained fairly heavy. More than $170,000,000 was spent for relief during the eight and one-half year period preceding 1938; the 1938 bill approximated $30,000,000. One-fifth of the population of Boston—165,000 persons—were on relief rolls in 1938.[3] There is little reason to believe that Boston was extreme in its relief burden as far as large cities go; as a matter of fact, the New England states suffered less than other sections during the depression following 1929. In New York City something like three hundred million dollars was being spent every year as the depression ended.[4]

The Federal Share of the Relief Burden.—It has already been noted that the national government assumed a substantial part of the cost of direct relief for a time beginning with 1933. After 1935 it felt that the cities should care for unemployables, and despite much agitation on the part of the city officials the national government has refused to alter its policy in this respect. Nevertheless, the Works Progress Administration contributed a great deal toward meeting the situation, for those unemployed persons who had no resources but were of such health and mentality that they

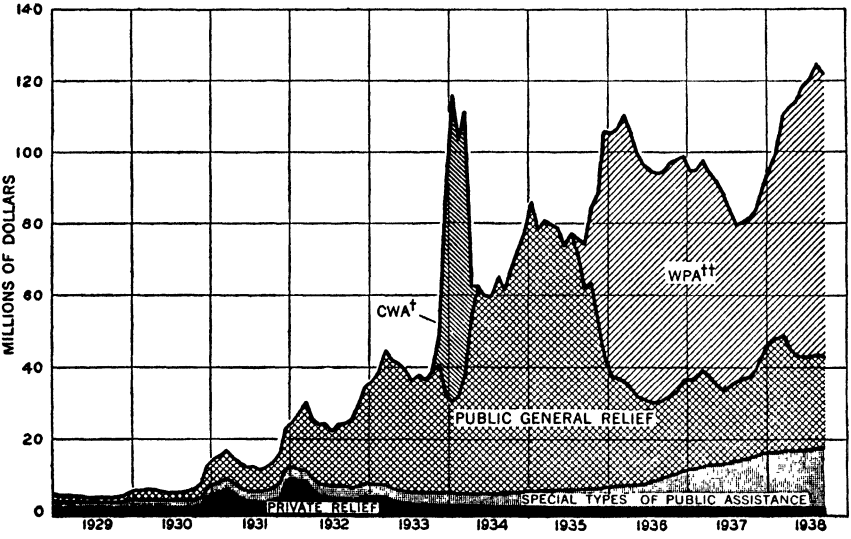
[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

[2] *New York Times*, August 6, 1938. For a fuller report of this survey see: H. C. Loeffler, "Relief Problems of Local Governments: Boston," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 30 (January, 1938).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *New York Times*, August 22, 1938. For articles on other cities see: "Relief Problems of Local Governments," "Philadelphia," by C. G. Shenton, "Rochester," by F. X. Kelly, and "Providence," by R. M. Goodrich, in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, pp. 30–33 (January, 1938).

could hold jobs were placed on W.P.A. rolls to a large extent. The Boston study referred to above reveals that the national government handled the majority of the cases. Boston cared for 54,000 persons in July, 1938, while approximately one hundred thousand persons either held W.P.A. jobs or derived their support from W.P.A. job holders.[1]



† Earnings under Civil Works Administration of all persons employed under the program including the administrative staff.

†† Earnings under Works Progress Administration of persons employed on projects within the areas and certified as in need of relief.

FIG. 11. Relief in 116 Urban Areas in the United States, January, 1929—September, 1938. (Reproduced from the Social Security Board *Bulletin*, December, 1938)

In New York City 167,332 home-relief cases were on the rolls of the Department of Public Welfare on July 30, 1938, and the cost of home-relief totalled $70,834,944 during the first seven months of 1938.[2] Approximately 175,000 persons held W.P.A. jobs; with their dependents this would represent approximately half a million persons. The W.P.A. administrator for New York City announced that approximately two hundred million dollars would be spent in 1939 by that agency in that one city.[3] Of this sum something like twenty million dollars was contributed by New

[1] *New York Times*, August 6, 1938.

[2] In August, 1945, there were 93,231 cases; in August, 1946, 105,286 cases; in April, 1947, 125,865 cases.

[3] *New York Times*, August 14, 1938.

York City for the purchase of materials. An additional 8,500 persons had federal-arts-project jobs, and 9,624 unemployed young people not attending school received N.Y.A. assistance in New York City in 1938.[1]

The Reluctance of Cities to Face the Problem of Relief.—The Boston Municipal Research Bureau criticized Boston for regarding the problem of relief as a temporary problem and attempting to finance it on that basis.[2] A study of other cities would doubtless show the same disposition to pretend that the relief problem was of temporary character. At least Professor Leah Feder found in her study of municipal relief administration beginning with the middle of the nineteenth century that New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, and other large cities of the North and East rarely had faced the real situation up to 1922.[3] They had had no plans to speak of; they had depended upon untrained staffs; they had made little adequate investigation; and ordinarily they had contented themselves with establishing soup kitchens, distributing food and clothing, and providing lodging houses. After a few years the situation usually righted itself to a large extent, and the cities then justified their lack of a plan on the basis that an emergency needed no plan.

Professor Feder maintains that the cities until recently have learned almost nothing by past experience, for every depression has found them just as unprepared and just as naive as they were almost one hundred years ago.[4] Since 1933 the situation has changed considerably, and many cities have made a good deal of progress in this field. There has been an increasing recognition that cities must take permanent provision for public welfare. The result has been that new public welfare agencies have been created and existing departments greatly strengthened.

Dependence of Cities upon Private Charitable Agencies.—It would be quite inaccurate to assume that relief is not always demanded in cities. Even during the most prosperous times large numbers of people have to ask for relief; the submerged tenth was often referred to in the days before 1929. Studies indicate that actually

[1] *New York Times*, August 22, 1938.
[2] *New York Times*, August 6, 1938.
[3] Leah Feder, *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression* (New York, 1936), Chap. XII.
[4] Leah Feder, *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

a larger proportion of the people were unemployed before 1929 than was realized at the time. But cities did not themselves have to pay much attention to these cases because of private charities. In small cities churches, clubs, and private individuals expected to make donations to the indigent at frequent intervals. Public authorities contributed shoes, fuel, and sometimes a little money.

In larger cities these same groups helped meet the situation, in addition, newspapers raised funds, political organizations extended substantial aid, and, most important of all, organized charity societies carried on extensive work. These charity organization societies employed trained social workers to investigate requests for assistance. Some of them, such as the Charity Organization Society of New York City, refused aid where there was no prospect of getting the client back on his feet, while others gave aid more indiscriminately. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York City disbursed large sums of money every year to all classes of indigents without a great deal of investigation in many cases. These organizations received support from private donors and frequently participated in community-chest drives. In approximately 250 cases funds were derived in whole or in part from community chests. In 1929, they furnished approximately one-fourth of all relief, but by 1935 their share had dropped to a mere two per cent.[1] During recent years only about one per cent of relief funds in 116 urban areas has come from private agencies.[2]

Outdoor and Indoor Relief.—Relief falls broadly into two general types: outdoor and indoor. Outdoor relief is furnished to poor people in their homes and may take the form of money, grocery orders, food, clothing, medical assistance, rent, legal aid, fuel, and similar items. Private groups and charity organizations provided much of such relief in cities of the United States, except in periods of emergency, until 1930. Indoor relief is institutional relief, and in most instances it is provided by states or counties. However, very large cities sometimes maintain alms houses, homes for the aged, municipal lodging houses, and homes for children, but such institutions do not care for most of the cases as a rule. Homes

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 56.

[2] See: various issues of the *Social Security Bulletin.*

founded by religious or fraternal organizations or as a result of private bequests have accommodated many of the cases.

Where cities have engaged in institutional relief, their success has not been impressive. The homes have all too often fallen into the hands of politicians who have used them to their own advantage. As a rule, surroundings have been dreary. In St. Louis the home for indigent aged is connected with the municipal crematory. The aged inmates waiting release by death have the doubtful pleasure of watching the crematory stoke up in preparation for its macabre service; they know that unless friends or relatives present themselves, their turn will shortly arrive. Interestingly enough, St. Louis has cut the number of burials at public expense approximately in half by providing a crematory rather than earth burial. Relatives and friends of indigent persons do not hesitate to allow the city to pay for ordinary earth burial, but they will not allow the remains of their friends and relatives to be cremated.

The Cost of Public Relief in Cities.—It is not easy to get a clear picture of what is being spent for public relief in cities of the United States. Certain cities maintain elaborate departments of public welfare and hence bear the direct responsibility of giving relief to those in need; other cities have public welfare agencies of a sort but they are not responsible for the entire relief load; still other cities depend upon their counties or states to handle public welfare functions. Cities with populations over 25,000 expended more than two hundred million dollars on public welfare during the war period when unemployment was almost non-existent.[1] It is obvious that very much larger amounts would be required during periods of depression when unemployment bulks large. It is significant to note that more than half of the two hundred million dollars referred to above was spent by the five cities with populations exceeding 1,000,000; indeed New York City alone accounted for almost half of the entire amount.[2] The 305 cities in the fifth and sixth population groups paid out approximately $27,000,000 for public welfare purposes, or hardly more than one-fourth of the sum spent by New York City alone.[3]

[1] In 1943 these cities spent $209,697,000 for public welfare.

[2] New York City spent $97,719,000 for public welfare in 1943; all cities in this group $116,077,000.

[3] Group V cities spent $13,267,000 and Group VI cities $13,533,000.

State and Federal Programs Which Affect the Municipal Relief Problem.—Until rather recently old age pensions have been the exception in the United States. The new federal-state system of old age pensions has done much to relieve cities of care of the aged. Blind pensions and assistance for children without parents, as well as an elaborate program for afflicted children, financed by federal and state funds are also of interest to cities. Public employment offices maintained by the state governments with federal aid assist unemployed persons in cities to obtain remunerative work and consequently remove them from relief rolls. The various state programs of unemployment compensation, while not too extended in their coverage and paying benefits only for a few months, nevertheless have a vital bearing on municipal public welfare loads, especially in periods of non-depression. Large numbers of persons residing in cities have almost no savings to tide them over even a brief period of unemployment. If it were not for unemployment compensation payments, they would become applicants for public relief almost at once. As the old-age and survivers insurance program of the national government comes into full operation and maximum benefits become payable to large numbers of persons, a considerable lessening of the relief burden of cities should be apparent.

The Future of Municipal Relief.—The public welfare responsibilities of cities vary from time to time, depending in large measure on the economic prosperity of the country. In case of another serious depression cities will undoubtedly be confronted with the overwhelming problems which they were called upon to shoulder during the nineteen-thirties. The federal and state governments will of course be forced to assist cities in meeting the demands, for there is little in the financial picture as it relates to cities that would indicate that cities can alone begin to take care of the huge costs involved. But irrespective of economic prosperity, it is apparent that cities will always under our complicated industrialized society be called upon to pay a good deal of attention to welfare problems. Even when there is employment for everyone who is employable, cities or other public agencies have to assist those who are not employable and their number is always sizable. Old-age assistance may take care of those who are 65 or older, but it will not provide for those who break down physically or mentally before that age.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Small Cities Contrasted with Large Cities.—Small cities sometimes give relatively little attention to public health. They may pay a local physician a nominal fee to act as city health officer, but, for the most part, their public health problem, as far as it receives any attention at all, is handled by the school nurses and by county and state health authorities. There is evidence that small cities have paid a fairly great price for their neglect in this field. For example, in some small cities quarantine of contagious diseases is so laxly enforced that certain children's diseases are in epidemic proportions much of every year. This works a hardship on the operation of the public schools and contributes to the permanent poor health of some individuals.

Medium and large size cities invariably give public health greater consideration. As a rule, they provide a public health board, although some of them prefer single health commissioners. In case the board system is used, it is customary in large cities to employ a public health officer to work under the direction of the board. Even in large cities public health is a concern of the state, and consequently the state health department coöperates with the municipal health authorities in meeting certain intricate problems. It inspects the general work of the local departments, and at times it temporarily supplants the city health authorities where they prove inadequate.

FUNCTIONS OF A MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH [1]

1. Keeping of Vital Statistics.—In small cities vital statistics may be kept by county authorities. Births and deaths are registered with county officials, and burial permits are provided by the same authorities. Statistics regarding disease may fall within the province of county authorities, in so far as they are not prepared directly by state public health departments. In large cities these functions are usually performed by municipal authorities—to some extent by health departments. Their importance, it need not be said, is greater in large cities than even in smaller places, for with congested populations the family physician cannot be depended

[1] The outline employed in this discussion is adapted from the outline of the American Public Health Association.

upon to remember births and later furnish affidavits. Nor is it safe to permit burial in large cities without a certificate of the cause of death. The proportions of certain diseases are so large in some cities that only by the collection of accurate vital statistics is it possible to arrive at an understanding of the problem.[1]

2. *Control of Communicable Diseases.*—Several diseases that once caused many deaths have now been brought under a large measure of control through the use of vaccination and inoculation. In those cities where vaccination against small pox is compulsory, the local health authorities, as a rule, are charged with the enforcement of such a regulation. Children's diseases, such as measles, mumps, whooping cough, and chicken pox, continue to thrive in many localities. Because of a lax public opinion many health departments do not exercise proper care in enforcing quarantine regulations in such cases. Where the city health officer is a local physician who depends upon private practice for his living, the situation may be particularly bad because the physician will hesitate to offend his clientele. Where cases of typhoid fever appear, the city health authorities will attempt to locate the source of infection and thus check the further spread of the disease. State health departments ordinarily come in very shortly to assist the public health officers of cities unless the source of the infection is discovered at once.

3. *Child Hygiene.*—Large cities often maintain clinics for the use of expectant mothers who cannot afford to employ a physician for pre-natal care. The same clinics or other clinics may furnish medical aid to babies and children who suffer from disease. Even in small cities a great deal is being done in the way of inspecting school children. Examinations on a large scale have revealed surprising amounts of poor health among school children which in many cases either are not apparent to parents or which are neglected by easy-going fathers and mothers. The city health officers may secure the services of all or a part of the local doctors on a volunteer basis for a general examination of all school children. Special facilities may be furnished to test eyesight, hearing, tuberculin infection, and the condition of teeth. Where children need

[1] American Public Health Association, "Annual Health Department Reports," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 20, p. 34 (January, 1930); G. C. Whipple, *Vital Statistics* (New York, 1923); and I. D. Falk, *Principles of Vital Statistics* (New York, 1923).

attention, their parents may be notified, and in cases where they cannot afford such medical services, the matter may be arranged by the public health authorities.[1]

4. Inspection of Milk Supply.—A pure milk supply is a boon to any city in the United States. Children especially consume milk in larger quantities than in other countries, and contaminated milk can play much havoc with good health. Small cities often make very little effort to guarantee to their inhabitants a pure milk supply. The city health officer hesitates to offend dairies and consequently does little to see that the milk supply is what it should be. Unless the state health authorities come in, the situation is likely to be bad. Even such elemental precautions as tuberculin tests for dairy animals are not observed in some small cities. Where tests have been made, it has been discovered that as many as half of all the milk-producing cows were afflicted with tuberculosis.

Large city health departments make more of an effort to inspect milk. However, in as much as their milk supply may come from several surrounding states, it is not an easy matter to arrange adequate inspection of dairies, although it is feasible to inspect the local pasteurizing plants as well as the facilities of milk distributors. Some municipal health authorities profess to believe that little attention needs to be paid the supply of milk if all milk is put through a process of pasteurization. Such a process, if carefully supervised, does safeguard the bacterial purity of milk, but it does not prevent filth. The dirty state of some dairies is such that the buyers of milk in certain cities must consume large quantities of barnyard manure every day. Cities vary widely in the care given their milk supplies, but in all too many states there are very few cities which have a superior quality of milk.[2]

5. Supervision of Food and Meats.—The national government performs valuable functions in connection with the inspection of food and meats, but much remains to be done by municipal health authorities. Small cities frequently do little, if anything, in this field. They may have regulations in regard to screening certain food articles from flies and insects, but the merchants

[1] See: Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community* (New York, 1931).

[2] For a recent discussion of governmental activity in this field see: American Municipal Association, *Milk Control: Governmental Regulation of the Dairy Industry in the United States* (Chicago, 1937).

object to the bother, and consequently the local health authorities often neglect to enforce the rules. In larger cities the public health authorities may pursue a more vigorous policy. They sometimes examine the local slaughterhouses. They inspect warehouses, bakeries, meat markets, candy factories, and other places where food is prepared or stored. At times many tons of such products are condemned every year as being unfit for human consumption.[1]

6. Laboratories for Testing Food and Water and Detecting Disease.—Few small city health departments can afford to maintain laboratory facilities; they depend upon the facilities of the states to test samples of water or food or to detect disease. Large cities have sufficient funds to provide their own facilities of this kind. The health department of New York City made more than 150,000 laboratory tests for syphilis during a recent year.

7. Hospitals.—Small cities depend almost entirely upon private hospitals or public hospitals maintained by counties or other units of government. Some attempt may be made to inspect the private hospitals. Large cities almost always find it necessary to provide city hospitals in addition to the numerous private institutions.[2] Small cities sometimes make contracts with private hospitals to care for cases where the patients are unable to pay. Large cities may also arrange with private hospitals to perform such services. In some cities only contagious diseases are handled in the city institutions, but many large cities maintain hospitals which handle all types of charity cases. These hospitals may have maternity, surgical, contagious-disease, children's, mental, and other wards or departments. Bellevue Hospital in New York City is a veritable maze of wards and divisions. In addition to furnishing indoor care, many municipal institutions provide clinical facilities for outdoor patients.

8. Control of Nuisances.—Mosquitoes, rats, flies, and other disease-carrying creatures may irritate the residents of cities. In small cities unless the residents take action themselves, they must ordinarily expect to bear such afflictions. However, in large cities

[1] See: A. Lichterman, "Supervision of Food in New York City," *American Journal of Public Health*, July, 1938, for a good discussion of what is being done in one city.

[2] In 37 cities $94,610,000 was spent on general hospitals, tuberculosis, mental, and other hospitals in 1945.

public health departments may devote some energy toward combatting these nuisances. Where there is any danger of malaria, more attention may be paid to mosquito control than is usually given in northern cities. Some health departments carry on campaigns against expectorating in public places and the use of common drinking cups and towels. Not infrequently yards are inspected and ordered cleaned as a health safeguard.[1]

9. Inspection of Buildings.—The public health departments of large cities have done something in the direction of inspecting buildings which are used for human habitation. Rooms with no outside exposures may be outlawed; inadequate plumbing facilities may be forbidden; and a minimum amount of window space may be specified. In small cities little or nothing is done in this field, except that outdoor toilets may be inspected and water disposal of excretum ordered.[2]

10. Miscellaneous.—In large cities municipal health departments sometimes inspect industrial plants to see that ventilation, plumbing, and other facilities conducive to good health are provided. Workers themselves may be examined for occupational diseases. Comfort stations may either be operated by the health department or at least inspected. The water supply may be properly within the province of the health department where contamination is feared. The proper disposal of sewage also concerns the health department because of its relation to health conditions. Finally, city health departments often carry on campaigns which seek to educate the people to the importance of good health. Posters may be used to illustrate the dangers of common practices; lectures may be arranged; exhibitions may be sent to schools and placed in central locations for general attention; and printed material may be distributed.

11. Venereal Disease.—With the nation-wide campaign which is being waged against venereal disease, municipal health departments are entering that field to a considerable extent. Especially in large cities public health authorities provide examination and

[1] See: Herbert H. Waite, *Disease Prevention* (New York, 1926); and A. J. McLaughlin, *The Communicable Diseases: How They Spread and How They May Be Controlled* (New York, 1923).

[2] United States Public Health Service, *The National Health Survey: 1935–36—Adequacy of Urban Housing in the United States* (Washington, 1938).

treatment without charge to those who cannot afford to pay for such attention.[1]

The Cost of Public Health Services.—Despite its great importance, cities in the United States spend less on public health than might be expected in this day and age of emphasis on adequate safeguards. The national government, states, and local governments other than cities of course carry on activities in this field which are significant to cities and this makes it difficult to view the situation clearly. In smaller cities particularly much of the public health work may be done by state and county authorities and hence one cannot assume that expenditures in these cities represents all that is being done to promote public health. Cities over 25,000 population are currently paying out approximately $150,000,000 per year on health and hospitals.[2] The five cities with more than one million inhabitants account for almost half of this amount, while the 305 cities in Groups V and VI spend hardly more than 10 per cent of the total.[3]

PARKS AND RECREATION

Important Achievements of Recent Years.—Cities have been aware of the importance of parks and recreational facilities for many years, but they have given increased attention to this field during recent years. During the last two decades greater progress has been made in providing adequate recreational facilities for city inhabitants than in any previous period. Cities of all population groups have joined in the movement toward improved park and recreational facilities, but it is particularly significant that smaller cities are forging ahead so rapidly. Indeed the cities in the 2,500–5,000 class, which were long noted for their indifference to such matters, have recently added to their park facilities at a rate more than twice that of larger cities.[4]

Separate or Combined Administration.—In many cities it is the practice to combine parks and recreation into a single administra-

[1] In 1936, the Chicago Board of Health made 61,787 blood tests for syphilis in its laboratories. In 1938, the number increased to 352,479. In 1939, the goal was set at 1,000,000. See: *Chicago Tribune*, February 1, 1939.

[2] In 1945 the total amount was $166,772,000.

[3] In 1945 the 5 cities spent $67,074,000; the 305 $22,815,000.

[4] For current discussions of developments in this field, see the articles appearing in the recent *Municipal Year Books* under the title "Parks and Recreation," by Weaver W. Pangburn.

tive department, but there is an increasingly sizable number of cities where separate administrative agencies are provided for each. This is particularly the case in those municipalities which maintain year-around recreational programs. A survey carried on a few years ago revealed 255 separate recreational agencies, 282 cities where recreation and parks were combined into one agency, 179 cities where recreation was placed under public schools, and 211 cities in which some other arrangement was made.[1] Where cities engaged in year-around recreational programs, a survey in the same year indicated that 151 provided separate agencies, 79 placed recreation under schools, and 34 made some other plan.[2] The professional leaders in the field believe that a separate organization is desirable where cities are fairly large and where a recreational program is carried on throughout the year.

The Local Responsibility in Meeting Park and Recreational Costs.—While a large part of certain municipal costs may be absorbed by grants from state and federal agencies—New York currently pays 80 per cent of the cost of public welfare in her cities—cities at present have to find the money for most of their park and recreational projects. Of course they may rely to some extent upon state and national parks which are located in the vicinity and they may expect private individuals to provide recreational facilities within their limits, but the main responsibility in this field belongs to the cities themselves. Cities with populations over 25,000 are currently paying out some eighty million dollars per year for recreation.[3] Cities employ more than 40,000 persons full-time or seasonally in organized recreation.[4] Certain cities, such as Chicago with bond issues approved for $24,000,000 in the case of recreational parks and $36,000,000 for general park and parkway developments, have elaborate plans for postwar expansion.

The Federal Contribution.—While the local responsibility is paramount in the recreation field, it is fair to note that the federal government assisted the cities quite substantially during the nineteen-thirties. Various W.P.A. and P.W.A. projects did a great deal to

[1] W. W. Pangburn, "Recreation to the Free in American Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 465 (September, 1938).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

[3] In 1945, $82,667,000 was spent.

[4] In addition some 65,000 persons volunteer their services. See the National Recreation Association, *Year Book, 1946.*

improve city parks: buildings were erected, swimming pools were constructed, walks were hard-surfaced, and picnic tables, benches, and sanitary facilities were made more adequate. Many recreational leaders were also furnished to various cities under the W.P.A. program.

Variation among Cities in the Park Facilities Provided.—There is a very wide variation among cities in the park facilities provided for the use of the inhabitants. A recent survey of 1,068 cities revealed that an acre of park space was provided for every 368 persons—a far from adequate allowance. Taking the upper 25 per cent of the cities in the various population classes on the basis of extent of park acreage, a very different picture is presented, for the number of persons per acre of park fell from an over-all average of 368 to 64![1]

Varieties of Parks.—The most common variety of park to be encountered in the cities of the United States is the neighborhood park, but perhaps playgrounds are the most valuable type of park, for they meet a very great problem which has wide ramifications. Unfortunately cities have fallen down in meeting the demand for playgrounds, and although recreational experts specify 20 per cent of park area for such a purpose, the average is only 5 per cent.[2] Neighborhood parks, if properly laid out, add much to the appearance and comfort of a city. Formal parks have less popularity than they enjoyed at an earlier period, but large cities still may find it advantageous to devote some of their park space to formal gardens and lawns. Zoological parks occupy a very definite place in the affections of children. Natural woods refresh many city dwellers as does no other type of park; such parks may be at some distance from the city and provide for walking, riding, and picnicking. Golf courses came into great popularity just before 1930 when golf made a bid as the national sport for middle-aged people. With the reduction of interest in golf, municipal golf courses are less crowded, but still serve a useful purpose.

Beaches have been developed very materially during recent years by cities located on large lakes or salt water. Parkways, which consist of boulevards or drives with narrow park areas on one or both sides, have also proved quite popular. Cities, such

[1] See: W. W. Pangburn, *Op. cit.*, pp. 446–447.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

as Denver, have gone in for mountain parks located miles away from the city limits.[1] Many cities have found it advantageous to use large park areas for combination parks. Tennis courts, golf courses, and playgrounds for children may be given a place, while another section may be set out in formal gardens. A third section may be allowed to remain in its natural state and be laid out in paths and walks—with convenient benches furnished.[2]

Some Essentials of a Good Park System.—First of all, large cities especially need a generous amount of park space. Unfortunately many large cities have neglected such a function until land became scarce in desirable locations and consequently very costly. The value of such parks, as Central Park in New York City, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, and the Common and Public Gardens in Boston, can scarcely be arrived at. But mere area is not an adequate indication of the efficiency of a municipal park system, for the development of parks is very important. Unless parks are laid out in such a way that they meet the needs of the people, they will prove more or less useless. Proper development requires careful study.

In the third place, parks lose much of their utility unless they are well located. Investigations have shown that parents will not send their children very far to playgrounds. Too many cities have placed their parks in fine residential districts where the people have automobiles and do not depend upon parks to any large extent for their recreation. Parks, as far as possible, ought to be located near the people who need them; if that is not possible, the transportation facilities from the areas inhabited by such people to the parks should be both adequate and inexpensive. In the fourth place, parks need to be diversified. Some parks might well specialize in certain features, while others might be of more general character. Finally, a park system will not be as valuable as it might be unless a supervised recreational program is provided.

[1] Phoenix and Denver have parks located outside the city limits: in both cities the acreage of these parks exceeds 10,000 acres.

[2] On the subject of municipal recreation programs see: the following: L. F. Hanmer, *et. al., Public Recreation,* Vol. 5 of the Regional Survey of New York (New York, 1928); E. T. Lies, *The Leisure of a People* (Indianapolis, 1929); J. B. Nash, *The Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation* (New York, 1927); National Recreation Association, *Playgrounds; Their Administration and Operation* (New York, 1936); *Ibid., Play Areas, Their Design and Equipment* (New York, 1928); and C. E. Leyton and E. A. Levy, *A Study of Public Recreation in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1936).

Recreational Programs.—Directed recreation has been discussed by cities, but not widely developed until recent years: it remained for the depression years to give the impetus to large-scale supervised recreation. At the present time millions of persons, specially among children and youths, are brought into regular contact with the park and playground facilities of cities through the efforts of municipally-employed recreation leaders. In New York City alone more than thirty million people young and old participated in the supervised recreational program of the city during a single year![1]

PUBLIC HOUSING

Poor Record of Cities in the United States.—Cities in the United States have been very backward in their programs of public housing, despite the fact that they contain some of the worst slums in the world.[2] There has been discussion of the need for more adequate housing facilities for many years, but the accomplishments have been few. It is estimated that 15,000,000 new family dwelling-units will be needed in the United States for the decade beginning in 1947.[3] In general, the program has been hindered by the reluctance on the part of many people to have the government enter such a field. Realtors, owners of rental properties, banks, insurance companies, and builders have frequently exhibited hostility toward such a municipal activity. Then, too, the amount of money required for any large-scale housing activity reaches vast proportions. Many cities have found themselves with debt limitations and bonded indebtedness almost reaching the legal limits, while other cities have faced the problem of inadequate legal authority in such a field.

The Wagner Act of 1937.—The first important step toward municipal activity in the public-housing field did not materialize until Congress passed the Wagner Act in 1937. This act, which was achieved only after a great deal of effort and considerable compromise, provided funds amounting to $800,000,000 and set up the United States Housing Authority. Not all of this money

[1] The exact number was 34,715,796.

[2] Compare this situation with that in Europe: Building Center Committee, *Housing—A European Survey* (London, 1936). A W.P.A. study in 1939 revealed that Sweden and Denmark had built 3½ times as many residential structures during 1929–1939 as the United States. Germany, with the poorest European record, topped the United States by 33 per cent. See: *New York Times*, May 29, 1939.

[3] Estimate of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill. See *New York Times*, June 26, 1947

was ear-marked for the construction of municipal housing projects, for substantial sums had to be reserved for maintenance subsidies. Loans were made to cities up to 90 per cent of the cost of projects at a low rate of interest. Moreover, annual grants are made to cities by the national government so that rents can be kept at a low level. Loans were not to be made for public housing projects unless slum clearance was included. This did not necessarily preclude housing projects on the outskirts of cities, but it did mean that areas in the congested areas had to be cleared for park purposes, boulevards, and other public uses. By 1939 all of the initial sum authorized had been apportioned among cities scattered widely over the United States. Since that time various other federal funds have been available for war-time and other public housing projects of an emergency character. The creation of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, with a Public Housing Subdivision, in 1947, may serve to promote a long-range program of municipal housing.[1]

Private Housing Undertakings.—Along with vigorous municipal activity in the housing field, semi-public programs are being formulated in certain cities. For example, several of the large insurance companies have decided to invest their money in large-scale housing. Legislative action has been necessary in most cases, and this has served to hinder the progress. However, it seems probable that New York City and certain other large cities will be materially aided in their public housing programs by the semi-public undertakings of insurance companies and other groups.

The Essentials of Good Municipal Housing.—In 1937, the American Academy of Political and Social Science invited a fairly large number of housing experts to contribute their views on the housing problem in the United States.[2] There was some criticism to the effect that public agencies received greater attention than private interests in sending out the invitations, but with some exceptions

[1] The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill if enacted by Congress will be a very important supplement to the Wagner Act and other federal legislation relating to housing. It would appropriate approximately $7,500,000,000 for a housing program. During a four-year period it would provide for the construction of 500,000 dwelling units at government expense for low-income families, most of which would be built in cities. Fifteen million dwelling units are envisioned in ten years, but most of these are to be privately owned.

[2] Reported in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 190, entire number of March, 1937.

the various experts agreed on general principles. To begin with, almost all of the contributors limited the scope of municipal activity, or indeed any public activity, to the lowest one-third of the population on an income basis.

Moreover, they emphasized the importance of proper location and adequate plans; location is especially important when poor people are involved, for few of them have sufficient income to pay for daily transportation from where they live to their places of employment. As a rule, municipal housing projects consequently must be located in the downtown areas or near industrial sections. The experience of the national government in the housing field indicates the importance of planning. Otherwise the expense will exceed the amount of money available, and the rent charged per room will either have to be too high for poor people or a generous subsidy provided. People in the lower-third income bracket cannot afford much more than five dollars per month per room.[1]

The surroundings of municipal housing projects require attention. Space for proper light and air, as well as for the play of children, is essential. Finally, there is the very important matter of renting the apartments. Unless care is taken, a higher-income group will flock in to take advantage of the accommodations, and the people for whom the improvement was intended will be driven to another section which may sink into the slum category. In some cases poor people have not been enthusiastic about the prospects of more convenient living quarters, although with a reasonable amount of attention this problem is not as serious as general report has made it. If a slum area is to be razed to make way for a municipal housing project, some arrangement must be made for the old tenants; they obviously cannot live in the street while the new buildings are going up. If they are allowed to scatter, they will perhaps not care to return after several months or more. Moreover, they may in the meantime reduce other areas of the city to slum status.

[1] For valuable discussions of the municipal housing problem consult Langdon W. Post, "Attainable Standards in Housing," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 128 (September, 1938); Citizens' Housing Council of New York, *Housing the Metropolis* (New York, 1938); James Ford, K. Morrow, and G. N. Thompson, *Slums and Housing with Special Reference to New York* (Cambridge, 1936); Beatrice G. Rosahn and A. Goldfeld, *Housing Management, Principles and Practices* (New York, 1937); L. Veiller, *A Model Housing Law* (New York, 1920); and E. E. Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States* (Washington, 1935).

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Public Health Association, *Annual Yearbooks.*

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The, "Current Developments in Housing," Vol. 190, entire number of March, 1937.

Aronovici, Carl, and McCalmont, Elizabeth, *Catching Up with Housing* (Newark, 1936).

Butler, G. D., *Introduction to Community Recreation* (New York, 1940).

Citizens' Housing Council of New York, *Housing the Metropolis* (New York, 1938).

Feder, Leah H., *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression—A Study of Measures Adopted in Certain American Cities, 1857–1922* (New York, 1936).

Ford, James, Morrow K., and Thompson, G. N., *Slums and Housing with Special Reference to New York City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936).

Hjeite, George, *The Administration of Public Recreation* (New York, 1940).

Hiscock, Ira V., ed., *Community Health Organization* (rev. ed., New York, 1939).

Housing Yearbook, issued annually by The National Association of Housing Officials.

Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Local Welfare Administration* (Chicago, 1939).

Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Municipal Recreation Administration* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1945).

Klein, Philip, *et. al., A Social Study of Pittsburgh* (New York, 1938).

Leyton, C. E., and Levy, E. A., *A Study of Public Recreation in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1936).

Lichterman, A., "Supervision of Food in New York City," *American Journal of Public Health,* July, 1938.

McCombs, Carl E., *City Health Administration* (New York, 1927).

Nash, J. B., *The Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation* (New York, 1927).

National Recreation Association, *Municipal and County Parks in the United States* (New York, 1942).

Post, Langdon W., "Attainable Standards in Housing," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 199, p. 128 (September, 1938).

Reckless, W. C., *Chicago Recreation Survey* (Chicago, 1937–1939), 3 vols.

Recreation Yearbook, published annually by the National Recreation Association.

Social Work Yearbook, published annually by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Stevenson, Marietta, *Public Welfare Administration* (New York, 1938).

Stoner, John E., and Field, O. P., *Public Health Services in an Indiana Defense Community* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1942).

Straus, M. W., and Wegg, Talbot, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York, 1938).

Straus, Nathan, *What the Housing Act Can Do for Your City* (Washington, 1939).

Upson, Lent D., *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), Chaps. XV, XVII, XVIII.

Waite, Herbert H., *Disease Prevention* (New York, 1926).

Whipple, G. C., *Vital Statistics* (New York, 1923).

Wright, Henry, *Rehousing Urban America* (New York, 1935).

XXVIII

PROTECTION TO PERSON AND PROPERTY

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

General Functions of Municipal Police.—One of the foremost authorities on municipal police administration has enumerated five general functions which modern police departments in cities of the United States may be expected to perform: (1) prevention of crime, (2) repression of crime, (3) apprehension of offenders, (4) recovery of property, and (5) regulation.[1] Until comparatively recently municipal police paid relatively little attention to preventing crime, for they thought of themselves as associated with a later stage of the criminal process. However, progressive police departments increasingly realize the importance of getting at the root of criminal conduct, and consequently they are placing greater emphasis upon this constructive aspect of the problem. Repression of crime is an older function which everywhere comes in for considerable attention: adequate patroling is a concrete manifestation of the significance attached to this function. Apprehension of offenders and recovery of property have for many years been traditionally associated with police administration and are self-explanatory. Finally, modern city police departments perform many functions which are only incidentally related to crime; one of the best known of these is the regulation of traffic.

Types of Criminal Offenses.—The federal Department of Justice in reporting major crimes in cities of the United States employs the following classification: criminal homicide, subdivided into murder and non-negligent manslaughter and manslaughter by negligence; rape; robbery; aggravated assault; burglary, breaking, or entering; larceny and theft; and auto theft.[2] Of every 100 of these serious offenses committed in cities, approximately 1.4

[1] See: A. Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley, California, 1936).
[2] See: *Uniform Crime Reports.*

are against the person and involve criminal homicide or rape: 3.6 are robberies; and the remainder have to do with property. Of course, the prevalence of crime has some relation to the section of the country; for example, the homicide rate is considerably higher in the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central cities than in other sections, largely because of the record among Negroes. Generally speaking, crime rates go up as the population of cities increases, but that is not always the case. During 1946, 2,262 cities, with a population of 67,262,382, reported 11.19 criminal homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, 12.12 rapes, 62.8 robberies, 67.5 aggravated assaults, 399.6 burglaries, 968.2 thefts, and 229.9 auto thefts.[1]

The Crime Record in Cities of the United States Contrasted to Cities in Other Countries.—There are few countries in the world in which municipal police departments are confronted with as serious problems as in the United States. Prior to World War II 1,423 cities in the United States reported 60.0 murders and 53.9 manslaughters per million inhabitants as against 3.0 and 4.7 respectively for England and Wales. In the case of rape there was much less difference, with 72.0 per million in cities of the United States and 66.3 in England and Wales, but in burglary and robbery the singular position of cities in the United States is again apparent. Our cities experienced 3,111.9 burglaries and 666.1 robberies per million inhabitants in contrast to 891.0 and 6.3 for the two offenses in England and Wales.[2]

SOME DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

The Activities of Vice Interests, Gamblers, Drunks, Dope Rings, and Racketeers.—It is probably obvious to everyone that the wide prevalence of major crimes in cities of the United States contributes significantly to the burden of municipal police administration. In addition, there are other problems which although not peculiar to the United States are perhaps more accentuated in our cities than in other countries of the world. Perhaps no problem presents any greater difficulties in municipal police administration in the

[1] Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice, *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. 17, p. 81.

[2] See: *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, no. 4, p. 6; and Report of Home Office, *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1935*, p. 20.

United States than the regulation of vice, gambling, liquor, and narcotics. The city dwellers in the United States are probably no more inherently vicious than people in cities of other countries: indeed we like to think of them as superior to the residents of many countries. Nevertheless, our city dwellers have a fondness for amateur gambling that is known the world over. Furthermore, they drink with an abandon that leads to drunkenness and consequently calls for police attention in many cases. To some extent, the situation is accentuated by the strictness of legal regulations as compared to other countries, for despite our fondness for certain of these things, we enact laws and ordinances that definitely brand them as illegal. Of course, the police have to bear much of the brunt of this psychological conflict.[1]

During recent years rackets of one kind and another have added greatly to the difficulty of adequate police administration in cities. Several cities have been the scene of notorious prostitution rackets, similar to that which Prosecutor Dewey smashed in New York City in 1936. Not only do such rackets make it difficult for police departments to maintain decent conditions by employing shyster lawyers, politico-bondsmen, and plug-uglies, but they sometimes attempt to corrupt the police by paying bribes for protection.[2] Various business rackets have also greatly complicated police administration in cities of the United States. Chicago and New York City have been especially afflicted with such curses, but other cities have not been immune. The blackmail, dynamiting, general lawlessness, and murders accompanying some of these business rackets are almost incredible.

The Police and Politics.—Very few cities can point to an entirely clear record on the score of political interference in police administration, and in some cities such a situation has been the rule rather than the exception for long periods of time. Instead of appointing police administrators because of their qualifications to do an adequate job, some cities have given the position to political wheelhorses. Not content with that, cities have sometimes recruited

[1] An excellent discussion of this and other problems is to be found in *Municipal Police Administration* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1946), prepared by the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration for use as a text in a correspondence course. See: pp. 11–30.

[2] For an interesting article on the Luciano racket in New York City see: R. I. Center, "The Halt of Racketeering," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 160, p. 447 (October, 1937).

all or a major part of the rank and file of their police employes on such a basis. In 1938, Los Angeles discovered that appointments as patrolman were being sold for several hundred dollars and that the police department was honey-combed with politics. Testimony in the notorious Hines case in New York City revealed that police employes of various grades prior to the La Guardia administration were moved from one part of the city to another at the dictation of District Boss Hines and with the coöperation of City Boss Curry.[1] In many cities the police department has made arrests for traffic violations and other offenses only to find that political magistrates dismissed large numbers of these cases for political reasons. Political interference has been of the greatest importance in lowering standards of police departments in all too many cities.

The Police and the Press.—Every now and then newspapers need sensational news to build up falling circulations and, lacking anything better, resort to an attack on the police department. Of course, some newspaper campaigns having to do with police departments are entirely legitimate and serve a very useful purpose in cleaning up bad situations: they may even serve to strengthen the hand of able officials in the police department who sometimes have to tolerate political interference or lose their jobs. But studies have revealed that some newspaper attacks are not made in good faith, that they result from personal animosity on the part of a newspaper owner or editor, and that the crime waves which they portray in screaming headlines are literally "manufactured." The Cleveland Crime Survey discovered that there were 345 felonies reported in Cleveland during the first two weeks of January, 1919 and that the various newspapers devoted to them 925 inches of space. During the last two weeks of the same month the number of felonies went up slightly to 363, but the newspapers with a "crime wave" slogan printed 6,642 inches, or more than seven times as much as during the earlier period.[2]

Newspapers sometimes are responsible for the "third-degree" methods employed by police officials, for they raise such a howl for an arrest that the police are driven to almost any lengths. By printing certain items during the hunt for a notorious criminal

[1] See: the files of the *New York Times* for February, 1939, for interesting testimony on the political interference which characterized the police department of New York City before the La Guardia administration.

[2] *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, Part 7, pp. 544–546.

the press may handicap the police by revealing the status of the case to the fugitive.[1]

The Handicap of Legal Technicalities.—Although other countries restrict their police by various legal requirements, there is a fairly widespread feeling among the municipal police of the United States that they are especially handicapped by legal technicalities of one kind and another. Unless they get exactly the right kind of evidence, the offender may be released by the courts. If they fail in presenting the evidence on the witness stand, the entire case may be lost. They must observe the proprieties in making arrests and obtaining evidence, even though they are dealing with a notorious criminal, unless they want the battery of lawyers employed by the gangster to defeat them on various grounds that have little to do with the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Non-Police Duties Constitute a Heavy Burden in Many Instances.—While police departments in cities are supposed to expend their energy in dealing with the problem of crime, they must frequently perform arduous tasks which seriously impair their effectiveness in their primary field. Bruce Smith has compiled a list of these non-police duties, and it is a long one which includes among other things: licensing of all sorts of vehicles, vendors, parades, and amusement businesses; regulating traffic; ambulance service; supervision of paroled convicts; inspections of various types; election service; relief assistance; and the examination of prostitutes.[2]

Recent Achievements of Municipal Police Departments.—Despite their weaknesses, municipal police departments are entitled to great credit for progress during recent years. When a comparison is made of police methods and standards now and forty years ago, the improvement is impressive. Perhaps the most notable achievement has been in applying scientific methods to the detection of crime. Both chemistry and physics have been used by the police in large measure in perfecting tests of various sorts which assist in the collection and preservation of evidence. The art of finger-printing has been immensely improved and widely applied in establishing personal identity of those suspected of offenses against

[1] This problem is ably presented in *Municipal Police Administration*, referred to above. pp. 18–22.

[2] Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 164, p. 3 (November, 1929).

the law. Much has been done in the way of training policemen both before and after they enter the service by municipal leagues, by the police departments themselves, and by universities, and consequently a new spirit of professionalism has entered into police work. Perhaps the ordinary citizen is more cognizant of changes that have taken place in the transport aspect of police administration than in any of the other fields, for he frequently sees a police car drive past his residence or place of business. The wide adoption of automobiles and motorcycles has given a mobility to policemen that seemed scarcely possible even in the early years of the present century when the flat-foot was traditionally associated with police service and the mounted officer represented the acme of speed.

Along with motorization have come important developments in the field of communication which also serve to increase the effectiveness of municipal police departments. The patrol box and the recall system have not disappeared from the scene, but they have been substantially supplemented by the radio equipment which has become standard for all police cars. Particularly with the recent application of two-way methods of communication to police cars the time required to dispatch policemen to the scene of a crime has been cut to a mere fraction of the time once necessary. Of course, reducing the time intervening between the commission of a crime and the arrival of the police on the scene makes it less difficult to apprehend criminals in those cases where pursuit is a factor.[1]

Development of Administrative Techniques.—Although material progress has been made during recent years in developing administrative techniques in connection with the police department, this side of the field has lagged behind improvements in scientific and mechanical devices. Such a situation is relatively serious in that it means that the routine sections of the department have outstripped the policy-determining divisions; the patrolmen and detectives have gone beyond the officers. Of course, the efficient work of the rank and file of the employes of a municipal police department is of the greatest import, but reactionary and politically

[1] For a very good outline of recent improvements in police departments the reader is referred to Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Municipal Police Administration*, pp. 35–36.

minded officials at the top may seriously handicap even the routine work of a department.

PROGRESSIVE POLICE ADMINISTRATION

Basic Elements in Police Administration.—The Institute for Training in Municipal Administration in its excellent book entitled *Municipal Police Administration* mentions seven basic elements which every progressive police department must give attention to. These are: (1) planning, (2) budgeting, (3) organization, (4) personnel administration, (5) direction, (6) coördination, and (7) reporting.[1]

Planning in the Police Department.—Planning is somewhat less central in police administration than it is in such fields as public works, public health, and recreation. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to over-emphasize the day-to-day character of police service, and too little attention has been given to more permanent problems. Crime prevention especially depends in no small measure upon studies of the underlying causes of vice, delinquency, and lawlessness: unless such data is at hand a crime-prevention program is not likely to prove very effective. Of course, the gathering of this material and the translation of the data into a well rounded program calls for careful planning on the part of the higher-ups in the municipal police department. Handling of emergencies may be left to the spur of the moment, but the more progressive departments lay their plans beforehand as far as possible. The laying out of precincts, the construction and location of buildings, the purchase and installation of equipment, the recruiting and training of superior personnel, and the handling of traffic are among the items that require planning if they are to be done well.[2]

Budgeting.—A police executive may be honest, courageous, and industrious and still fail to manage the department over which he presides in a reasonably satisfactory manner because he does not know how to "translate plans and programs, men and materials, into terms of dollars and cents."[3] If unlimited money were available for police use, budgeting would occupy a much less

[1] See: p. 37.
[2] See: *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

important place than it does at present, but there are very few cities where this is the case. An able administrator needs to be able to apportion the limited funds in such a fashion that important things will receive primary attention and less important items will be made subordinate. In the case of new projects it is almost always necessary to proceed with care, for there is rarely sufficient money to accomplish everything that may be desired at one time. If budgeting receives little consideration, the money available for such projects may be frittered away here and there, and the results may be meager. When police appropriations are curtailed, skill in budgeting will enable the department to maintain its most consequential services and dispense with less essential items. The efficient operation of a police department from day to day may depend upon the care with which the current budget is administered, for the power of the purse constitutes the most powerful control device of the administrator with the single exception of personal disciplinary action.

Organization.—The importance of certain qualities pertaining to organization have been discussed in connection with the general problem of municipal administrative organization.[1] Not everyone can handle subordinates and employes in such a manner that work will be accomplished quickly, thoroughly, and without undue friction. It is probably apparent to everyone that there are few departments of city government where such qualities are more necessary than in the police department. Proper grouping of related functions, effective supervision, establishment of "clear-cut channels of communication, authority, and responsibility," and the reduction or where possible the elimination of redtape are among the outstanding administrative techniques that apply to the police department.[2]

Personnel Administration.—In few municipal departments are personnel problems of greater consequence than in the police department, where temptation is present to lure the patrolman into corruption, numerous contacts with the public under the most trying circumstances are frequently involved, and mature judgment and common sense play leading roles. After competent material has been recruited, the department will not fare well unless pro-

[1] See: Chap. XIX.
[2] *Municipal Police Administration*, p. 39.

motions and increases of salary are handled with skill and fairness and assignments are made with due attention to the personal elements.

Direction.—Adequate personnel may prove unavailing unless it is directed with ability by the men at the top in the police department. Unlike most other city departments, the police department follows a quasi-military system which makes direction of unusual importance. An undisciplined police department may be inefficient, subject to political and corrupting influences, and oblivious to the general welfare of the city. Nevertheless, there are good and bad varieties of what goes under the name of "discipline," and the competent police executive should not confuse harshness, blind obedience, and arrogance with reasonable respect for orders and rules, careful attention to duty, and coöperation. The best police executive is probably in most cases the man who commands respect from the rank and file of the members of the department because of the leadership which he exercises.

Coördination.—Coördination is one of the qualities which are associated with competent administrative officials in all departments of government not only in the city but in other units of government. Nevertheless, it may be fair to regard it as more than usually important in the field of police administration, for conflicts seem to be the rule rather than the exception within some police departments, and furthermore there is the problem of coördinating police efforts with the activities of the prosecutor's office and the operations of the courts. Patrol and detective units may regard one another with suspicion and distrust; the traffic division may not get on with the ordinary patrolmen; and the prosecutor may have political ambitions which make him anxious to gain credit by fair means or foul. Of course, all of these situations impair the effectiveness of protection to person and property, and if they are to be corrected or at least minimized, call for a police executive who knows how to smooth out friction and promote coöperation.

Reporting.—Finally, progressive police administrators must be versed in the art of collecting and analyzing reports from the various divisions of the department. In small departments where there is opportunity to observe each employe formal reports may not be essential, but in a large city where employes may run into the thousands, reports furnish data which are basic in the decisions

and actions of the executive. In addition to receiving reports, the police executive must be able to prepare reports in regard to the work of his department for submission to the mayor, city manager, city council, and people. Adequate budget appropriations, popular coöperation, and official support may depend upon the skill with which the police administrator drafts reports to these several authorities.

THE ORGANIZATION OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS

General Organization Forms.—As the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration aptly puts it in its recent publication entitled *Municipal Police Administration*, "There is nothing either sacred or omnipotent about a form of organization." [1] What may be necessary in the way of organization in a large city would be an undue burden in the case of a small city. Moreover, cities of the same population class may find it advantageous to set up different forms of organization in their police departments because of different local problems. Nevertheless, there are certain results which a satisfactory organization may be expected to produce, and among these in the case of a police department are: promptness of action and unified responsibility. These requisites more or less rule out certain forms of police organization which have either been inflicted upon cities or adopted by them. Thus, the old plan of having the state set up a state-appointed commission to assume responsibility for police administration in a city has not been satisfactory, although Boston, Baltimore, and St. Louis still operate under such a plan.[2]

Popular or Legislative Control.—With the tradition that points in the direction of civilian rather than military methods of police administration and the emphasis upon the safeguarding of individual rights and liberties, it was not strange that some cities went through a form of organization where the head of the department and even the members of the force received positions at the hands of the voters. This system has long since disappeared in large cities and rarely is encountered in communities which have more than a constable, although it continues to maintain itself in the county in the person of the sheriff. An indirect form of this popular control

[1] P. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35. Kansas City was added to this list in 1939.

is, however, still quite common in many small cities where the police department is placed under the control of a committee of the city council. Another related form of organization provides for a police board, often of a bi-partisan character, and this at one time had great vogue even among the larger cities of the United States, for it was supposed to take politics out of police administration. Despite its almost universal failure at least in cities of considerable size, the separate board-type of organization is still employed by a number of cities.[1]

Executive Control.—Under the commission form of city government an elected commissioner ordinarily takes charge of both the police and fire departments, but his success in these fields has not been impressive. Finally, there are the general forms where the department is placed under a single person appointed by the municipal executive. Occasionally a professional police officer is selected for the post of commissioner with indefinite tenure pending good behavior, but the common plan is to have a civilian appointed on the basis of political or personal reasons. While the executive types of organization usually make for unity in that a single head is appointed, the tenure of the police commissioner rarely extends beyond the term of the executive, and consequently continuity is lacking. Some cities have tried a dual system, with a civilian in general charge and a professional policeman as chief of police, but such a plan, although satisfactory in certain cities, finds conflict difficult to avoid. In general, as Bruce Smith states it, "The task of reconciling executive responsibility and experienced administration represents one of the major problems of American police administration." [2]

Some Basic Principles Underlying Internal Organization.—A very large number of forms of internal organization have been or are being used by police departments in the cities of the United States. Some of them are adequate, but many have grown up more or less fortuitously and can scarcely be regarded as logical at all.[3] Perhaps more significant than the exact organizational form are certain principles that would seem to be basic to any departmental set-up

[1] Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 164, pp. 3–7 (November, 1929).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[3] See: Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, *Municipal Police Administration* (Chicago, 1938), p. 52.

that is to do its work well. In as much as a police department has diverse functions of a complicated nature to perform, it is especially important that the department be so constructed that "the whole machine may pull in the same direction without loss of motion through ill-adjusted units."[1] The number of principal divisions should rarely exceed nine because a chief executive cannot be expected to supervise more than that number of division heads.[2] Related functions in the police department, as in almost any administrative department in the municipal, state, or national sphere, should be brought together under one division. As far as possible, internal organization should take into account the desirability of having at least one full-time person in charge of each division of the department, for part-time officials have not been very satisfactory. Under this principle one police department might have a records division on the same plane as other major divisions, whereas another department with not enough record-keeping to consume the time of one employe would assign the keeping of records to the complaint desk or some other division.

Staff and Line Activities.—A breakdown of functions into line and staff activities is important in planning internal organizations, although not every city will find it possible to provide a separate division for each of these activities. The line activities which every police department must perform to at least some extent are: patrol, investigation, prevention, and regulation of traffic and other matters. Every city will have to give a good deal of attention to patrol operations, but small cities will rarely find it necessary to have separate divisions charged with crime prevention or even with traffic regulation.[3] The staff activities are: personnel, records and identification, communications, property management, and public relations. A large city may set up five divisions of equal status to assume responsibility for these staff functions, but a small city can scarcely expect to maintain anything like so elaborate an organization, although it must pay attention to every one of these activities.

Territorial Organization.—A small municipal police department may plan its organization very largely, if not entirely, on the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[2] In 1929, a study discovered that the Chicago police commissioner had direct supervision of 19 separate officers or units—an impossible task. See: *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[3] See: Dwight McCracken, *Traffic Regulation in Small Cities* (Chicago, 1932).

functional considerations which have been discussed above, but in a large city geographical factors must also be taken into account. While all functions of the police department may be handled by one headquarters in small cities, it is, of course, impossible to expect that to be done in a large city, where the number of police employes is very large and distances from one part of the city to another are great. Police departments in large cities provide for police districts or precincts which carry on much of the work of the department as far as it relates to patrol work. Unfortunately some cities have given the problem of setting up the divisions very little attention, and consequently the arrangement is not all that might be expected. In general, patrolmen should not be expected to have to spend more than fifteen minutes coming to headquarters for instructions, supplies, and the booking of prisoners. Moreover, it should be reasonably easy for citizens to get to a police station for the purpose of making complaints. Finally, where there are more or less clearly marked communities within a city, it may be desirable to establish police administration on such units.[1]

Organization of Divisions or Precincts.—Each division or precinct in a city is ordinarily placed in charge of a captain or lieutenant who is generally responsible to the patrol division of headquarters for patrol operations in his area. In some cities detectives, traffic police, and other special police employes are assigned to divisions, and that raises the question as to what the relationship shall be between these employes and the captain or lieutenant of the division. Perhaps the most satisfactory arrangement is to place the special employes under the routine charge of the captain as far as ordinary discipline, sick leave, and such matters go, but to assign ultimate responsibility for assignments and quality of work to the functional division at headquarters. Where policemen are detailed for patrol duty in general but are sometimes called upon to assist in handling traffic regulation and performing special tasks, the problem of fixing responsibility is especially complicated. The safest way to avoid conflict of jurisdiction is to clear every assignment to such special duty with the regular superior of the policeman, but such a procedure requires more time than is sometimes

[1] Where cities haphazardly lay out divisions, considerable waste is involved. The Providence Governmental Research Bureau estimated an annual saving of $3,000 in light, heat, and supplies for each discontinued station in that city. See: *Survey and Report* (1933), p. 21.

available and at best is cumbersome. The happiest method of handling these problems of conflict depends upon cordial relations and close coöperation between the patrol division, the traffic division, the investigation division, the vice-control division, and the crime-prevention division, and unfortunately such a state of affairs is not always prevalent.[1]

POLICE PERSONNEL

Recruiting Police Employes.—The problem of recruiting policemen is not very different from that encountered in any municipal department, although policemen are organized on a semi-military basis and are subject to call 24 hours out of every day and 52 weeks out of every year. Where a municipal personnel agency operates with any efficiency, the police department can advantageously use it for recruiting purposes, but in cities where no provision is made for hiring city workers on a merit basis, police departments sometimes have to shoulder the additional burden of recruitment themselves.

Qualities of Policemen.—Chief Greening of Berkeley, California has compiled a list of ten qualities necessary for a policeman: (1) a two-legged reference library and information bureau, (2) an emergency fireman and doctor, (3) a marksman, (4) a boxer and wrestler, (5) a sprinter who runs in one direction, (6) a male governess to children, (7) a diplomat and a two-fisted go-getter at the same time, (8) a memory expert, (9) judge, jury, and attorney for the defense and prosecution, and (10) versatility.[2] The Department of Public Instruction of California has drafted a list of 104 police duties calling for 158 kinds of knowledge.[3]

The Institute of Training in Municipal Administration has specified eight rather broad qualifications which seem to cover the ground admirably. "Both education and intelligence of a superior quality are absolutely essential, intelligence being paramount. Figuratively speaking you can't pour a quart of information into a pint receptacle—neither can you get a quart of information, knowledge, comprehension, or service out of a pint container." [4]

[1] The best general source of data in regard to the problem of division organization is *Municipal Police Administration*, and it is not readily available. See: pp. 67–70.

[2] Quoted from *Municipal Police Administration*, pp. 91–92.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[4] *Municipal Police Administration*, p. 93.

The Berkeley, California police department has placed some emphasis upon college training, and the Civil Service Commission of New York City attempted to give college graduates a slight preference in 1938, but, in general, high school education is perhaps as much as can be specified at present. An experience qualification is not regarded as wise, because it closes the door to promising young men who probably are abler recruits than older men of some experience in other fields. Character, including sobriety, clean crime record, honesty, and care in meeting financial obligations, ranks high among qualities, as does unquestionable physical and moral courage.[1]

The minimum height acceptable to most police departments is 5 feet 9 inches, although occasionally departments will go as low as 5 feet 7 inches, and the maximum is 6 feet 6 inches. The minimum weight is ordinarily 150 pounds stripped, with increases above that allowed in proportion to height. Normal nerves, glands, mental condition, and temperament are important, and strength and agility should be above the average. Although age limits have been extremely flexible in the cities of the United States, it is recommended that 21 years be the minimum and 28 years the maximum at entry, with 35 years a maximum for experienced persons and a waiving of age in the case of specialists in chemistry, ballistics, and so forth.[2]

Pre-Entry Training.—Very little has been done in the way of establishing pre-entry training courses for policemen. Coaching schools offer cram courses which are intended to assist candidates in passing civil service examinations. Universities occasionally recommend certain courses for prospective policemen; the University of California has a rather elaborate curriculum based on the composite opinions of 15 police officials, 6 university professors, 2 specialists in traffic regulation and crime detection, and 1 police consultant. The first two years do not differ substantially from the courses carried by the rank and file of students, but the junior and senior years consist of 12 hours in political science, 9 hours in

[1] The importance of character is evidenced by the fact that during the single month of August, 1938, serious charges involving graft were made against groups of policemen in New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia. See: the issues of the *New York Times* for the month.

[2] The complete list of qualifications, with a very good commentary, is to be found in *Municipal Police Administration*, pp. 92–95.

sociology, 13 hours in psychology, 4 hours in statistics, 3 hours in principles of police administration, 4 hours in vertebrate embryology and microscope technique, and 14 hours of electives.[1]

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Departmental Courses.—The majority of police departments still depend upon the school of experience to train their recruits, but a number of more progressive departments, realizing the inadequacy of such training, have set up in-service training courses of one kind or another. In 1937, the University of Minnesota obtained information from 81 cities and found that only 21 of these cities furnished departmental in-service training to policemen and that in only 17 cases did the course run longer than the equivalent of one week. Ten of the 17 cities enrolled their recruits in school before assigning them to actual duty, while the remainder offered instruction simultaneously with service. New York City provided 13 weeks of full-time training, with only six hours of patrol duty once each week, while Washington gave 12 weeks, and Baltimore and Louisville 8 weeks each. The New York Police Academy had 44 full- or part-time instructors, eleven different specialized schools, and an annual budget of over $150,000.[2]

Municipal League Courses.—In addition to certain cities which offer departmental courses to policemen, there are a number of cities where in-service training is provided by municipal leagues. These courses are usually quite short, but they serve a useful purpose in the absence of anything more complete. Oregon, Virginia, New York, Kansas, Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan are among the states where the municipal leagues have been particularly active. With the increased interest in this field to be observed in various places, it is probable that this type of training will be amplified.

University Courses.—A number of universities have recently interested themselves in courses for policemen which probably belong to the in-service variety in as much as they are intended primarily for policemen already in the service who obtain leave

[1] Quoted from *Municipal Police Administration*, pp. 131–132, which quotes from an unpublished manuscript by Chief J. A. Greening.

[2] University of Minnesota Committee on the Police Training Project, *Survey of Police Training* (Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 20–22.

for the purpose of taking such courses. Northwestern, New York, Ohio State, Purdue, Kentucky, Kansas, Hobart, Southern California, Washington, and Yale are among the institutions that have set up short training schools, special courses, or elaborate curricula in certain specialized fields, such as traffic regulation and crime detection.

Reading Courses.—Some cities have attempted to encourage progress on the part of their policemen by recommending reading courses. This is especially valuable in small cities where regular in-service courses could perhaps not be given.

Content of In-Service Training Courses.—There is a considerable variation among the in-service courses as to content; it stands to reason that a week's course could scarcely include what is covered in Berkeley where all officers on probation take two hours of training three days per week for two years. Among the topics covered in a reasonably adequate course might be the following: first aid and personal hygiene, public health and disease prevention, preserving evidence, criminal law, application of science to police administration, statutes and ordinances, sociology and criminology, records, modus operandi, techniques of close combat, use of firearms, care of equipment, local geography, public disorders, missing persons, and public relations.[1]

Crime Prevention.—More and more progressive police officials are realizing the wisdom of taking steps to prevent crime rather than wait until after a crime has been committed. Of course, the police department is not the only municipal agency which has a responsibility in this field, for the schools, social agencies, Boy Scouts, service clubs, probation officers, juvenile courts, welfare departments, and other groups also play a role. However, the police department is especially involved and has been responsible for bringing something like two-thirds of all cases of juvenile delinquency into the courts.[2]

The Numerical Strength of a Police Department.—There is a very great variation among cities in the numerical strength of their police departments both in aggregate and, what is much more significant, on a per-capita basis. Large numbers of small cities

[1] This outline of content is taken from *Municipal Police Administration*, pp. 141–144.

[2] See the children's Bureau, *Juvenile Court Statistics and Federal Court Offenders*, published periodically.

get along with anywhere from one to half a dozen members of the police force and expect a single policeman to suffice for one thousand or even more inhabitants. At the other extreme New York City has approximately twenty thousand police employes, or one for every 400 or so inhabitants.[1] There is a definite relation between the numerical strength of a police force and the crime rate according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The 19 cities among cities of over 100,000 population with the most adequate police forces recently averaged 2.3 police employes per 1,000 inhabitants, while the 25 cities with the least adequate forces, averaged .9 police employes per 1,000 inhabitants. The homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants was 5.1 in the former cities and 9.7 in the latter; the robbery rates were 49.5 and 82.7 respectively; the aggravated-assault rates were 36.5 and 59.6; the burglary rates were 324.4 and 467.3; and the larceny-theft rates ran to 725.8 among cities of the first group and 1,068.2 among cities of the inferior group.[2]

THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM

Traffic Control.—During recent years there has been an increasing awareness in cities of the seriousness of the traffic problem, although motor fatalities have actually mounted less rapidly in the cities than in rural sections. Rural areas saw their motor fatalities go up 150 per cent during 1925–1935, while cities had to admit an increase of only 27 per cent.[3] The achievements of the campaign to reduce traffic accidents have been substantial, although much remains to be done. Until 1937 the toll in lives had gone alarmingly upward, but in 1938 attention to the matter brought a reduction of more than nineteen per cent. The record of individual cities was even more striking: Providence, Rhode Island cut its traffic deaths by 65 per cent; Evanston, Illinois had not a single fatal accident during an entire year.[4] But unfortunately this improvement did not turn out to be permanent. In 1941 almost forty thousand persons lost their lives in traffic accidents. During the

[1] The number has varied from 16,000 to some 19,000 recently.
[2] *Uniform Crime Reports*, Second Quarterly Bulletin, 1937, p. 72.
[3] National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 17.
[4] The reduction was 22 per cent during November, 1937 to August, 1938. See: report of the National Safety Council in *New York Times*, August 29, 1938.

war years there was some reduction, but by 1945 the rate started soaring again, threatening to establish new highs.

Modern traffic control involves more than the police department, despite the large role of that department. The department of public works has much responsibility in connection with improved highways, elimination of "blind" corners and dangerous intersections, and the installation of safety devices and signals. Private engineers employed by the motor industry have their share in traffic control—they have to prepare the standards which determine the construction of automobiles. The schools, newspapers, and other instruments of public opinion must deal with the driver and the pedestrian, for the human element is exceedingly important. Safety education plays a large role in traffic control. Finally, there is the problem of enforcement of traffic regulations which in a progressive city have been drawn up into a code after careful study by traffic experts. This function of enforcement is ordinarily entrusted to the police department in cities of the United States, although state police, the county law enforcement officers, and the courts share in this task.

A Separate Traffic Division of the Police Department?—It is the censensus of opinion among well informed persons that the traffic problem in cities of any size is so complicated that it calls for specialization on the part of those who are to regulate it. All cities over 250,000 inhabitants now have special traffic divisions of their police departments; 81 per cent of cities in the 100,000–250,000 class make such provision. In the case of smaller cities special traffic divisions are not uncommon, for 63 per cent of cities in the 50,000–100,000 class and 34 per cent of cities in the 30,000–50,000 recently reported such facilities.[1] These traffic divisions enjoy the services of from 9 to 14 per cent of all police employes in the classes of cities noted above. The Safety Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police recommends a minimum of four full-time men per 10,000 of population for traffic duty and specifies that at least 50 per cent and preferably 75 per cent of these should be motorized.[2]

Municipal Jails.—Almost all cities, whether large or small, provide jail facilities, unless they happen to be county seats and

[1] National Safety Council study, reported in *Municipal Police Administration*, p. 268.
[2] *Municipal Police Administration*, p. 269.

enter into arrangement with county authorities to care for city prisoners. As a rule, municipal jails are highly unsatisfactory: perhaps no aspect of city government has received less attention or made less progress. A few cities have constructed modern jails which meet current penal standards during recent years, but they are definitely the exception. To begin with, city jails are frequently not securely enough built to contain ingenious prisoners. Fortunately the more desperate type of lawbreaker is usually not housed in city jails, and hence the lack of security is less serious than it might otherwise be. More important is the fact that many municipal jails are filthy, vermin-infested, poorly lighted, and lacking in adequate sanitary facilities. Ordinarily no provision is made for segregating prisoners except on the basis of sex—young and old are herded in together, and the first offender finds himself in close contact with the pervert and the professional crook. Although there has been great progress during recent years in recreational facilities, streets, sewers, public school buildings, and water plants, not many cities have requested W.P.A. or P.W.A. funds for new jails. New York City has recently received federal assistance which will enable it to build a new city prison and tear down the notorious Tombs, but for the most part cities seem quite satisfied with their present facilities.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS

Fire departments in metropolitan cities may not be as large as police departments. New York City employs approximately eight thousand firemen in contrast to some eighteen thousand policemen, while in Chicago not quite half as many firemen are on the municipal payrolls as policemen.[1] However, in smaller cities the two departments tend to become more equal in size; in Indianapolis, for example, both departments employ approximately the same number of persons.[2] In very small places the number of firemen may actually exceed the number of policemen in certain instances, although some very small cities have not entirely emerged from the period when fire forces were of volunteer status. In general, cities in the United States lead the world as far as

[1] In 1946, there were 8,139 in New York City's fire department and 2,808 in the fire department of Chicago. See: *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 377.

[2] In 1946, Indianapolis employed 608 firemen and 610 policemen.

fire departments are concerned—this is especially the case in elaborateness of equipment.

FIRE FIGHTING AND FIRE PREVENTION

Emphasis on Fire Fighting Rather than Fire Prevention.—Although fire prevention receives a fair amount of attention in some cities and probably is being given increased consideration in cities as a whole, fire fighting has come in for the lion's share of personnel and money.[1] To some extent, this may be due to the unusual fondness of people in the United States for mechanical devices. The love for the spectacular, holding over from the old volunteer departments, may also play a part. In addition, there is the greater fire hazard presented by wooden buildings and perhaps by sky-scrapers. At any rate, municipal fire-fighting departments in comparatively small cities of the United States compare favorably with great metropolitan departments in Europe.

Need for Greater Emphasis on Fire Prevention.—Despite the elaborate mechanical equipment and the large personnel of the fire-fighting sections of fire departments in cities of the United States, fire losses exceed those of cities in other countries. To some extent, this may be accounted for by the hazardous construction of many cities in the United States, but some of it seems to be fairly attributable to the lack of emphasis on fire prevention. After a fire breaks out, there is almost bound to be damage; even where the blaze itself is quickly extinguished, the water poured into a building may cause great destruction. Moreover, firemen cut holes in roofs and otherwise mutilate a property in order to get at the fire itself.

Not much can be done to change the type of construction of a city in a short time, but adequate building codes will accomplish a great deal over a period of years. More than that, there is much value in frequent inspection of premises to see whether undue fire hazards prevail as a result of carelessness. Many basements

[1] For good discussions of fire prevention see: National Board of Fire Underwriters, *Suggested Fire Prevention Ordinances* (New York, 1930); E. U. Crosby, H. A. Fiske, and H. W. Forster, *The Handbook of Fire Protection* (New York, 1925); J. K. Freitag, *Fire Prevention and Fire Protection as Applied to Building Construction* (New York, 1921); and T. F. Doughtery and P. W. Kearney, *Fire* (New York, 1931). See also: H. A. Stone and G. E. Stecher, *Organization and Operation of a Municipal Bureau of Fire Prevention* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1927).

have old newspapers, excelsior, rags, and other highly inflammable material, while backyards may contain the same and other fire hazards. Inspection by the fire department and insistence that premises be placed in a less dangerous condition would doubtless do much to reduce the number of fires. However, such procedure seems at first sight to be routine, and, furthermore, it is resented by many householders who have the impression that such interference with their private affairs is an impertinence and not to be tolerated. A campaign of education in the public schools and among the adult citizens does much to break down indifference to fire prevention.

A glance at the per-capita fire losses in European countries will reveal the need for continued attention to fire prevention in the United States, despite the considerable improvement which has been achieved during recent years. In 1926, Dr. L. D. Upson estimated the annual per-capita fire loss in several European countries to be as follows: Holland, 11 cents; Italy, 25 cents; Germany, 28 cents; France, 49 cents; Great Britain, 72 cents; and Switzerland, 15 cents.[1] At the same time he placed the per-capita annual fire loss in the United States at $4.75! By 1930, the United States had cut its loss to $4.07, and England and Ireland had risen to $1.27. During the nineteen-thirties an impressive reduction was achieved in fire losses in the United States: in 1937, the total amounted to approximately $284,000,000, or something like $2.27 per capita. In the same year England and Ireland reported a fire loss of £9,529,000, or a per-capita loss of about $1.05.[2] But this improvement did not survive the war years. By 1942 the loss had increased to $314,295,000; in 1944 it soared to $423,538,000; in 1945 it reached $455,338,000; and in 1946 an all-time high of $562,000,000 was established.[3]

The Record of Cities and Rural Areas in the United States.—It is interesting to note that cities have a distinctly better record when it comes to fire loss than rural areas of the United States. The National Resources Committee's Subcommittee on Urbanism estimated in 1937 that cities, despite their great concentration of property, account for only approximately 40 per cent of the

[1] *Practice of Municipal Administration*, p. 225.
[2] Whitaker's *Almanac, 1939*, pp. 670, 1077.
[3] The aggregate loss in 1946 broke all records, but not the per capita loss.

national fire loss and that their per-capita loss is only about half that of rural sections. However, on the basis of deaths attributable to fire, cities make a poorer showing, with about 70 per cent of the total.[1]

Causes of Fire in the United States.—According to the statements of the National Board of Fire Underwriters something like one-fourth of all the fire loss in the United States is strictly preventable, and another third is classified as due to unknown causes. A great deal of this vague category probably involves carelessness and consequently might properly be added to the strictly preventable class.[2] The most important strictly preventable causes listed by the National Board of Fire Underwriters are: defective chimneys, gas, hot ashes, lighted matches, open lights, petroleum, sparks on roof, and stoves and furnaces. The partly preventable causes are: exposure to other fires, electricity, sparks from machinery, lighting, explosions, sparks from combustion, and spontaneous combustion.[3] This classification is somewhat technical and does not throw as much light upon the subject as might be desirable.

With so many fires explained as due to unknown causes, adequate information is not available. However, keen observers have mentioned the following as being responsible for large numbers of fires in cities: smoldering cigarette butts and matches used to light cigarettes; accumulations of old newspapers and magazines which catch fire because of the action of printers ink on the chemicals and wood pulp of the paper; use of kerosene or gasoline in cleaning or starting fires; and wooden construction of buildings.

Fire Schools.—Large cities frequently maintain fire schools for the training of recruits to the service. In as much as private institutions offer little or no preparation for employment in a fire department, most of those who receive appointment to such departments know very little about the work which they are expected to perform. The course in such schools, as a rule, lasts two weeks or a month. Occasionally appointments to the service depend upon how well students do in the course, but frequently those who take the training have already received at least tentative appointments.

[1] *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 17.
[2] See: the annual reports of the National Board of Fire Underwriters.
[3] *Ibid.*

Officers of the fire departments give the instruction which varies somewhat from city to city; however, in many cases lectures are combined with practical exercises. Instruction may be given on causes of fire, use of apparatus, role of chemicals, removal of persons suffering from smoke, and resuscitation of fire victims. Fire towers or fire equipment may be used to give training in climbing, handling of various fire-fighting implements, and other practical matters. In addition to the schools for recruits, cities not uncommonly provide training for more established members of the force. Lectures may be given on technical matters, and fire towers may be used to keep the firemen in proper trim for actual fighting of fires.

ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT OF FIRE DEPARTMENTS

Local Fire Stations or Houses.—Small cities may have only one fire station where the firemen and the fire-fighting apparatus are housed, but larger cities are divided into districts, and each district receives a fire house.[1] These districts vary in size, depending upon the concentration of property and the fire hazard. In downtown areas no more than one square mile may be included, while in residential areas a district will be two or three times as large. Most of the employes of the fire department, as well as most of the equipment, are apportioned out among the various stations. Small cities may provide no more than three firemen, with perhaps only two on duty at one time, but in larger cities the number of employes attached to each station ordinarily runs from five to fifteen.

The two-platoon system is employed by most large cities. The firemen are divided into two groups or platoons—one group is on duty for ten hours during the daytime and the other serves for fourteen hours at night. In addition to those on active duty, provision is made for the calling of other firemen in cases of emergency. It is the general custom to alternate firemen between the day and the night shifts. While on duty, fire department employes may clean and repair apparatus or take trucks out for practice

[1] For more detailed discussions of municipal fire departments the reader is referred to: E. F. Croker, *Fire Prevention* (New York, 1912); John Kenlon, *Fires and Fire Fighters* (New York, 1913); Luke Flanagan, *The Science of Fire Fighting* (New York, 1920); and the publications of the National Fire Protection Association.

runs; however, not all of their time is consumed in such a fashion. Dormitories may be provided for rest, and much time is spent on games of cards and various other pastimes.

Fire Apparatus.—Both large and small cities now depend entirely upon motorized equipment. Small cities ordinarily maintain trucks which carry ladders, hose, chemical tanks, and personal equipment for the use of the firemen. In larger cities some companies may operate pumpers; others may man ladder trucks or hose trucks; and still others furnish rescue service. Downtown areas may require pumpers to raise the pressure in water mains to a point where it is adequate to fight fires in high buildings. The internal combustion pump has almost entirely supplanted the old steam engine.

Ladder trucks usually carry the aerial type of ladders which may be erected very quickly and also may have chemical tanks, axes, buckets, life nets, gas masks, life belts, apparatus for cutting metal, and other devices for rescue purposes. Rescue trucks cover a larger area than ordinary fire trucks and usually respond to all fire calls of consequence in congested areas. Very large cities sometimes provide fire towers for use in the tall-building section of the downtown area. The regular firemen keep all of this apparatus in order as far as routine attention goes, but the extensive use of motor apparatus has made necessary the establishment of special maintenance shops for major repairs.[1]

Fire-Alarm Systems.—Fire calls in small cities are made through the use of the regular telephone system or through personal message, but large cities find it necessary to supplement such facilities with telegraph or fire-box installations. Fire-alarm boxes are placed at convenient intervals on streets and also in large buildings. When a glass pane is broken or when a lever is pulled, an alarm automatically is registered at the central station, and ordinarily the central station relays alarms to all of the local stations. The local stations know which districts they are primarily responsible for. By sending all alarms to all local stations it is possible to provide for secondary coverage. When a station in a section of the city hears a call in a district which they do not

[1] For information on fire apparatus see: Frederick Shepperd, *Fire Chief's Handbook* (New York, 1932); and R. H. McNeish, *The Automobile Fire Apparatus Operator* (Los Angeles, 1926).

ordinarily cover, they respond if an earlier call has required the services of the companies primarily responsible.[1]

High-Pressure Systems.—The downtown sections of large cities may be the site of numerous very high buildings. Most cities require such buildings to have water tanks on the roof, as well as other fire protecting devices, such as sprinkler systems, but fire departments cannot always depend upon these facilities.[2] New York City and a few other very large cities have constructed special high-pressure systems in such areas which within a minute can develop water pressure up to three hundred pounds per square inch. As a rule, they draw their water from large neighboring bodies of water rather than from the water mains. Fireboats may be used in such a connection as well as for harbor fires. Special mechanical devices have to be provided to direct the stream of water on the required spot because the great force makes manpower inadequate.

Costs of Fire Departments.—The costs of fire departments in cities of the United States mount large, as may be expected from the very elaborate equipment and large staffs. On a per-capita basis expenditures for fire departments rank fourth among costs of operating and maintaining the general departments in cities of over 25,000 population. The total amount expended by cities over 25,000 in population currently runs to something like two hundred million dollars every year. The average per-capita expenditure of all cities with populations exceeding 10,000 for fire administration amounts to approximately three dollars and a half per year; in 1945, the exact amount was $3.40.[3] Interestingly enough there is much less variation in cost among cities on the basis of population than is the case with certain other municipal functions. Cities over 500,000 spent $3.87 per capita in 1945; cities with 250,000 to 500,000 $3.20; and cities of 100,000 to 250,000 $3.49. Cities in the 50,000–100,000 class spent $3.29; cities in the 25,000–50,000 class $2.92; and cities in the 10,000–25,000 class $2.44. There is, of course, a considerable degree of variation among individual cities,

[1] For additional discussion see: National Fire Protection Association, *Field Practice Handbook* (Boston, 1929).

[2] For a discussion of fire hydraulics see: Frederick Shepperd, *Simplified Fire Department Hydraulics* (New York, 1925).

[3] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 368.

with some small cities depending on the charity of neighbors and others going as high as five dollars or so per capita.[1]

Importance of Fire Reports.—One of the most important aspects of adequate fire administration involves the reporting of the nature, causes, and scope of fires. Fairly accurate data are available as to the amount of damage because of the prevalence of insurance, but the information as to the causes of fires is not at all detailed. Too many fire departments content themselves with a notation "of unknown origin." It is not easy in many cases to determine the cause of a fire, but, nevertheless, more could be done than has been done in the past. Even where departments give more definite explanation than the meaningless one of unknown origin, they sometimes do no more than give the general cause. Spontaneous combustion, for example, means little, unless it is accompanied by additional details. Fire prevention has been seriously handicapped by lack of careful reporting by fire departments.

BUILDING CODES

Why Required.—Much can be done in reducing the fire loss and improving the general safety of cities by the adoption of modern building codes. More than 1,500 municipalities have already adopted such codes.[2] One of the outstanding reasons for the very serious fire problem in cities of the United States has been the prevalence of low quality buildings. Wood has been plentiful in the United States, and consequently it has been employed for building construction in preference to materials which are fire-resisting. Approximately 80 per cent of all residential buildings in cities fall into the wood class.[3] Even where brick and stone have been used for exteriors, so little attention has been paid to interior construction that firetraps have been built in large numbers. Where the floors, partitions, and woodwork are of wood and the hallways are open, brick and stone buildings may be as great a menace to public safety as wooden buildings except in the case of fires started outside of the building.

Some Essentials of an Adequate Building Code.—A satisfactory

[1] *The Municipal Year Book, 1946*, p. 368.

[2] See: National Resources Committee Report *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

building code requires a permit from the municipal authorities for the construction of all new buildings and for substantial additions to old buildings. Such permits ought not be granted unless complete plans and explanations are submitted with the applications. Trained architects and engineers must be employed by the city if the examination of plans is to amount to much. The building code might be expected to guide these experts in a general way, although it is possible to go too far in the direction of detailed requirements. Provisions as to the construction of the walls, the foundations, the roof, the partitions, the floors, fire doors, elevator shafts, stairways, the basement, electrical installations, chimneys, and fire escapes may generally be expected, although, of course, the requirements cannot be uniform for all buildings. Private residences could not be required to employ fire-resisting materials for all internal construction without putting the cost beyond the general reach. On the other hand, office buildings, factories, and apartment houses must have a fire-resisting separation between the basement and the upper floors, and it is important that their stairways and elevator shafts be constructed in such a way that they do not constitute fire menaces.[1]

Enforcement of Building Codes.—No building code will execute itself, and consequently after permits have been granted, it is necessary to send municipal inspectors to see that the provisions of the building code have been observed. Unless these inspectors are technically trained and personally honest, the inspection will not accomplish a great deal, for politically appointed inspectors cannot tell the difference between proper and faulty construction, even if they take their jobs seriously. In many cases they receive money from the contractor or the owner to stay away or to keep their eyes closed when they do visit new buildings.

Responsibility for Enforcing Building Codes.—There is rarely any adequate machinery for enforcing building regulations in small cities. The city council or the city clerk may grant building permits, but, in all but exceptional cases, the issuing of permits is a routine matter. No attempt is made in certain cities to inspect the buildings during construction, although on the other hand,

[1] See: National Building Code Committee, *Recommended Practice for the Arrangement of Building Codes* (Washington, 1926); and Merchants' Association of New York, *Proposed Building Code for New York City* (New York, 1932).

very large cities may set up elaborate departments to administer building codes.[1] These departments may be highly technical in organization—in New York City this department has experts in engineering, metal work, masonry, reinforced concrete, carpentry, plastering, elevators, and so forth.

Most cities cannot afford a separate department for such a purpose; as a matter of fact, there is not enough work to justify such a separate department in cities except the very largest. It is not uncommon for cities to apportion the work of inspection among several departments. For example, Philadelphia places plumbing, housing, and tenements under the public health department and makes the fire and police departments responsible for building construction, electrical equipment, elevators, heating plants, and smoke. However, if cities are sizable, the study of twenty-five cities made by the National Institute of Public Administration indicates that there is a tendency to concentrate responsibility in the police and fire departments, in departments of public buildings, in building inspectors, or in building commissioners.[2] Cleveland places all of these functions in the department of public safety, as do Syracuse, Dayton, and Durham, North Carolina. Boston, Cincinnati, Dallas, St. Paul, and Kenosha, Wisconsin have buildings departments, building inspectors, or inspections departments which perform all of these inspection services.[3]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The, "The Police and the Crime Problem," entire issue of May, 1929.

Chicago Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931).

Cincinnati Regional Crime Committee, *The Cincinnati Police Beat Survey* (Chicago, 1936).

Comer, John P., *New York City Building Control, 1800–1941* (New York, 1942).

Crosby, E. U., Fiske, H. A., and Forster, H. W., *The Handbook of Fire Protection* (New York, 1925).

Crump, I., and Newton, J. W., *Our Police* (New York, 1935).

[1] See: Edna Trull, *The Administration of Regulatory Inspectional Services in American Cities* (New York, 1932).

[2] Clarence E. Ridley, *The Public Works Department in American Cities*, table II.

[3] *Ibid.*, table II.

Halsey, Maxwell, *Traffic Accidents and Congestion* (New York, 1941).
Harris, Leonard V., *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934).
Institute for Training in Public Administration, *Municipal Fire Administration* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1946).
Institute for Training in Public Administration, *Municipal Police Administration* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1945).
International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Police Yearbook*, issued annually.
Kearney, P. W., and Doughtery, T. F., *Fire* (New York, 1931).
Kreml, F. M., and others, *Public Safety* (rev. ed., Indianapolis, 1940).
Leonard, V. A., *Police Communication Systems* (Berkeley, California, 1938).
McCarthy, J. J., *Fire Fighting* (New York, 1942).
McClintock, Miller, *Street Traffic Control* (New York, 1925).
McClintock, Miller, and Williams, Sidney J., *Municipal Organization for Street Traffic Control* (New York, 1930).
Malcher, Fritz, *The Steadyflow Traffic System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935).
Nolting, D. E., *A Model Records and Reporting System for Fire Departments* (Chicago, 1938).
Nolting, O. F., and Opperman, Paul, *The Parking Problem in Central Business Districts* (Chicago, 1941).
Parratt, S. D., "How Effective is a Police Department," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 153 (September, 1938).
Perkins, R. M., *Elements of Police Science* (Chicago, 1942).
Saint Louis Governmental Research Institute, *The St. Louis Police Survey* (St. Louis, 1942).
Shepperd, Frederick, *Fire Chief's Handbook* (New York, 1932).
Smith, Bruce, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 164, p. 3 (November, 1929).
Smith, Bruce, *Police Systems in the United States* (New York, 1940).
Smith, W. S., *The Organization of Official Traffic Agencies in Cities and States* (Saugatuck, Connecticut, 1946).
Tripp, H. A., *Road Traffic and Its Control* (London, 1938).
Trull, Edna, *The Administration of Regulatory Inspectional Services in American Cities* (New York, 1932).
Uniform Crime Reporting: A Complete Manual for Police (New York, 1929).
Vollmer, August, *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley, California, 1936).
Wilson, O. W., *Police Records; Their Installation and Use* (Chicago, 1942).
Yocum, J. C., and Whipple, J. P., *Municipal Provision of Parking Facilities* (Columbus, Ohio, 1946).

XXIX

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CITIES: JUSTICE AND MAGISTRATE COURTS

Legally a State Function.—The administration of justice in cities is legally a state rather than a municipal function; consequently justice of the peace and municipal courts are ordinarily classified as parts of the state court system. Nevertheless, cities have a vital concern in this problem which theoretically does not belong to them. For one thing, the satisfactory exercise of some of their specific powers depends upon the efficiency with which the local courts operate. Moreover, the problem of administering justice in cities varies in many particulars from that encountered in rural districts. The complexity of certain aspects of the administration of municipal justice causes the problem to be of especial interest to cities. Some attention must be given this subject in a general study of municipal government if a reasonably complete and well proportioned understanding is sought.

SMALL CITIES

Justice of the Peace Courts: the Justices.—Small cities, as a rule, use the same type of local judicial structure that prevails in the rural areas: the justice of the peace court. If cities achieve more than a very small population, it is quite likely that more than one justice of the peace court will operate within their limits.[1] As in rural areas, these courts carry on their work rather informally. Justices ordinarily receive their positions through popular election. No legal training is, as a rule, required, and it may be added that few of the justices have had adequate training in the law. For the most part, the justices are drawn from the business men who have retired from active life or from those who find that the demands

[1] Much pertinent data in regard to justice of the peace courts in the area centering around Chicago is to be found in Albert Lepawsky, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 12–13, 14–16, 20, 21–24, 117–122, etc.

of business—and incidentally the profits therefrom—leave some other activity to be desired.

Occasionally the leading citizens aspire to such a public office, but all too often justices of the peace in small cities enjoy no great amount of prestige among their fellow citizens. As a result, the office goes to the unsuccessful rather than to the substantial, the political hanger-on rather than the leading citizen. Sometimes the justices of the peace actually belong to the ranks of the rascals and the borderline of petty crime, but this, too, is the exception rather than the rule. Men of mediocre ability, who have achieved little public recognition—and consequently value even the dubious honor attached to the office of justice of the peace—or who reach an age when active business no longer can quite be depended upon, look to the petty authority and the small emoluments offered by such an office.

General Nature of Justice of the Peace Courts.—Justice of the peace courts may occupy rooms in a public building—if any chance to be available. However, in most cases they must depend upon private structures to house them. Some of them find shelter in the undertaking parlors, the real-estate offices, or the mercantile establishments operated by the justices. Occasionally use may be made of a private dwelling. Many of them are to be found in small, dirty, inexpensive, upstairs rooms which have been rented from the owners of downtown stores. No formal records characterize these courts, although the justices usually are required to report the number and the general nature of the cases which come to them for adjudication.

The justices ordinarily receive no stated salary for their services and must look to the fees collected from the various persons involved in cases for their monetary reward. These fees are supposedly fixed by law, but there is some feeling that many justices allow themselves considerable discretion in the matter of charges. It seems probable that many of the justices derive their principal satisfaction from the petty power which they wield. As a rule, they are such dictators in their small domains that they can compensate for their own frustrations and failures by causing the victims who fall into the nets a great deal of discomfort. This is particularly the case when the victims come from without the city or when they happen to be political opponents. In as much

as justices of the peace must get themselves elected to office and frequently aspire to re-election, they find it wise to deal leniently with their supporters and friends.[1]

Jurisdiction of the Justice Courts.—There is considerable variation among the several states as to the exact authority conferred upon justices of the peace in small cities. But for the most part, justice courts must content themselves with petty cases. On the criminal side they handle misdemeanors largely, although at times they may look into a more serious case for the purpose of deciding whether such a case shall be held over for the attention of an intermediate state court. The common cases that come to them for punishment are those involving drunkenness, fighting, public nuisances, illegal parking, careless or reckless driving, and gambling. The penalty in such cases, as a rule, takes the form of a fine and costs, but occasionally a short jail sentence may be imposed by the justice of the peace on offenders.

The civil jurisdiction of justice courts is limited to cases involving a comparatively small amount of money. The maximum may be seventy-five or one hundred and fifty dollars, or it may go as high as five hundred dollars in certain states. In civil cases the justice renders a decision as to the conflicting claims and incidentally levies court costs.

The Procedure in Justice Courts.—In criminal cases the accused parties are brought before the justice of the peace by the local policemen who inform the justice of the charges against the defendants. The cases may be disposed of then and there by a plea of guilty on the part of the defendants and the payment of fines and court costs. However, if the defendants refuse to do that, a time is usually set for hearing the case. In the meantime, the defendants may be called upon to furnish bail which will guarantee their subsequent appearance, or failing that they may be lodged in jail. Lawyers may be employed by culprits to defend them in justice proceedings, but most cases in these courts are settled without the services of legal counsel.

The difficulty of securing bail, the pressure frequently exerted by the police and the justice on the persons held to plead guilty,

[1] A good discussion of the relation between politics and the administration of justice in cities is to be found in Raymond Moley, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* (New York, 1929).

and the possibility of being lodged in the fearful jails maintained by most small cities cause the arrested persons to waive the right to a trial. They may not consider themselves guilty of the offense charged, but it is simpler to pay the fine and costs than to attempt a defense, particularly when such a course involves delay and technicalities. Justices and policemen often seem to be allied together against the arrested person, and the impression emanates from them that fighting the charges will be futile.[1]

Trials in Justice Courts.—If the accused persists in demanding a trial, a time will be fixed the next day or a few days hence. At the appointed time the accused, together with any witnesses which he may be able to secure and his lawyer if he employs one, take themselves to the room occupied by the justice of the peace. The policeman and his witnesses will be there also. In an exceedingly informal proceeding the justice of the peace will listen to the charges of the policeman and the testimony of the police witnesses in case there are any. The mere charges of the policeman are considered sufficient in many cases. The accused then has an opportunity to deny the charges, but unless he can offer witnesses who will give weight to his denial, he ordinarily has slight chance of winning his discharge. After both sides have been heard, the justice renders his decision. Juries are occasionally made use of, but they are not the rule.

Some justices who delight in speech will take the opportunity of delivering homilies, stern lectures, and various other types of addresses as a part of their decisions. A Holy Roller congregation, for example, may be summoned before a justice on the charges of disturbing the peace and creating a public nuisance. The evidence shows that the Holy Rollers get under way in their religious exercises at the usual hour when other religious sects hold services, but instead of ending their services at the traditional time they go on indefinitely. By midnight they have reached such a state of exaltation in their singing, praying, and speaking with tongues—to say nothing of their rolling on benches and the floor of their tabernacle—that the surrounding neighborhood resounds with noise. The householders find it impossible to rest or sleep.

The justice will doubtless find the congregation guilty. However,

[1] For a good discussion of the commercialized nature of justice courts see: Albert Lepawsky, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago*, pp. 143–146.

there are a good many of them involved; they presumably have votes; and, in general, it would be unwise to fine them. Some of them perhaps are too poor in worldly goods to pay a fine. It would cause a commotion if they were sent to jail—even if the jail would offer accommodation to such a large number. The justice who has any common sense and any liking for public utterance will find the Holy Rollers guilty; suspend sentence on good behavior; and then proceed to deliver a ringing lecture on the limits of religious observance.

Civil Cases.—In civil cases the procedure resembles to some extent that already described in criminal cases. However, the policeman will presumably not be present, and the atmosphere will probably be somewhat less tense. The justice presents a more impartial attitude. The plaintiff will bring his evidence and witnesses, and the defendant will do likewise. After examining the evidence and listening to the witnesses the justice announces his decision and indicates what the court costs amount to.[1]

DEFECTS IN THE JUSTICE COURTS AS USED IN SMALL CITIES

1. The Type of Judicial Officer.—In the first place, it has probably been apparent from the discussion above that the justices themselves often lack the proper qualifications. The fact that they have no legal background may not be especially serious—although legal training would be valuable in certain cases, but it is unfortunate that so many of them are motivated by an avarice for money or a desire to wield power. Considering the fact that their personal enrichment depends upon finding accused persons guilty, it is not at all strange that the atmosphere of these courts is often anything but impartial. In large numbers of cases there can be little doubt that innocent persons are forced by the psychological pressure exerted by justices of the peace and their allied policemen to pay court costs—if not fines.

Nor can there be much doubt that where accused persons have the hardihood to resist such pressure, justices have a tendency to find them guilty irrespective of the evidence, particularly if the accused come from out of town or belong to the ranks of those who do not support the justice politically. The numerous cases in which justices impose only court costs and omit fines bear

[1] See: Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, pp. 150–155.

witness to this situation to some extent. Furthermore, some justices obviously derive considerable satisfaction from making accused persons as uncomfortable as possible. On occasion, the conduct of the justices of the peace is so far from that of the impartial judicial officer that the accused literally writhe and grind their teeth.

2. Court Costs.—Another very serious defect in most justice courts in small cities involves the size of the amounts levied under the general designation "court costs." Many an innocent person has presented his case as eloquently as possible and rejoiced when the justice has agreed to entertain due consideration for all of the attending circumstances. Finally, it is decided that only court costs are to be paid by the accused. In as much as the time consumed has been perhaps less than an hour and the quarters occupied by the justice cannot cost more than a few dollars per month, it would seem that the court costs would certainly not exceed a dollar or two. When the accused learns that they actually run to five, ten, or even fifteen dollars, he is amazed. There seems to be slight justification for the inordinately large court costs authorized by many states. The time of the justice and the expenses incident to maintaining his court do not begin to justify the amount frequently levied as court costs.[1]

3. Political Considerations.—Finally, justice of the peace courts frequently break down in small cities because of the part which political considerations play. Friends and supporters of the justices can commit minor infractions against the law with impunity. The justices who look to them for re-election will go far in their attempts to clear such guilty persons of legal liability. Hence, under the system commonly prevailing in small cities innocent persons are found guilty by avaricious and frustrated justices, while guilty people who have political influence go scot free. In as much as most of the contacts which the people have with the judicial system are with courts of this type, it seems exceedingly unfortunate that there should be the widespread defects already noted. It is not at all strange that many quite intelligent citizens hold little respect for such courts.[2]

Mayors' Courts.—Some states make provision for municipal

[1] See: Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, p. 145.
[2] See: Raymond Moley, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* (New York, 1929).

courts which correspond to justice of the peace courts under the form of "mayors' courts." These courts, as may be expected from their titles, are presided over by the mayors of cities and usually operate only in small cities. Their jurisdiction covers substantially the same ground covered by the justice of the peace courts in other cities, although their jurisdiction over civil cases may extend to amounts as great as $500 or even $1000. They are not courts of record and are characterized by the same informality which was pointed out in the case of justice of the peace courts.

However, they have certain advantages that justice of the peace courts lack. In the first place, mayors probably as a rule are superior to justices of the peace in caliber. They have a more substantial economic and social background; they belong more or less to the ranks of city leaders; and, furthermore, they do not have the same motives that so often seem to characterize justices of the peace. They are less the objects of frustration, and they wield their authority in a less objectionable fashion, even if they derive satisfaction from arbitrary exercise of power, because they function more in the limelight. As a rule, there is not the same dependence upon fees, for mayors receive salaries in most cities and hence do not depend upon fees to the extent noted in the case of justices of the peace. At times the fee system may be abolished in these courts entirely, and the mayor expected to render such service as part of his salaried duties. Politics may enter into these courts, but the position of the mayor and the greater publicity given to his actions reduce its role.[1]

LARGE CITIES

Justice of the Peace Courts.—In large cities justice of the peace courts almost always are inadequate; nevertheless, some large cities still depend upon them to a considerable extent. In some cases the judicial functions of the justices of the peace have been transferred for the most part—at least as far as criminal matters go. There is a tendency to relieve justices of the peace also of their responsibility for small civil cases. At times they retain very little more than their power to perform marriage ceremonies, and occasionally this has developed into a racket. The marrying

[1] See: J. A. Fairlie, *Essays in Municipal Administration* (New York, 1910), pp. 75–77.

justices of Chicago caused much criticism until the newspapers launched a campaign which took away their power early in the present century.[1] Then the justices of the peace in nearby Lake County in Indiana set themselves up in a racket until this situation became so notorious that official action was forced.

Police or Magistrate Courts.—Many large cities have minor criminal cases handled by police or magistrate courts. Because of the wide variations from state to state and even from city to city within a single state it is very difficult to generalize as regards these court systems. Different names are attached to these courts in different cities, and, what is much more important, the jurisdiction and organization of the courts vary considerably. Some cities require certain qualifications from the local judges, while others ask either more or less. In some cases the judges receive their positions through appointment and in others by election. Nevertheless, although the outward habiliments present a confused picture, the inner spirit is less different than might be supposed.

Organization of Police Courts.—A medium size city usually establishes a police court at the city hall, and to this court all cases involving minor infractions of the law are brought from all over the city. Very large cities find it more satisfactory to provide these courts for various sections of the city, for to bring all of the accused to one place would cause congestion and confusion, as well as inconvenience to the policemen and to the accused.

Whether the judges in these courts be elected by popular vote or appointed by the mayor or some other authority, they usually give their full time to court work, and receive salaries rather than fees. The amount of salary paid varies widely from city to city, but as a rule runs from two or three thousand dollars per year to ten thousand dollars. Qualifications resemble those asked in other local offices, with the addition that at least some background in law may be expected. More often than not, these police judges and magistrates have come up through the ranks of political activity and owe their official judicial positions to their political strength.[2]

[1] See: Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, pp. 148–150.

[2] See: J. T. Salter, "A Philadelphia Magistrate Tells His Story," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 514 (October, 1933).

Atmosphere of Police Courts.—Police courts hold daily sessions—usually in the morning, although afternoon and even night sessions are not unknown. In order to speed consideration of cases and to avoid the burden of bail and the necessity of overnight lodgment in jail, some large cities provide special night courts. The rooms assigned these police courts do not ordinarily provide adequate facilities; they may not be spacious; not infrequently they are dirty and dark; and ventilation rarely is all that might be expected. Sometimes it is difficult to hear reasonably well because of the faulty acoustical properties of the room. If there are any decorations, they are likely to be faded and discolored by soot.

In short, few police or magistrate courts are places where anyone at all sensitive would want to spend any more time than is absolutely necessary. Add this to the fact that noise and confusion often abound and the judge and attendants of the court are clothed in nondescript street garb, and all in all there is not much of decorous judicial dignity in the average police court. Nor is there much to leave anything but a very unpleasant memory if people react at all to their surroundings. However, it is but fair to say that some improvement has been made during recent years. New public buildings have been erected in some cities to provide more commodious and fresher quarters for these courts.[1]

Congestion and Confusion.—In as much as these courts must dispose of numerous cases every day, there is a congestion, a confusion, and a constant moving about that are not found in intermediate or appellate courts. Accused persons are notified to be present at a certain session of the court, although some attempts have been made recently to cut down waiting periods, and incidentally congestion, by specifying the hour. When the judge takes his place on the bench at nine or ten o'clock in the morning, the court attendants announce that the court is in session. Various groups will be huddled together in little islands throughout the court room if space permits—otherwise they will all be herded together in front of the bench occupied by the judge. Hard wooden benches or seats—often covered with the accumulated filth of many years of use—give some kind of facility for sitting. Con-

[1] For graphic descriptions of certain court rooms see: Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts* (New York, 1930).

spicuous spittoons provide relief for those who chew tobacco or have other wastes to dispose of.[1]

PROCEDURE IN POLICE COURTS

A clerk of the court calls each case in a raucous voice. The confusion is so great in many police courts that the casual spectator often hears no more of the proceedings than the call of the cases. As the case is called, the little huddle of persons concerned draws near the judge's bench. They may have the services of a lawyer who informs the court that the defendants are ready—in certain instances only a lawyer may be present to request a postponement, and the police department is also represented in the person of the policeman or policemen who made the arrest. If the accused does not have a lawyer, he frequently will be accompanied by precinct committeemen, social workers, business friends, or other more or less experienced persons. More often than not relatives will be present to give aid and comfort and incidentally to moan, cry, wring hands, and otherwise display emotion.

Testimony.—The judge will read the record of the case which indicates the offense and ask whether the accused pleads guilty. If not, the judge will then ask the policeman responsible for the arrest to present any evidence that he may wish to bring to the attention of the court. During the course of this testimony, which has been sworn to, questions may be put to the policeman by the judge or upon permission from the judge by the accused or his representatives. If the accused has a precinct committeeman to assist him, this party worker may speak to the judge before the testimony begins—if he has not already taken the matter up with him beforehand.

After the policeman has presented his side of the case, the judge calls on the accused and his witnesses. If a lawyer is retained, he will take charge of the defense, and after making a general plea for his client, he will guide the witnesses in their testimony. Here, too, the judge may interrupt to ask questions. If charitable organizations have representatives, they may be questioned or given an opportunity to speak. Some judges place a great deal of confidence in such representatives and work intimately with

[1] See: S. Ervin, "How Magistrates' Courts Defile Justice," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 20, p. 573 (October, 1931).

them, but political judges sometimes resent the presence of such people and try as best they can to ignore or squelch them.

Decision.—After the defense has concluded—and the judge may interrupt to hurry affairs along if they drag, the judge either announces the decision, or reserves decision until certain other facts are in his possession, or until he has had more time to consider the case. If a decision is given, the accused may be found not guilty—in which case there will often be loud rejoicing from the relatives and friends. If, on the other hand, the decision is guilty, either a fine may be imposed or a jail sentence, or both. At times the sentence may be suspended on good behavior or the accused may be paroled in charge of someone whom the judge considers responsible.

If a prison sentence is imposed, there is likely to be much weeping by relatives, particularly if a first offender, a foreign-born person, or a son or husband is involved. The accused or his friends proceed to pay to an officer of the court the fine, if a fine has been imposed. If the money for the fine cannot be raised or if a prison sentence has been meted out, the court attendants will remove the convicted person to quarters provided until the police van arrives to transport him to jail. In this same room accused persons who could not provide bail often wait until their cases are called.[1]

Jurisdiction of Police and Magistrate Courts.—In general, police courts have a broader jurisdiction than the justice of peace courts in small cities. They not only try cases of drunkenness, simple assault, breach of the peace, and petty larceny, but large numbers of cases involving traffic violations, vagrancy, prostitution, begging, operating without a license, and simple theft. The number of traffic cases mounts so high in some large cities that a special court confines itself to such cases. Moreover, an arrangement has been made in some cities under which those accused of traffic violations can avoid the delay and redtape of a trial by paying scheduled sums to the proper office in the police department.[2] Thus for illegal parking violators escape trial by paying two dollars; for speeding, first offenses carry a penalty of three or

[1] For a good study of the magistrate courts in one city see: Spencer Ervin, *The Magistrates' Courts of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1931).

[2] See: S. E. Rose, "Detroit's Traffic Violation Bureau," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, p. 157 (March, 1925); and G. G. Hulse, "Chicago's Disposition of Street Traffic Violations," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 16, p. 498 (August, 1927).

five dollars; and for going through stop-lights five dollars or so must be paid. Such a plan greatly reduces the court load and serves as a considerable convenience to motorists. Of course, more serious offenses involving traffic laws come before the courts.

DEFECTS IN CRIMINAL COURTS OF FIRST INSTANCE IN LARGE CITIES

1. Types of Judges.—Police magistrate courts probably are freer of avarice and tyranny than their counterparts in small cities, for judges do not depend upon the cases appearing before them for their income and hence do not have the incentive to regard such matters above justice itself. While the police judges may not be of the highest calibre, they probably belong to a more successful class than the justices of the peace in small cities. Some of them derive great satisfaction from the exercise of arbitrary power, but, in general, they perhaps are less the victims of frustration. By and large, they attain greater objectivity in handling criminal cases than their lesser colleagues.[1]

2. Political Ramifications.—On the other hand, there can be little doubt that political ramifications are quite as important, if not more so, in large city police courts than in small city justice courts.[2] Justices of the peace in small cities have their own circle of friends to whom special consideration is shown, but they do not depend upon political organizations to the same extent that their colleagues in large cities do. The role of the precinct committeeman is considerably less important in judicial administration in small cities.

It is only fair to point out that there seems to be some indication of improvement in this respect in large city courts. With the tremendous increase in the seriousness of traffic regulation there has developed a widespread campaign in the direction of a reduction in the number of traffic accidents. Newspapers have given generously of their space for such a campaign; posters have appeared in public places; and the movie and the public school have been drafted to some extent as organs of public opinion. This vigorous public opinion has been reflected in courts even in the

[1] See: J. T. Salter, "A Philadelphia Magistrate Tells His Story," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 514 (October, 1933); and Albert Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, Chap. VII.

[2] See: David H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 83–93; and Raymond Moley, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* (New York, 1929).

case of political judges. They are quick to sense the direction in which the wind blows and lay out their course accordingly.

As a result, whereas a few years ago everyone who had any political influence at all or who knew anyone in the police department or at city hall either possessed courtesy tickets good for "fixing" traffic tickets or could get individual tickets cared for without trouble, now courtesy tickets have largely passed from the scene in many cities and traffic tickets can be "fixed" only in rare cases. Nevertheless, in the other fields the role of politics appears to be about as great as ever.

3. Court Costs.—Court costs are fairly high in criminal cases, but something has been done to lower them by the adoption of arrangements, such as that described above, where motorists accused of traffic violations can discharge their liability on payment of reasonable fees to the police department.

4. General Atmosphere.—The general atmosphere of many large city courts must be regarded as unsatisfactory.[1] The congestion and confusion do not make for orderly administration of justice. The depressing atmosphere may be necessary, but the filth can scarcely be placed in the same category. The coarse harshness of many of the court attendants approaches brutality, although some officers come from better backgrounds and find it possible to maintain an attitude of civility and even sympathy. The "pens" in which prisoners are often kept while waiting their call and while waiting return to jail after sentence frequently deserve very severe criticism. They are frequently filthy to begin with; they afford little or no privacy to the prisoners; and they force the innocent to rub shoulders with the degenerate and the first offender to come into intimate contact with the hardened professional crook. The use of court investigators by certain large city courts probably serves a useful purpose. Reliance on social and welfare workers materially increases the effectiveness of judicial administration in some large city courts.

Civil Courts.—Some cities give jurisdiction over both criminal and civil cases to the same courts, while other large cities provide special courts to handle civil cases. At times, justice of the peace courts may be retained even in large cities for the purpose of handling civil cases. Whatever plan may be adopted by a city, the

[1] See: Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts* (New York, 1930).

jurisdiction of such courts is usually broader than that of justice of the peace courts or mayor's courts in small cities. The same petty civil cases come before these large city courts—that is, as far as small-claims courts do not operate and the people find it worthwhile to pay the costs and sustain the redtape involved. In addition, cases involving larger sums not uncommonly may be placed under the jurisdiction of these courts, and consequently lawyers appear more frequently than they do in small cities.

Defects in Civil Courts.—Civil courts in large cities are probably, if anything, less satisfactory than their counterparts in small cities. Although judges may be better versed in the law, such an advantage is frequently more than offset by the redtape and the long delays that characterize many large city courts. Instead of being less, costs may be increased by the greater need for legal counsel. Considering the long delays because of the congested dockets and the high costs for legal counsel and court fees, it is not strange that many people suffer wrongs without resort to the courts. They wisely conclude that the trouble involved in obtaining a judicial remedy would be greater than the value of the remedy itself. Civil courts in large cities often do not keep adequate records—almost all of the surveys made of judicial systems have pointed that fact out. Some records simply do not exist at all, while others are so incomplete that they mean little.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cleveland Foundation, The, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1922).
Douglas, J. F., *The Mayor's Court in Hamilton County, Ohio* (Baltimore, 1934).
Ervin, Spencer, *The Magistrates' Courts of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1931).
Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, The, *The Illinois Crime Survey* (Chicago, 1929).
Lepawsky, Albert, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1932).
Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York, 1926).
Moley, Raymond, *Our Criminal Courts* (New York, 1930).
Moley, Raymond, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* (New York, 1929).
Moley, Raymond, *Tribunes of the People: The Past and Future of the New York Magistrates' Courts* (New Haven, 1932).
Salter, J. T., "A Philadelphia Magistrate Tells His Story," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, p. 514 (October, 1933).
Smith, R. H., *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919).

XXX

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN CITIES: OTHER AGENCIES

JUVENILE COURTS

Place in Cities.—Children's courts are now theoretically a part of the judicial system of many states, but it is only in large cities that they ordinarily function with their own judge and officers. Smaller cities, for the most part, have to depend upon the counties in which they are located, and most of these have no professional juvenile judges. The regular county judge is authorized to sit as a juvenile judge along with his other duties, and although he may be conscientious and interested, he is rarely trained in child psychology or in handling juvenile delinquency. Almost without exception the famous juvenile courts are to be found in large cities, where they receive the services of full-time judges and probation officers.

Experience has indicated that it is not satisfactory to handle cases involving children in the same way that ordinary cases are disposed of, for the traditional application of the law does not pay sufficient attention to the ultimate destiny of the youngsters. There is a widespread feeling that in such cases the welfare of the children transcends even the legal aspects in importance. Large numbers of children out of sheer exuberance and animal spirits get themselves into trouble of one kind and another. If they are publicly arrested, tried, and punished, it is more than possible that they will end up by becoming professional criminals and a consequent burden to society. A bad reputation, however flimsy the basis, is difficult to live down, particularly in the case of youths who begin with a heavy handicap. Public proceedings frequently have the effect of attaching stigmas which may be enough to ruin any chance of reformation. The association with hardened offenders, often incident to trial by ordinary methods, is vicious.[1]

[1] See: W. C. Reckless and M. Smith, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York, 1932); Miriam Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict* (New York, 1925); and the bulletins published by the United States Children's Bureau.

Jurisdiction and Procedure.—Juvenile courts in large cities handle cases involving children at least to the age of sixteen and often to the age of eighteen years. They may have some jurisdiction over all minors. Such jurisdiction is usually not complete, but is limited of offences of a less serious nature than the worst types of felonies. However, there is considerable variation in the extent of the jurisdiction. These courts do not make use of the public court rooms which have been described above; instead juvenile offenders are brought before the juvenile judge in his chambers. Lawyers do not ordinarily participate. Witnesses may or may not be present, but if they are made use of, it is in a less formal manner than in the regular court room. The juvenile judge receives a considerable amount of leeway in handling each case.

In the main, emphasis is placed upon reform and conservation rather than upon punishment, although punishment must be meted out in certain cases. The juvenile judge talks to the offender about the escapade, attempting to elucidate a response from the child which promises reform. The tone of the judge's remarks depends to a large extent upon the particular case before him. Where a shrinking youngster is involved, he will try to be as tactful and soothing as possible. But where a young roughneck of the bully type appears, he will probably speak sternly and positively, knowing that such a youth is more impressed by vigor than by tact. No permanent records that might plague a careless youngster who goes straight in after life are preserved of juvenile offenses. If possible, the youngsters are not sent to reform institutions because of the effect that such an experience usually has on their adult lives. If the charge is not very serious, they may be dismissed after promising to mend their ways. If the case is of more serious character, they will probably be placed on probation under a provision which requires them to report periodically to the probation officers attached to the court.[1]

Defects of Juvenile Courts.—Perhaps the chief weakness of juvenile courts in most large cities involves the person of the juvenile judge. The office is not particularly an important one politically, and the salary attached usually does not reach a high level. However, a considerable number of relatively untrained and unsuccessful

[1] United States, Children's Bureau, *Juvenile Courts at Work*, by K. F. Lenroot and E. O. Lundberg (1925).

lawyers are willing to take the job. There seems to be a feeling in some quarters that any lawyer is properly qualified. Such things, as special training in child psychology and juvenile delinquency, a particular interest and sympathy for children, or unusual ability in attracting the confidence of children, make little impression on many politicians. The job attracts followers to whom they are indebted, and in all too many instances it goes to unqualified persons on a political basis. As a result, many juvenile courts start out with a great handicap, for in few other courts does so much perhaps depend upon the judge himself. And where the judge is a mediocre lawyer with no special training and not much interest, the juvenile court does not function well.[1]

COURTS OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS

Jurisdiction.—The alluring temptations which a large city may offer to a certain type of person, the unsatisfactory character of living quarters in numerous cases, the presence of large numbers of foreigners, the general congestion, and widespread grinding poverty all contribute to large numbers of cases involving family troubles. Husbands and wives, worn by the struggle for existence, become estranged and in their highly emotional conditions think they want to break up a family. Nymphomaniac mothers turn their homes into houses of ill fame where conditions do not favor a normal life for children. Fathers who have descended to the level of drunken sots beat their wives and children and steal any money that they can lay hands on for buying more liquor. All of these and many other cases deserve the attention of special courts with judges who have knowledge of the causes and treatment of such problems, as well as the personal qualities which are requisite to dealing successfully with such people. Juvenile cases may be handled by these domestic relations courts—New York City makes the children's court a division of the general domestic relations court.

Procedure.—When cases involving domestic relations come into court, brought there by the police or by social workers or perhaps by the parties themselves, a qualified judge will proceed somewhat after the fashion of juvenile judges. Lawyers are not allowed to

[1] Herbert H. Lou, *Juvenile Courts in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1927). may be consulted profitably on the defects commonly found in these courts.

steal the show; the public is not admitted; and newspaper representatives may be excluded. In conference with the court attendants and the social workers the judge tries to work out the best plan for the parties under the unfortunate circumstances.

In large numbers of cases involving estrangement between husband and wife a reconciliation can be worked out by a judge who knows human psychology, but many cases present less hopeful possibilities. The judge has to decide whether the family should be broken up and the children, whose mother has turned the home into a house of ill fame or whose father has made a hell for them, should be sent to institutions for the care of children. These cases almost always involve great emotional display, for in the last moment the irresponsible parents, although they may have agreed to separation from their children, will break down. Judges must, therefore, be able to maintain clear heads, else they will be the creatures of emotional outbreaks. At the same time able judges will maintain their sympathy and milk of human kindness.[1]

Importance of Able Judges.—Courts of domestic relations require judges who are as well trained, psychologically stable, and skilful in their understanding of human nature as juvenile judges. In many large cities no special provision is made for these cases at all. Where such provision is made, there is often the problem of lawyers who want the position because of the money involved. There is the same indifference on the part of political leaders that was pointed out in the case of juvenile courts—they see in these courts opportunities to take care of followers. Not uncommonly the severest pressure against the proper handling of such cases will come from the precinct committeemen and other political workers who with maudlin sympathy vigorously oppose the separation of children from degenerate mother or sotted father.[2]

Morals Courts.—A few large cities have experimented with the plan of setting up special courts for the handling of cases involving prostitutes. These unfortunate creatures may be unmolested by the police as long as they settle themselves in houses which arrange for police protection. But the independent girls who solicit on

[1] See: R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919), Chap. XI; and E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization* (Chicago, 1927).

[2] E. F. Waite, "Courts of Domestic Relations," *Minnesota Law Review*, Vol. 5, p. 161 (1921).

the streets or in hotels are rounded up at frequent intervals and hailed into court. The question of what to do with these cases presents as many difficulties as perhaps any type of court case. They can be fined; or they can be sentenced to jail or a reform institution for a short period; but neither one of these courses does much to alleviate the plight of the girls themselves. They may not avail the public very much either. Fines do little more than drive girls to the organized houses of ill fame or into the arms of pimps, while prison sentences throw the diseased with the clean, the worst type of degenerate with the young new recruit.

Morals courts deserve the best type of judge, both as to character and training. Political judges will free those girls who have the backing of political henchmen; untrained judges of the male sex may determine official action on the physical attractiveness of the girls or upon their coy ways with the judge; while some women judges may vent their sex frustrations on the accused. If nothing can be done to reclaim some of the less hardened cases, the least that can be expected is impartial justice for all offenders.[1]

Traffic Courts.—The number of traffic violations has mounted so high in large cities that special traffic courts have been established. To some extent the setting up of these courts has also depended upon the campaign to decrease fatal accidents caused by reckless use of automobiles. In as much as this problem is discussed in another connection, no further attention is required here.[2]

SMALL-CLAIMS COURTS

The unsatisfactory situation involving civil justice in many large cities has already been pointed out. Long delays, redtape, and high court costs have placed such service beyond the reach of large numbers of people.[3] As a partial remedy for this situation several large cities have experimented with special small-claims courts. The success of these courts, especially in Detroit, has been almost phenomenal. They frequently encounter the opposition of the legal fraternity, but most other people regard them as a very beneficial addition to the judicial system of large cities. The chief need

[1] See: Raymond Moley, *Tribunes of the People: The Past and Future of the New York Magistrates' Courts* (New Haven, Conn., 1932).

[2] See: Chapter XXIX.

[3] See: R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919), Chap. VIII.

is for more of them. These courts dispense with most of the redtape which characterizes ordinary courts, and they do not require lawyers.

People with small claims against their employers, customers, or neighbors may take their cases to the small-claims courts and without great delay receive adjudication at a very small cost. A frequent procedure requires the claimant to visit a small-claims clerk or judge. At this time details are furnished and recorded, and, if the case seems at all worthy of attention, the court then proceeds to summon the party owing the money. After hearing that side of the case, the court announces its decision in favor of the claimant or dismisses the case. The entire procedure is informal. The jurisdiction of such courts is limited to comparatively small amounts—seventy-five or one hundred dollars may be the maximum. Court costs vary from thirty-five cents or so for claims amounting to five dollars to one dollar and a half or thereabouts for the largest amounts.

Importance of Small-Claims Courts.—Small-claims courts seem to offer much in the way of alleviating a situation where justice has been beyond the reach of the poor. Manual laborers or domestic servants may have claims of five or ten dollars against mean-spirited employers, but under the traditional system they have almost no recourse. Before they finished employing a lawyer and spending time required to bring a case before an ordinary court, any possible advantage would be cancelled. As a result, countless thousands of these helpless people have suffered the indignity inflicted on them by dishonest fellows. Small-claims courts go far in the direction of correcting such an evil situation. Of course, the judges in these courts need to be carefully selected—political appointees are not likely to have the interest and sympathy which are essential to the proper administration of such courts.[1]

Bail.—Where accused persons have sufficient cash, they may ordinarily arrange for their release pending trial by depositing the amount called for by the court. If they lack such funds, they must either secure a bail bond or remain in jail until the trial determines their guilt or innocence—that is, if the court demands

[1] For a good discussion of such a type of court in one city see: G. L. Schramm, *Piedpoudre Courts: A Study of the Small Claim Litigant in the Pittsburgh District* (Pittsburgh, 1928).

bail. In as much as most people do not have readily available in cash the amount of bail required by the court, they must resort to bail bonds if they wish to obtain their liberty.[1] The necessity on the part of large numbers of unfortunates to secure bail bond has given rise to a serious problem in many large cities. In the first place, there is the role of the precinct committeeman. He may persuade a friendly judge to release the person in his custody pending trial. If that is not possible, the judge may be willing to reduce the bail required because of his relations with the precinct committeeman.

However, in a number of cases the party leaders themselves have gone into the bail business for profit. They represent bonding companies and will arrange bail for a stated fee, depending upon the amount required. Where such a condition exists, the police may recommend that the politician be called to handle bail arrangements, or the police may notify the politicians when they arrest people who will need bail bonds. Judges who depend upon the politicians will invariably require bail, even in cases where ordinarily it would not be considered necessary. Furthermore, they may impose high bail amounts as a matter of course in order to favor the political worthy.[2] Some politicians have literally grown rich out of this lucrative business which comes to them largely as a result of the intimate relations which they enjoy with the police and judges. Under such an evil condition the burden imposed upon large numbers of comparatively sympathy-deserving people is notably increased.

LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR

Public Defenders.—In the more serious cases which come before police or magistrate courts of large cities legal counsel is required. If the accused cannot afford a lawyer, the court may appoint a member of the local bar to act for him. As a rule, appointments are made from the ranks of young lawyers who are attempting to

[1] For a discussion of the unsatisfactory character of current bail systems see: *Missouri Crime Survey*, pp. 198–212.

[2] The chief assistant to the special prosecutor investigating the administration of justice in Brooklyn, New York in 1939 asserted that one bail bondsman had been "running the courts in that borough for the past thirty years." See: *New York Times*, February 9, 1939.

get a foothold in the legal profession. Some of these young lawyers will work diligently in defending such people because they realize that success may attract other cases which will pay a lucrative fee. However, other lawyers consider such cases beneath their serious attention and give the most casual efforts to defense. Still other young lawyers may try to do well, but their inexperience is such that they find it impossible to handle the defense adequately. As a result of such a situation, some large cities have provided public defenders for those who cannot afford to hire legal counsel. The argument is that the defender of the impecunious should be as able and experienced as the public prosecutor.[1]

Legal-Aid Bureaus.—Along with public defenders and small-claims courts, large cities frequently have legal-aid bureaus. These bureaus are not, as a rule, officially a part of the judicial system. They may be organized by the local bar; local law schools may set them up as a civic gesture and as a device for adding to the practical experience of their students; and occasionally such a service is provided by a foundation. Charity organizations often maintain legal departments which are available to their clients.

Whereas the public defender considers only criminal cases, the legal-aid bureaus will furnish advice in both criminal and civil matters, but their chief activities usually have to do with civil cases. They may confine themselves to giving legal advice where they are operated by students who are not members of the bar and hence can not appear in court. Or they may furnish both legal advice and court counsel.

Bar associations sometimes exhibit slight enthusiasm for such institutions on the ground that most of the people who make use of them really could afford to employ a lawyer. Legal-aid bureaus attempt to ascertain whether applicants do have the ability to pay, and some of them even impose a small fee to discourage those who seek free services. While some financially-able people may take advantage of legal-aid bureaus, in general the bureaus render a service which does not conflict with the proper claims of the legal

[1] See: W. J. Wood, "The Office of Public Defender," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 124, p. 69 (March, 1926); J. S. Bradway, "Notes on the Defender in Criminal Cases," *Ibid.*, Vol. 136, p. 119 (March, 1928); and E. R. Orfilla, "Public Defender in the Police Courts," *Ibid.*, Vol. 136, p. 146 (March, 1928).

fraternity. The need for such service in a large city is almost always great.[1]

Commercial Arbitration and Conciliation.—Cities in the United States have been less progressive than European cities in developing extra-legal devices for the handling of civil disputes. Nevertheless, during recent years something has been done in large cities to reduce the load of civil cases placed on the regular courts. Business concerns have recognized the importance of lowering costs, reducing delay, and providing expert service, and, as a result, arbitration and conciliation bodies have been set up in many large cities. The laws in several states recognize such associations and provide that where two parties agree to submit a dispute to such an extra-legal agency the award of such an agency shall have legal force.

These bodies are set up for each case—the members of the commission being drawn from a list of persons prepared beforehand as being competent in their respective fields. A dispute involving the printing business will be referred to arbitrators selected from such a field, and similarly a dispute arising between real-estate firms will be decided by realtors. Such an arrangement provides for expertness in arriving at decisions which cannot be expected in the case of public courts; as a rule the time required is much less. While some contestants will always prefer the legal to the extra-legal, there seems to be a large field which such agencies can legitimately cover. Perhaps a wider use has been discouraged by the attitude of many lawyers who see in such agencies something of a threat to themselves.

Shyster Lawyers.—Although small city lawyers may sometimes have low standards of professional ethics, public opinion acts as a force in compelling them to maintain certain standards. In large cities, where public opinion is less powerful in this field, competition is exceptionally keen among lawyers, and night law schools turn out thousands of graduates with inadequate educational backgrounds, there is a constant problem of shysters who will resort to any tricks to enrich themselves. Some of them take every possible advantage

[1] R. H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor*, Chaps. XVII–XXV; and J. S. Bradway and R. H. Smith, eds., "Legal Aid Work," entire number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 124 (March, 1926).

of poor or helpless clients. Some of them bribe the police and jailers to notify them when arrests are made—jailers may be paid a fee for every case that they obtain for one of these lawyers. Hence, the jailers praise the qualifications and achievements of their employers to prisoners who have no personal knowledge and whose chief anxiety is to get released.

Ambulance chasers bring word to these lawyers of all traffic accidents, and the lawyers then attempt to secure a signed agreement with the injured under which they will receive half or more of everything collected. These legal sharks prey upon the poor and unsophisticated in large cities more than is commonly realized. The most notorious can be expelled from the bar, but the rank and file are too clever for that.

THE RELATION OF COUNTY LEGAL AGENCIES TO CITIES

Public Prosecutors.—Public prosecutors are county or district officers who ordinarily have the legal status of state officers.[1] Nevertheless, they perform functions that are not without significance to a large city. As a rule, the office of public prosecutor in a large urban county will maintain a staff of many deputy and assistant prosecutors. Some of these receive assignment to the municipal or police courts where they prosecute in behalf of the public those criminal cases which involve fairly serious offenses. If the prosecutor's office is tied up with politics, the efforts of these officials may be very unsatisfactory. Certain cases will not be pressed at all because they involve the political pals of the prosecutor.

Another problem in this connection arises out of the relation between the prosecutor's office and the police department. Instead of working in close coöperation, these two departments sometimes display jealousy and rivalry. They may be dominated by different political parties or by different factions of the same party; the prosecutor and the chief of police may be personal enemies; or both may be politically ambitious. As a result, the agents of the prosecutor will seek to embarrass the policemen who appear in court as witnesses or to make charges in connection with an arrest. Unfair questions may be asked, or police evidence may be com-

[1] See: *Illinois Crime Survey*, Chaps. V, VI, XVII; Raymond Moley, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution*, Chap. VIII; and *Missouri Crime Survey*, pp. 118–149.

pletely ignored in handling a case. Needless to say, such a situation has a very serious, as well as a very unfortunate, effect upon the administration of justice.

Coroners.—Small cities do not, as a rule, provide coroners for themselves, in as much as the county offers them such a service, but large cities have enough cases of unexplained deaths or deaths from other than natural causes to necessitate their own arrangements. Although the office of coroner has honorable and ancient traditions, it has fallen into a great deal of disrepute during the last half a century in the larger cities of the United States.

In small cities where cases are comparatively infrequent and simple, an untrained man with a jury of citizens can hold a coroner's court and perhaps do slight damage. In large cities such deaths reach larger numbers and with the presence of large scale crime and vice are often not simple affairs. An untrained coroner may not only make nothing out of the case, returning with his jury a meaningless verdict "death from unknown cause," but he may actually do great damage. Significant evidence may be destroyed in the process of his investigation through sheer lack of knowledge.

As far back as the middle years of the nineteenth century an investigating committee in New York reported that the coroners did their work in such a poor fashion that the money they collected in substantial sums from the public treasury was worse than wasted.[1] In most cities, where coroners are still retained, the situation has not improved noticeably since that time.

Medical Examiners.—Some cities have taken steps to remedy the evils inherent in the coroner's office by abolishing the office and substituting a medical examiner. Medical examiners are experts where coroners are undertakers, business people, or physicians. Instead of stating that the deceased came to his death from an unknown poison, medical examiners, being presumably trained in toxicology, ascertain the nature of the poison. They also have knowledge of evidence and hence do not hinder the efforts of the police.

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, p. 132, for an account of this investigation in which Boss Croker featured. The investigating committee summarized its findings thus, "It is the belief of the Committee that no one of them (the coroners of New York City) could, in a private capacity, earn one-third the amount they receive for official services, which when performed, are discharged in so incompetent, extravagant, and illegal a manner as to be wholly without benefit to the public."

County Courts and Cities.—In addition to the courts which have already been discussed as primarily, although not legally, municipal courts, large cities have an elaborate system of intermediate county courts in operation. The more important civil cases often go to the county courts to begin with, and the most serious criminal cases, such as those involving murder, embezzlement, and grand larceny, also are tried in the county courts rather than in the city courts. It is in connection with these courts that the jury system functions. The grand jury returns indictments in serious criminal cases at times, although increasingly process of information is being substituted. It is in the county courts that petit juries are mainly employed.

Incidentally the grand jury may be used as a device for investigating irregularities in connection with city departments. Charges that the mayor of the city has acted illegally may be investigated by the grand jury of the county court. Rumors that the members of the city council are accepting bribes for certain favors granted may also be referred to a grand jury for investigation. Hence, these county courts possess considerable significance for a city not only indirectly but directly.[1]

Election versus Appointment of Judges.—In some cities the judges of municipal courts receive their positions through appointment, but the more prevalent system is to have them elected by the voters. As in the case of judges in general, there is some discussion as to which plan is preferable. Any categorical conclusion as to the superiority of appointed judges over their elected colleagues is impossible, for almost everything depends upon the person making the appointment and the standards of the voters in a given city. Judges appointed by intelligent, honest, and politically independent mayors may surpass any elected judges. However, mayors do not usually enjoy political independence, even if they are intelligent and honest, and, therefore, they must frequently be guided in their appointments to judicial posts by political considerations. This does not make for the best type of judge. Where there is a tradition among the voters that judicial positions should be above politics, election may be satisfactory as a method of choice, but unfortunately such a tradition is not very frequently encountered.

[1] See: Albert Lepawsky, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago*, Chaps. I, II, IV, and XII.

THE PROBLEM OF ADEQUATE JUDICIAL PERSONNEL

Municipal courts depend to a large extent upon the character of the judges who preside over them. No amount of physical equipment, clerical assistance, or other facilities will make up for poor timber on the bench itself. It has already been pointed out that politics plays an important part in determining appointment or election to these judicial posts. As a rule, politics does not make for superior personnel as far as the courts are concerned. In some cities at least there has been a steady deterioration in the quality of municipal judges over a period of years, although the movement of unify city courts has done something to check this.[1]

Legal Training.—A study of the legal training of municipal judges will indicate that much is to be desired. Some of them have had little or no professional training. Most of them have attended some one of the evening law schools which rarely enjoy an accredited status either by the Association of Law Schools or the American Bar Association. A few come from the recognized law schools, but their proportion has gone steadily down in some cities at least. It would be quite unfair to assume that inferior law schools never turn out good products. Many able young men do not find it possible to finance themselves in a recognized day law school, but it is possible for them to work during the day and study law at night. Despite their inadequate legal preparation not a few give a very good account of themselves after graduation. Nevertheless, by and large the product of this type of law school can scarcely be expected to rank with that of accredited schools. If a part of the municipal judges belonged to the night law-school class, there would be little room for criticism or concern, but with almost all of them in certain cities recruited from such schools, the situation does deserve attention.[2]

Political Dependence.—It has sometimes been stated that well trained lawyers are not interested in judicial offices of the municipal variety. The graduates of recognized law schools are supposed to make so much money in private practice that they turn up their noses at the very mention of service in municipal courts. However,

[1] See: C. G. Shenton, *History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1930); and Raymond Moley, *Our Criminal Courts.*

[2] See: the *Illinois Crime Survey*, Chap. X.

anyone who has any considerable acquaintance among lawyers will scarcely be mislead by such specious excuses. There are large numbers of well trained lawyers who make a bare living out of private practice. To many of them the salaries paid municipal judges would seem quite attractive. After listening to such excuses reeled out by the yard the adequately trained lawyers in Chicago decided to organize and put before the voters a complete judicial slate chosen from lawyers of good training and reasonably high professional standards. The political organization, which had excused its own choices on the ground noted above, did not support a single one of these hand-picked candidates, and the voters did not elect a single one to office. The truth is that political organizations want judges that they can control. By and large, they have a better chance if they fill the positions with lawyers who have not had the best training and who, as a rule, enjoy no considerable reputation in the legal fraternity.

UNIFIED MUNICIPAL COURT SYSTEMS

The Chicago Municipal Court.—New York City, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland, as well as several other large cities, have given attention to the unsatisfactory character of their municipal court systems. After considerable study they have framed unified court systems which have received a great deal of publicity. The Chicago Municipal Court dates from 1906.[1] It supplanted a large number of very unsatisfactory justice of the peace courts as well as other courts. It consists of approximately two dozen specialized civil and criminal branches and a dozen district police branches. Except for the police branches the Chicago Municipal Court is based on the theory that specialization rather than general jurisdiction is desirable in municipal courts. One branch handles only attachments and garnishments; another deals with small claims involving up to $200; and a rent branch confines itself to cases of forcible detainer and distress for rent. There are civil branches for jury cases and for non-jury cases. On the criminal side there are branches which have jurisdiction over felonies, misdemeanors, traffic cases, domestic relations, morals, and cases involving boys.

Approximately seventeen hundred cases each day, or almost

[1] See: H. T. Gilbert, *The Municipal Court of Chicago* (Chicago, 1928), for general information in regard to the organization and history of this court.

half a million a year, come to this court for adjudication. It employs not only judges, but clerks, bailiffs, social workers, medical officers, and other experts in large numbers. Its office organization which handles the records in civil cases alone is enormous. This court handles about two-thirds of all the cases of the metropolitan region which includes Cook County, Du Page County, and parts of Will, Kankakee, Kendall, and Kane Counties in Illinois; parts of Lake, Porter, and La Porte Counties in Indiana, and parts of Lake, McHenry, and Kenosha Counties in Wisconsin. This vast aggregation of people has 556 independent courts to serve it, but the one Chicago Municipal Court handled an average of 473,426 cases during the three-year period 1929–1931 out of an annual average of 731,000 cases for all the 556 courts.[1]

Jurisdiction of the Chicago Municipal Court.—The Chicago Municipal Court has jurisdiction over all misdemeanors, in preliminary stages of felonies, and in common-law claims, with the exception of certain tort cases where more than $1000 is involved. It may impose fines to the amount of $1000 and imprisonment to the extent of one year. The procedure is more simple than in the Cook County courts that may have the same jurisdiction, and court fees are less. The dozen police branches which are territorial in nature cover the entire City of Chicago and are established by the whole body of municipal judges with the approval of the city council. The specialized branches are created by the chief justice of the Municipal Court. Approximately eight hundred judges, clerks, social workers, medical examiners, and other attendants make up the staff of the court. The judges are shifted from branch to branch at rather frequent intervals by the chief justice. Such a system interferes with specialization to some extent, but it is regarded as essential to avoid some of the political relationships that would otherwise be built up.

The judges of the Chicago Municipal Court averaged forty-nine years of age in 1930 and had served an average of eight years on the bench.[2] The thirty-seven judges receive their positions through election. With a few exceptions the chief justice makes new assignments of the judges to the branch courts every three months.

[1] See: Albert Lepawsky, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1932), p. 2.

[2] See: Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

Approximately half of all criminal cases disposed of by the Municipal Court of Chicago are traffic cases. During the years 1907–1930 67.98 per cent of the cases fell into the criminal category, with traffic, disorderly conduct, gambling, prostitution, and prohibition cases accounting in 1929 for 86 per cent of all criminal cases. The civil proceedings grow largely out of non-performance of contracts. Of 159,243 civil cases filed in 1930, 109,398 involved contracts; 28,975 detainer and rent; 10,340 tort; 6,507 first class; 3,306 replevin; and 717 attachment.[1] Boys and domestic relations cases total about 11,000 per year.[2]

Incompleteness of Unification.—But even where unification has progressed relatively far as in Chicago and New York City, the situation is not entirely satisfactory. There is still usually overlapping with the county courts. In Chicago, in addition to the Municipal Court, there are circuit, superior, county, probate, juvenile, and criminal courts which deal with some of the same problems. Then there are also federal district and appellate courts. In those cities where there has been little consolidation the judicial muddle is very great.

Conservatism of Municipal Courts.—One of the serious aspects of judicial administration in large cities, even where unified municipal courts have been set up, has been a somewhat uncoöperative attitude on the part of the judges and court officials. Mayor La Guardia once complained bitterly of the situation in New York City, despite the progress made in that city toward consolidation and unification. Instead of assisting in an effort to improve city government Mayor La Guardia charged the courts with lack of sympathy and even opposition. According to his statements, the courts resort to technicalities to prevent the city from efficiently handling its problems. Furthermore, in his opinion the New York City courts were reluctant to coöperate in improving public personnel standards or to obviate unnecessary costs. They desired to appoint their own clerks and attendants on a political basis rather than placing them under the jurisdiction of the civil service commission. They opposed abolishing offices which had little or no work to do; they resisted any effort to cut the inflated salaries of some

[1] Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, quoting *Annual Reports of Chicago Municipal Court*, pp. 242–244.

[2] Lepawsky, *Op. cit.*, p. 244. For a more detailed discussion of the Chicago Municipal Court see: Raymond Moley, "The Municipal Court in Chicago," in *The Illinois Crime Survey* (Chicago, 1929), Chap. X.

of their more or less valueless political assistants; and to some extent, as a result, the cost of judicial administration in New York City exceeds that of the entire federal court system of the United States.[1]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The, "Legal Aid," Vol. 124, entire number of March, 1926.

Bradway, J. S., *Legal Aid Bureaus* (Chicago, 1935).

Cleveland Foundation, The, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1922).

Gilbert, H. T., *The Municipal Court of Chicago* (Chicago, 1928).

Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, The, *The Illinois Crime Survey* (Chicago, 1929).

Lepawsky, Albert, *The Judicial System of Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago, 1932).

Lou, Herbert H., *Juvenile Courts in the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1927).

Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York, 1926).

Moley, Raymond, *Politics and Criminal Prosecution* (New York, 1929).

Schramm, G. L., *Piedpoudre Courts: A Study of the Small Claim Litigant in the Pittsburgh District* (Pittsburgh, 1928).

Sutherland, E. H., *Criminology* (Philadelphia, 1934).

Shenton, C. G., *History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1930).

Smith, R. H., *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919).

Wood, W. J., "The Office of Public Defender," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 124, p. 69 (March, 1926).

[1] *New York Times*, May 12, 1937, October 21, 1937, December 22, 1937, December 2, 1938, and December 8, 1938.

PART VII

THE PROBLEM OF BETTER CITY GOVERNMENT

XXXI

CITY PLANNING

What It Includes.—City planning is still frequently associated in the popular mind with beautification, but actually the improvement of the physical attractiveness of a city now enjoys a minor place in the planning movement. Mr. Walter H. Blucher, the executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, maintains that the "chief function of city planning is to provide advice to the mayor, manager, and/or council which will permit them to carry out their duties in the most effective manner." [1] Mr. Blucher adds that "the 'city beautiful' period in planning ended about 1915. From 1915 to 1929 we (planning officials) thought of planning in terms of the 'city practical,' but since the depression we think of the planning agency as one which will provide for the social and economic betterment of the people in the community. This does not mean that we are attempting to do social or economic planning. We are, of course, dealing with the physical city; but the primary interest is that of the human being who lives in a community and not how much of a profit can be made from particular city improvements." [2]

Among the important items which the executive committee of the American City Planning Institute has listed in a tentative outline prepared for the American Society of Planning Officials are: a housing program, zoning, population studies, studies of industrial trends, thoroughfare plans, plans for parks, recreation, etc., land-use control, plans for public buildings, airports, transportation, water supply, sewage disposal, and a public-works program.[3]

Spread of the Planning Movement.—Although there was little city planning activity until the present century, forty-three states now

[1] Quoted from a letter written by Mr. Blucher, dated January 19, 1939.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Quoted from a mimeographed report entitled "Organization and Administration of a City Planning Department," dated April 24, 1935.

authorize cities to deal with the subject of city planning.[1] Some cities have paid a great deal of attention to this matter and consequently have done much to improve their services and standards. Approximately fourteen hundred cities have been sufficiently interested to pass zoning ordinances.[2]

The City Planning Agency.—After a state has enacted a law authorizing city planning, the next step is to draft an ordinance or a provision of the city charter which will set up a planning department. Ordinarily a commission, consisting of from five to nine members, will be created to assume general responsibility for the work of the department. Such a commission may be made up of lay members, or it may be composed of several citizens and representatives of various city departments acting in an *ex officio* capacity. As a rule, the majority of the members under the second type are citizens, and the *ex officio* members come from such departments as public works, recreation, and finance. The accepted procedure is to have the mayor appoint the lay members for overlapping terms so that there will be continuity of interest as well as experience. Citizen members receive no compensation and are barred from holding other public positions except in connection with zoning or housing.[3]

The staff of the planning department will depend largely upon the size of the city and the degree of interest in such a field. The American City Planning Institute recommends that a basic staff be made up of: a planning engineer, a secretary, draftsmen, a stenographer, and a planning consultant to direct the actual work. Other workers are suggested to assist in draftsmanship, stenography, and clerical work. The staff members receive their positions from the planning commission and look to the commission for general formulation of policies.[4]

Importance of Surveys and Collections of Data.—Before a city planning commission can accomplish very much in the way of recommendations or formal plans, it must devote itself to the making of surveys and the collection of large quantities of data in regard of various

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy* (Washington, 1937), pp. 43–48.

[2] 696 out of 1,072 cities over 10,000 had comprehensive zoning in 1946.

[3] American City Planning Institute, "Organization and Administration of a City Planning Department," pp. 1–2.

[4] For recommendations as to staff see: *Ibid.*, p. 2.

aspects of municipal government. Occasionally planning agencies attempt to proceed without carefully preparing the foundation represented by this first stage, but they usually find themselves seriously handicapped. The American City Planning Institute recommends that city planning departments make use of the outlines and schedules prepared by the several agencies of the national government which concern themselves with planning. The National Resources Committee once worked out forms which apply to municipal planning, and the Department of Commerce and the Federal Housing Administration have prepared schedules on the "Real Estate Inventory." [1]

Various maps are essential if planning agencies are to do their work well. A land-use map of the city showing lots, lot sizes, and so forth, a map of the region, a topographical map, an assessed-valuation map, and an aerial mosaic are among the maps which serve a useful purpose. While certain maps are basic to proper planning, there may be a tendency in some cities to acquire maps that cannot be used; this should, of course, be avoided. In the case of other data also care needs to be exercised lest duplication and excessive detail enter in.[2]

STREETS

The Street Plan.—Cities in the United States have usually followed the gridiron plan in laying out streets.[3] The original land developers divided their land on this basis because it was simple and because they were unfamiliar with any other arrangement. As cities have outgrown the original townsites, they have extended streets following the line of least resistance and without much attention merely expanded the small nucleus into a large metropolis. Perhaps in most cases it would not be correct to say that any plan was involved at all; the street layout has followed almost, if not entirely, automatically the traditional plan. A few of the older cities did not even have this nominal semblance of a plan. Everyone is familiar, at least by hearsay, with some of the crooked

[1] See: *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.
[3] See: Thomas Adams, *Outline of Town and City Planning* (New York, 1935); and Thomas Adams, *The Design of Residential Areas* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), on various types of street layout.

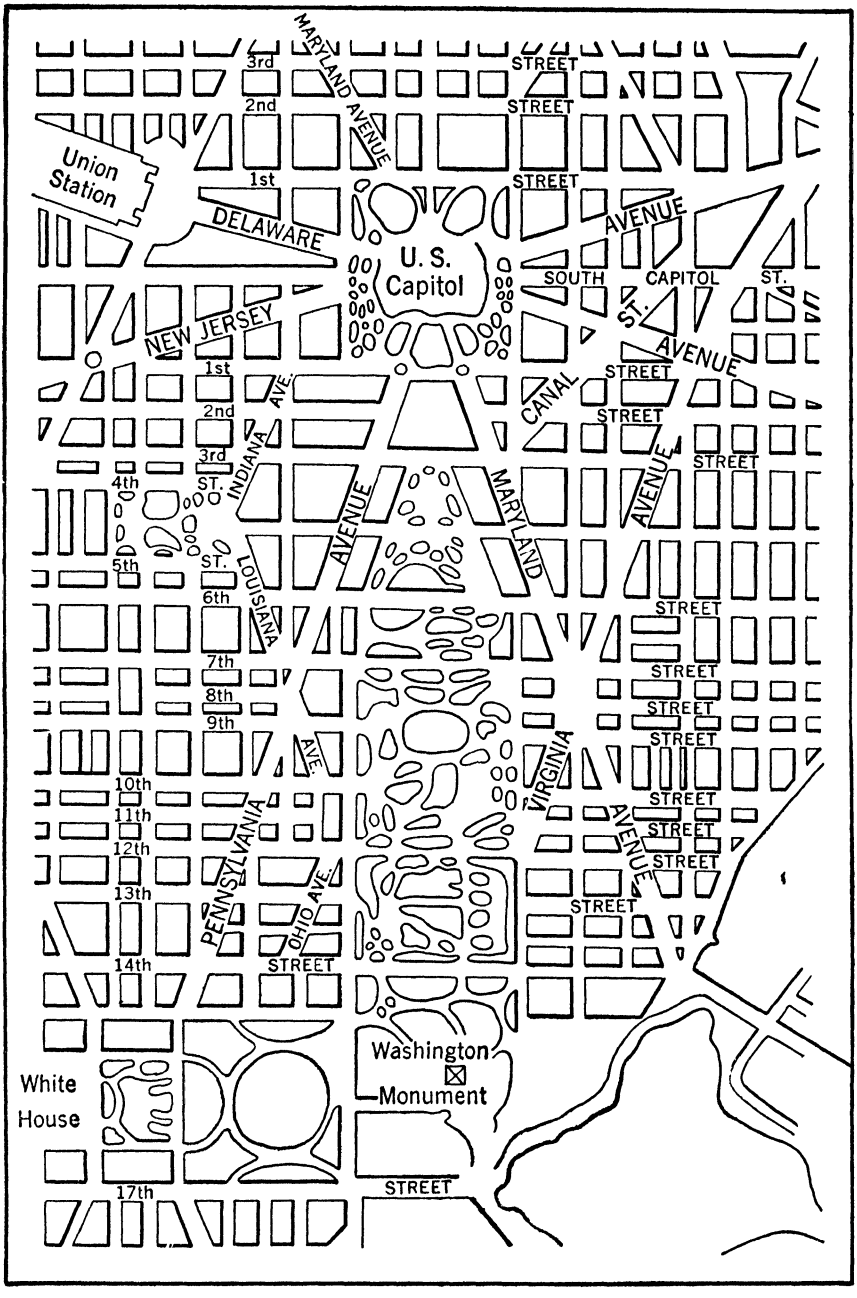


FIG. 12 Washington, D. C. A combination of the gridiron and radial street layout

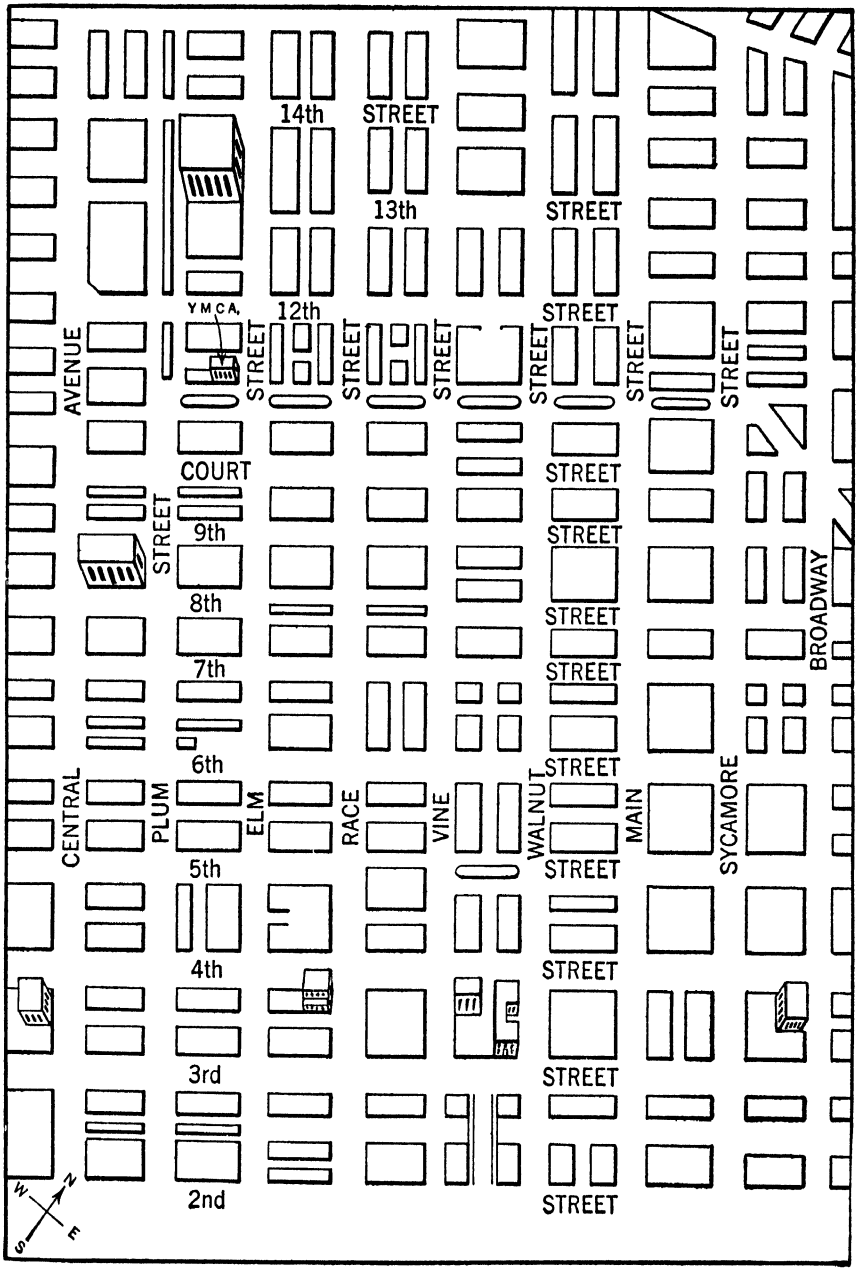


FIG. 13. Downtown Cincinnati. An example of a gridiron street layout.

streets of Boston which supposedly follow paths, cow trails, and the whims of the early settlers.

On the other hand, a few cities in the United States have had plans of a more or less elaborate nature from early days. Washington is, of course, the best example of such a city. Major L'Enfant was brought from Paris to prepare a street plan for the national capital. Carried away with the importance of his responsibility Major L'Enfant laid out an area of approximately forty square miles on the basis of the gridiron plus the radial plan. His plan has not been followed completely, but the general arrangement of Washington streets goes back to his concept. Great avenues leading out from the capitol building make of Washington more of a spiderweb than any other city in the United States.

Besides these two formal methods of laying out streets, there are informal methods which are being employed increasingly in the more prosperous residential sections of cities. One of these calls for adapting the street plan to the contour of the land. Streets follow streams, valleys, hilltops, and other natural lines.[1]

The Gridiron or Checkerboard Plan.—The regularity of the gridiron or checkerboard plan of laying out streets has certain advantages. No plan offers as convenient facilities to the stranger; numbers on one street correspond to numbers in a corresponding stretch of another street, and intersecting streets can be named numerically to correspond to the street numbers. Moreover, such a plan offers advantages from the standpoint of handling traffic, for there is no one point in the center of the city where all the traffic from the great radial arteries can become congested. Furthermore, it is probably less difficult to avoid collisions at intersections under this plan than under any other, in as much as only two streets come together in contrast to three or even more under the radial plan. Angles being uniform, it is probably easier for drivers to keep track of other drivers.

The chief drawback of the gridiron street plan is its monotony. Not only are the streets themselves monotonous in their regularity, but such a plan encourages a sameness in architectural styles; with every lot regular in shape and a building line specified in

[1] On the general problem of city planning see: John Nolen, *City Planning* (New York, 1929); N. P. Lewis, *The Planning of a Modern City* (New York, 1923); and Karl B. Lohmann, *Principles of City Planning* (New York, 1931).

most cities, the builder has little scope for his talent. As a result, streets for blocks and blocks and row after row present singular lack of variation. A further defect of this plan is the difficulty of getting easily from the northwest corner of a city to the southeast

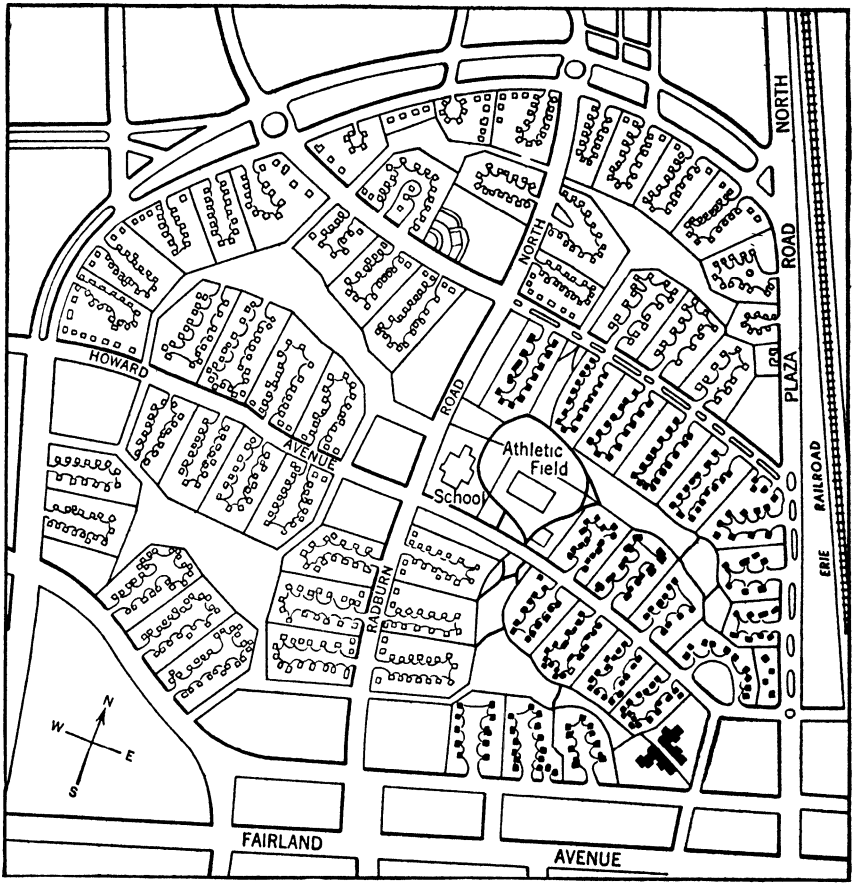


FIG. 14. Radburn, New Jersey. An example of a combination of street layouts, featuring the super block with cul-de-sac streets.

corner or from the southwest corner to the northeast corner. Distances are unnecessarily long.[1]

The Radial Plan.—The advantages and defects of the radial plan

[1] For a good discussion of street layouts see: H. S. Swan and G. W. Tuttle, "Land Subdivisions and the City Plan," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 14, supp. p. 7 (July, 1925).

are in general the converse of those pointed out for the gridiron plan. The irregularity of such a plan makes for variety; builders have more of an opportunity to apply their artistic and architectural skill because of the different shapes of the lots. It is easier, as far as distance is concerned, to get from the northwest corner to the southeast corner of the city. On the other hand, traffic congestion results, and more accidents at intersections may, as a rule, be expected. More land is ordinarily required for public purposes, and the cost of maintenance of streets consequently increases. It is difficult for a stranger at least and often for residents of many years standing to get around.

Irregular Plans.—Probably few large cities would care to follow an irregular street layout in downtown areas, for a combination of the gridiron and radial plans offers advantages in such a section. However, small cities and the residential districts of large cities may find that an informal plan of street layout is distinctly superior to the more traditional plans. The super-block-cul-de-sac plan, used by Radburn, New Jersey, provides a spaciousness, a freedom from traffic hazards and noises, and a general attractiveness that contrast pleasantly with most small cities. A street arrangement which is currently popular in the newer residential sections of large cities bases itself upon topographical considerations, such as valleys, hilltops, and streams. These irregular street plans usually avoid monotony, permit builders considerable leeway, preserve much of the natural beauty of the landscape, and sometimes make it possible to locate houses in such a fashion that fine vistas are provided. Generally speaking, irregular street layouts make it difficult to find given numbers and are not suitable for through traffic unless special provisions have been made.[1]

The Most Advantageous Street Layout.—Small cities may find it advantageous to use a scheme of street layout similar to that of Radburn, but large cities ordinarily cannot depend upon any one system. A combination arrangement, consisting of the gridiron plan, with both wide and narrow streets determined by their use, occasional radial streets running from one important center to another, irregular streets which take into account natural beauty

[1] See: Thomas Adams, *The Design of Residential Areas* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934); and National Resources Committee, *Model Subdivision Regulations* (Washington, 1937).

in residential sections, and circumferential streets as connecting links, will best meet the requirements of most large cities.

Planning New Sections.—It goes without saying that few cities find it feasible to make over their street plans in the areas already devoted to business or residences. In cases of great necessity streets in such sections can be widened, as Detroit has done with Woodward Avenue, or as Boston has done in laying out new arterial streets in some of its oldest sections. But in general the cost and other attending difficulties make such reconstruction on a large scale beyond the reach of most cities. It would seem, however, that cities could plan their future growth. The trouble is that it is sometimes difficult to determine just where the growth will take place. Logically residential expansion should be in a certain direction because of natural advantages, but perversely enough a city will move toward and across a marsh rather than occupy land which is adequately drained and in general well adapted for building purposes. Even real estate men find it difficult to predict in what direction a city will develop in the future.

Such an illogical situation makes it difficult to plan successfully. Ordinary streets may be laid out easily enough, but when it comes to developing arterial highways that will carry the traffic from the new sections enormous burdens are imposed upon city planning commissions or officials. The planning of sanitary facilities, the location of public schools and branch libraries, and many other items depend upon where a city will grow. With the experience now enjoyed by planning officials it is possible to plan these aspects of a city to an extent scarcely dreamed of twenty years ago.[1]

Planning the Use of Streets.—In the old days a street was a street in the eyes of those who had charge of laying out cities. Perhaps not much blame should be attached to these officials of another day, for there was much less specialization in the use of streets than now. Traffic problems being comparatively simple, arterial highways were still to come. At present, there is a wide diversity in the use to which streets may be put. There is the purely residential street which carries no through traffic, and there is the street which is primarily residential, but which also cares for some

[1] See: Harlean James, *Land Planning in the United States for the City, State and Nation* (New York, 1926).

non-local traffic. The arterial highway may be used by vast numbers of motor vehicles which must cover some distance, while the street cars frequently make use of another type of through street.

Then there are parkways and boulevards. The downtown sections have retail business streets; main streets which carry through traffic, street cars, and general business traffic; and streets in the wholesale and industrial districts which are used especially for heavy trucking. Alleyways, lanes, and courts add to the complexity.

Unless streets are planned for the several uses to which they may be put, there will be all sorts of trouble; they may be too narrow for convenience and safety, or they may be unnecessarily wide and hence wasteful as far as space is concerned and costly to maintain. They may be paved in such a way that driving is hazardous for ordinary vehicles, or they may be surfaced in such a manner that the trucks, which make use of them, will shortly tear them to pieces.

Planning the Width of Streets.—Instead of saying that a street should be thirty or forty or eighty feet wide, as was once the rough method of determining width, the modern system calls for computation after a study of use. A purely residential street will presumably require lanes for parallel parking on each side and space for single lines of traffic in each direction. In as much as parallel parking calls for eight feet and single traffic lanes for ten feet of space, the entire width of the street will be thirty-six feet. A thirty-foot street will be dangerous because there will not be room for cars to pass between parked cars, while a forty-foot street will be wasteful in that the extra four feet will serve no useful purpose and add to the cost of paving and maintenance. If street cars are to use the street, space ought to be added for their operation so that automobiles will not have to make use of tracks. For each lane of moving traffic ten feet should be allowed in computing the width of a street.[1] The computations above include only space between the curbs and make no allowance for sidewalks.

Street Markings.—After a careful study has been made of the traffic of a city, a plan can be drawn up for marking the various

[1] For a very good discussion of proper street widths see: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), pp. 266–270.

streets.[1] Arterial streets obviously require the preference in traffic movement, and residential streets leading into arterial streets need to have stop signs which indicate that vehicles crossing or going into the arterial streets must exercise caution. In many instances, cities have erected stop signs and other markers without careful planning. Through traffic must stop at local streets which carry few vehicles, or stop signs are placed at the intersections of virtually all streets. These arrangements cause irritation to drivers of pleasure cars, an economic loss to commercial concerns, and, what is much more serious, a general disregard for stop signs which makes for serious accidents.

Landscape Treatment.—The most ordinary city plan will usually pay attention to landscape treatment. Shade trees may be indicated for certain streets, while shrubbery may be called for in the middle of very wide streets or on corners. Even small cities in many states have realized the importance of beautification. They have furnished tulip bulbs, petunia plants, and other bright flowers for planting at corners or along street edges. Something can often be accomplished by encouraging private property owners to plant gardens. Contests and prizes for the most beautiful gardens will cost little, as a rule, but may add considerably to the attractiveness of a city.[2]

Naming of Streets.—Most cities seem to select their street names without care.[3] All streets running in a given direction will receive numerical names, while the streets running at right angles will be named for other cities, states, distinguished men, trees, or any other convenient object. Agreeable names may not be economically valuable, but they add something to the impressiveness of a city. Perhaps even more important than avoiding banal names is the planning of street names in such a manner that strangers may find their way around a city without undue difficulty. As it is now in most cities, it is easy enough to follow the numerical streets, but there is neither rhyme nor reason to the names given other streets. When a visitor comes to Oak Street, he has not the

[1] See: B. J. Lockwood, "Selecting a Street Name Sign," *Public Management*, June, 1937; and Adolph J. Post and George H. McCaffrey, *Street Name Signs* (New York, 1930).

[2] See: Thomas Adams, et. al., *Recent Advances in Town Planning* (New York, 1932).

[3] For an interesting article on street naming see: N. N. Wolpert, "Observations on the Naming and Marking of Streets," *American City*, Vol. 33, pp. 620–622 (December, 1925).

least intimation whether Wilson Street is a block in one direction or ten blocks in the other direction. Where cities plan their street names in such a fashion that the names themselves indicate the location of other streets, a useful service has been rendered. A series of tree-plant streets may start out with Acacia Street, pass on to Barberry Street, and thus proceed through the alphabet. Streets named for distinguished persons can follow an alphabetical arrangement without too much violation of the proprieties.[1]

Radical Rearrangement of Streets.—Where street layouts are acutely unsatisfactory, cities sometimes undertake to widen existing streets or to construct new streets through congested areas. Of course, such planning can be done only where the problem is particularly demanding. The mere fact that such undertakings cannot be carried on except in rare cases makes careful planning all the more important; in as much as only a little can be done, great care needs to be given to deciding exactly what to do. A careful arrangement is required for condemning the necessary land. Advance information must not be allowed to leak out among politicians and others which might permit them to profit personally. Excess condemnation might well be considered, if the state laws or charter permits such a device. After the city takes what it requires, it can divide the excess land up into desirable plots which may bring in almost enough to meet the cost of the undertaking.[2]

ZONING

General Importance.—Quite as important as planning the use of streets is the problem of planning the general use of the various sections of the city. Few owners of residential property want steam laundries, filling stations, undertaking establishments, or factories on the next lot or even near-by. Under the system which characterized most cities until fairly recently and which still prevails in some cities, there was little that could be done to prevent such invasions. Owners of property could employ their

[1] See: L. D. Upson, *Practice of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1926), pp. 192–193, for a good discussion of this problem.

[2] See: R. E. Cushman, *Excess Condemnation* (New York, 1917); F. B. Williams, *The Law of City Planning and Zoning* (New York, 1922), pp. 59–160; and a report of a symposium on "Excess Condemnation in City Planning," in *Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, Vol. LI, p. 1416 (September-November, 1925).

property for almost any purpose that might occur to them, irrespective of the mental anguish and the monetary damage inflicted on neighboring property owners. In order to safeguard against such exploitation as well as to improve the general appearance of the city and to reduce certain of its governmental responsibilities, many cities now plan the use to which various municipal areas may be put. This is done by establishing zones for various purposes. Zoning ordinances are enacted which make it illegal to devote property located in a zone for any purpose which is not specified in the plan. Approximately 1400 cities have zoning ordinances.[1]

Evils Where Zoning Plans Have Not Been Made.—Where cities have not formulated such plans, their residents are likely to encounter serious problems. To some extent, small cities may handle the situation by observing care in granting building and repair permits. As an illustration of what can occur where no zoning regulations exist, the experience of a small Middle-Western city, which is the seat of a state university, may be cited. Attempts have been made to secure the zoning of the city, but the city council has refrained from enacting the requisite ordinance. One of the students of the university has recently paid his entire way through university—and apparently on a quite handsome scale—by capitalizing on the lack of a zoning system. Periodically when he needed funds, he bought options on lots in select residential neighborhoods. Then he allowed the news to circulate among the property owners that he intended to erect a steam laundry—or it might be a laboratory for experimenting with odorous chemicals. Once he intimated that he expected to have dogs and cats for laboratory purposes. Invariably the harassed householders have risen nobly to the occasion and subscribed purses of several hundred dollars to persuade the student to surrender his option and his plans.[2]

Types of Zones.—Cities do not always agree as to the number and type of zones to be laid out. Much depends upon the character

[1] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, pp. 46, 63; and letter from Mr. W. H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, dated January 19, 1939.

[2] On the general problem of zoning see: T. K. Hubbard and H. V. Hubbard, *Our Cities—Today and Tomorrow* (Cambridge, 1929); and *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 155, entire number of May, 1931.

and size of the city as to whether a simple plan is satisfactory or whether something more elaborate is indicated. But whatever the situation, the zoning needs to be based on careful planning, for haphazard zoning causes confusion and irritation and does not accomplish its purposes very adequately. Small cities may get along fairly well with three classifications of property: residential, commercial, and industrial. The main problem in these cities is to keep business and industrial plants out of residential neighborhoods.

Larger cities usually find it advantageous to have more types of zones. They frequently provide for one zone which is restricted to single residences or to single residences plus duplexes, while a second residential zone permits single residences, duplexes, flats, and apartment houses. Although the former does not, as a rule, allow neighborhood stores, the latter may provide for such establishments under certain conditions. A third zone is the retail-business type. Not only may retail businesses locate here, but hotels, clubs, and apartment houses may be allowed. A fourth type of zone is the industrial; some cities divide this into two parts and restrict one to service trades and simple industry and the other to large factories and heavy industry.

The Retroactive Effect of Zoning.—When a city adopts a zoning plan, it usually applies only to the future. Filling stations located in residential zones do not have to move, and industrial plants situated in retail zones are permitted to remain. Of course, this makes it more difficult to carry out zoning plans. It would seem reasonable to require property owners who have located nonconforming businesses in good neighborhoods to remove their undesirable establishments if adequate time were given for the amortization of their investment. In certain cases immediate removal of the offending business might be justified on the ground of general public interest.[1]

Other Provisions of Zoning Ordinances.—In addition to specifying the general use to which property may be put, zoning ordinances also may regulate the height, setback, and bulk of buildings within certain zones. Small cities may content themselves with specifying

[1] See: Edward M. Bassett, *Zoning: The Laws, Administration, and Court Decisions During the First Twenty Years* (New York, 1936); and A. C. Comey, *Transition Zoning* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933).

the use to which property may be put and with certain requirements in regard to setback. In the congested sections of large cities it is desirable to specify the maximum height of buildings. An absolute limit may be laid down in feet or storys. New York City is unique in that it bases the height of the building upon the width of the street or upon the width of the street plus the setback. The maximum area of the lot to be covered by a building may be laid down; in a detached residential zone no more than a small proportion of the land, thirty per cent for example, may be covered by a house.[1]

Importance of Providing for Rezoning.—In as much as the character of neighborhoods change, cities must make provision for rezoning.[2] As a retail area moves outward, private residences may also tend to leave the central sections and go to the outlying areas. Of course, such a situation necessitates the rezoning of the old residential sections. If the zones are definitely laid down in a city ordinance, amendments will have to be passed by the city council. Unfortunately this permits political pressure and even corruption. Senator Blank owns land which would bring a very attractive price if it could be used for a certain purpose, but his land happens to be located in a zone where such a use is not allowed. Senator Blank feels that he is entitled to all the money he can get out of his property, and consequently he brings all of his political strength to bear upon the officials who have the authority to rezone. Real-estate concerns or promoters may desire modifications of the zoning lines, and they, too, may attempt at times to exert pressure—even to the extent of offering the zoning officials presents of money in return for rezoning the property in which the realtors have an interest. In the nineteen-twenties the city council of Indianapolis, which enjoys the authority over zoning in that city, organized itself into a regular combine for the selling of rezoning ordinances. Anyone who would pay the scheduled fees—in reality bribes, amounting in some instances to several hundred dollars, could usually get property rezoned so that it could be used for any reasonable purpose.[3]

[1] See: George B. Ford, *Building Height, Bulk and Form* (Cambridge, 1931).

[2] See: Edward M. Bassett, *Zoning* (New York, 1936); and A. C. Comey, *Transition Zoning* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933).

[3] See: an unpublished manuscript belonging to the author entitled "Kluxer Politics in the Midwest."

LOCATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

The City Hall and Related Buildings.—The location of public buildings may not be a matter of life and death to the citizens of a city, but proper planning in this respect does add materially to the general convenience of a city. It may be added that in the case of school buildings location may even enter into the death toll caused by traffic accidents. Some public buildings may be advantageously located in the center of the city where they are readily accessible to large numbers of people. The city hall, the central library, and such buildings as art museums fall into this category. Some buildings not only need to be centrally located, but they are more socially-useful if they are conveniently situated in relation to other buildings. There may be no particular connection between the library and the city hall, unless the former maintains a municipal reference library, but the library and various museums, galleries, and colleges do have something in common. For example, people who use a museum may find it convenient to use the facilities of the public library in order to obtain background for viewing the museum exhibits.

Furthermore, unless all of the city departments are located in one municipal building there is great need for convenient grouping of buildings. The city hall ought not be too far from the county building. Some cities, such as Denver, Newark, and New York, have interested themselves in civic centers. As far as possible, all of the central public buildings are located in park-like spaces in these cities. Such an arrangement, if well planned, adds not only to the convenience, but to the impressiveness of such buildings.[1]

Public Schools.—It may be even more important to plan the location of public school buildings, city hospitals, branch libraries, police stations, fire stations, and waste disposal plants. City halls invariably find themselves in fairly accessible locations downtown, while these other public buildings are not infrequently placed in the most inconvenient places. Children have to journey to wherever their schools are situated, but it is unreasonable to compel them to travel long distances unnecessarily. Schools belong as near as possible to the center of the area from which

[1] For a good discussion of the proper location of public buildings see: William B. Munro, *Municipal Administration* (New York, 1934), pp. 232–233.

they draw. They must also avoid arterial streets if at all possible. Schools which require children to cross such streets may be necessary, but everything should be done to avoid more crossing of such streets than is absolutely necessary. Branch libraries differ from schools in that people do not have to patronize them, and consequently poorly located branch libraries lose much of their usefulness.

Hospitals and Police Stations.—City hospitals deserve especial planning. They require location in reasonably quiet areas, and at the same time attention may properly be paid to transportation facilities. Most of the people who use such institutions come from classes that do not have a great deal of spare time; many do not own automobiles. In general, these institutions might well be placed near clinical and other facilities, as well as near the congested areas from which they draw their patients. Police and fire stations require more careful attention in their planning than most of these other public buildings, for they are frequently located in residential sections. They need to be planned in such a way that they will not stand out as eye sores, but rather will harmonize with other neighboring structures.

Waste Disposal Plants.—The location of waste disposal plants requires the most careful planning. It is costly if garbage and rubbish have to be hauled long distances. But perhaps the chief consideration in deciding the sites of such structures involves the claims of property owners, for these public buildings or plants never make pleasant neighbors from the standpoint of residential areas. Even if no odious noise, smells, and by-products characterize disposal plants, residential areas resent having city trucks traverse them for the purpose of carting the wastes to their destination. In many instances unpleasant odors do result from the processes involved, and particularly during the summer months such odors may be very irritating. Large areas of a residential nature may be made undesirable unless due care is taken in planning the location of these plants. The direction of the prevailing wind during the summer must be taken into account among other things.

OTHER ASPECTS OF CITY PLANNING

Transportation.—In small cities the problem of transportation offers little challenge, for distances are not great and many people

have their own automobiles.[1] As cities increase in size, the necessity for careful planning of transportation facilities becomes greater, although in medium size cities distances permit many inhabitants to walk to their work and parking space may enable many others to drive their cars. In very large cities comparatively few people do not have to rely upon transportation facilities at one time or another, for distances do not allow walking in most cases. Where people have their private automobiles, congestion is too great to permit their convenient use in many cities which fall into the metropolitan category.

Although street cars and buses may be relied upon in medium size cities, the congestion is frequently so great in very large cities that other facilities must be provided. Elevateds served a useful purpose for many years; however, they are unsightly, dirty, and otherwise unsatisfactory, and more and more they are giving way to undersurface transportation. New York City has depended upon subways to a considerable extent for years. New municipal subways have made it feasible to raze most of the elevated tracks. Chicago has finally reached the point where it has completed construction of and placed in operation a Loop subway. In some cities the railroads play an important role in handling mass transportation, and consequently their terminals and service need careful planning. Perhaps the future growth of cities depends as much upon adequate planning of transportation facilities as upon any other internal matter.[2]

Parks and Recreation.—Very frequently cities have had no park plans until land values reached such a point that substantial purchases were more or less out of the question. Some cities now have very fine park systems because they looked ahead many years ago. In planning for parks the first essential is to secure park land when it may be obtained at a reasonable price; this land does not necessarily have to be developed at once. Another very important aspect of the problem is that of location. Poorly situated parks may be better than none at all, but if parks are to be used to maximum advantage, they must be easily accessible to the people who need them. If the land cannot be physically

[1] For an interesting article on transit planning see: H. Bartholomew, "Fitting Transit to the City," *American City*, January, 1938.

[2] See: National Resources Committee, *Our Cities—Their Role in the National Economy*, p. 63.

near the congested areas of the city, at least good transportation facilities might exist.

Playgrounds demand particular planning.[1] If they are not within a few blocks of the children who need them, small children at any rate will not be permitted by their parents to go there. Playgrounds for larger children may draw from a radius of a mile. The equipment of a park needs planning, for few cities can find the money to develop parks as they want to at any one time. A plan will enable them to add one feature this year, another next year, while in the absence of a plan the money may be frittered away. The type of people who will use a park must be considered in planning the equipment. A golf course would be scarcely justifiable in a park used by very poor people who could not afford golf sticks or a green fee. Even where the same type of people makes use of parks, it is often wise to stress different features in different parks. One may go in for a zoo; another may provide bathing facilities; and still another may be left in its natural state and developed for the use of riders, trampers, picnickers, and others who like the outdoors.

Housing and Slum Clearance.—Large cities in the United States contain some of the worst slums in the world. A study made by the Department of Commerce and the Civil Works Administration of approximately a million and a half residential buildings in sixty-four cities in 1934 indicated that almost twenty per cent were substandard.[2] Successful handling of crime, health, morals, and relief hinges to some extent upon razing of slums and the construction of public housing which is both modern and cheap. Private capital can do something in this field, but housing for the very poor is not, as a rule, profitable for private capital. Foreign cities have achieved a great deal in this field, while cities in the United States have discussed the problem, but accomplished comparatively little. The cost of such projects is so great in most cases that planning is necessary. Moreover, planning must be attached to slum clearance and housing projects if the funda-

[1] For an interesting example of this type of planning see: D. C. Enderis and Gilbert Clegg, "The Playground Expansion Program; A Survey of Milwaukee's Playground and Play Field Needs and a Proposed Program for the Expansion of the Recreation System," *Milwaukee Five-Year Building and Future Sites Program* (Milwaukee, 1929), pp. 81–104.

[2] See *Ibid.*, p. 60.

mental evils are to be relieved.[1] In the absence of detailed planning cities may waste large sums of money and do little toward ameliorating the indirect evils.

Water Supply.—Small cities can usually expect to obtain water supplies near at hand, although where near large cities they may contract for their water. In as much as they ordinarily have few large industrial users, the matter of quantity usually presents no very serious problem. As cities become larger, they exhaust their local supplies and may have to obtain additional water from distant watersheds. The bringing of water from afar is not as simple as the purchasing of coal or some other commodity from a distant place. Large tracts of land have to be acquired; villages may have to be moved to ensure space for storage reservoirs and to guarantee purity; and reservoirs and mains will have to be constructed. All of this involves much time as well as money. Unless cities plan ahead, they may find themselves in a desperate plight.

Water Fronts.—In many instances municipal water fronts have been eyesores rather than assets to the city. Where a water front is used for business purposes, it may be difficult to make it attractive, although some cities have been quite successful even in such places. Where no commercial use has been involved, cities have often entirely neglected water fronts. Rubbish may have been allowed to accumulate along the edges; stagnant pools have bred mosquitoes during the summer months. A complete city plan includes the development of such natural resources. Swamps may be reclaimed and made into beaches; New York City has carried on remarkable reclamation of this kind during recent years. Unsightly dumps may be removed, and parkways may be laid out along the banks. The result of adequate planning will be the transformation of liabilities into assets both from an aesthetic and a recreational standpoint.[2]

Debts and a Pay-as-you-go Policy.—If cities incur debts without considering how the debts will fit into their whole scheme of municipal finance, they let themselves in for future trouble in

[1] See: Mabel L. Walker, *Urban Blight and Slums* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938); Earl E. Muntz, *Urban Sociology* (New York, 1938); and James Ford et. al., *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936), 2 volumes.

[2] For a good discussion of this see: John Nolen and Henry V. Hubbard, *Parkways and Land Values* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937).

many cases. Planning therefore finds its place in municipal indebtedness. When debts have become unmanageable, planning will sometimes relieve the situation. Refunding may stagger the payments or reduce the interest charges. Kalamazoo, Michigan has paid a great deal of attention to this phase of city planning and managed to accomplish much during a difficult time. If a city is to operate successfully on a pay-as-you-go policy, planning cannot be avoided. The city authorities must have in mind what the needs of the city are, what the resources are, and what portion of the problem should be given attention during the current year.

Billboards.—The natural beauty of some cities has been largely obscured by the presence of numerous billboards. A city plan might well consider what can be done to handle this problem. Courts may not permit the regulation of such signs on the ground of beautification, although they seem to be gradually adopting a more liberal attitude in this respect.[1] On the ground of public safety it is possible to require billboards to be set back a certain distance from the street. They may also be prohibited or at least regulated at street intersections because they interfere with the vision of drivers. The whole subject of billboard regulation is receiving increased attention from municipal authorities and public-spirited citizens, with the result that considerable progress is being made in the direction of minimizing the most objectionable features. Something has been done by appealing to outdoor advertising companies, but there is also evidence that city councils and courts are taking a more liberal attitude in the matter of safeguarding public interests.[2]

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Thomas, *The Design of Residential Areas* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934).

Adams, Thomas, *Outline of Town and City Planning* (New York, 1935).

American Society of Planning Officials, *News Letter* (published monthly).

American Society of Planning Officials, *Proceedings* of National Conference on Planning (published annually).

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, "Zoning," Vol. 155, entire number of May, 1931.

[1] In 1935, the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts upheld an ordinance based on aesthetic grounds.

[2] See: United States Conference of Mayors, *The Regulation of Billboards and the Business of Outdoor Advertising*, by H. R. Betters (Washington, 1937).

Bassett, E. M., *et al.*, *Model Law for Planning Cities, Counties and States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935).

Bassett, E. M., *Zoning: The Laws, Administration, and Court Decisions* (rev. ed., New York, 1940).

Bettman, Alfred, *City and Regional Planning Papers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1946).

Black, R. V., *Planning for the Small American City* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1944).

Churchill, H. S., *The City Is the People* (New York, 1945).

Comey, A. C., *Transition Zoning* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1933).

Committee on a Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, *Report* (10 vols., New York, 1927–1931), see: especially Vol. 10.

Federal Housing Administration, *A Handbook on Urban Redevelopment for Cities in the United States* (Washington, 1941).

Ford, George B., *Building Height, Bulk and Form* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931).

Hubbard, T. K., and Hubbard, H. V., *Our Cities—Today and Tomorrow* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929).

Hubbard, T. K., and McNamara, K., *Manual of Planning Information and Supplement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1929).

James, Harlean, *Land Planning in the United States for the City, State, and Nation* (New York, 1926).

Justament, Louis, *New Cities for Old* (New York, 1945).

Kimball, T., *Manual of Information on City Planning and Zoning* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1923).

Lewis, Harold M., *City Planning: Why and How* (New York, 1939).

Lewis, N. P., *The Planning of a Modern City* (New York, 1923).

Lohmann, K. B., *Principles of City Planning* (New York, 1931).

Mitchell, R. B., ed., "Building the Future City," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 242 (September, 1945).

Nolen, John, *New Towns for Old* (Boston, 1937).

Princeton Bureau of Urban Research, *Urban Planning and Public Opinion* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1942).

Public Administration Clearing House, *Action for Cities; A Guide for Community Planning* (Chicago, 1943).

Segoe, Ladislas, and Others, *Local Planning Administration* Chicago, (1941).

Tennessee Valley Authority, *Communities for Living* (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1941).

Unwin, R., *Town Planning in Practice* (New York, 1933).

Walker, Robert A., *The Planning Function in Urban Government* (Chicago, 1941).

Wirth, Louis, and others, eds., *Community Planning for Peacetime Living* (Stanford, California, 1946).

XXXII

THE PROBLEM OF CREATING A POPULAR DEMAND FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

Perhaps no country has paid more attention to the form of city government than the United States. The commission and the manager forms; the strong-mayor and the strong-council forms; proportional representation; the initiative, the referendum, and the recall; and home rule are only a few of the plans which have received wide attention. Yet despite the interest exhibited in new arrangements affecting the political aspects of municipal government, the United States has not been known for its superiority in the field of city government. As a matter of common knowledge, for many years city government in the United States was so permeated with corruption and so dominated by bosses that very few had anything good to write about it. Lord Bryce commented in no uncertain terms on its very unsatisfactory character.[1] Lincoln Steffens at the turn of the century wrote a book entitled *The Shame of the Cities* which received a great deal of attention.[2] Gradually municipal government has improved in the United States until it is no longer a matter for constant apology, but, with some notable exceptions, it still leaves something to be desired.

Why City Government Has Not Attained Higher Standards.—The failure of cities in the United States to win a superior reputation has received several explanations; of course, there is no simple or single cause. The rapid growth of cities has been noted and probably has played some part, although it should be remembered that cities in other countries where standards are higher have grown rapidly also. Not infrequently the speedy industrialization of the United States has been pointed out as a factor. This, too, perhaps has entered in, but in this respect also it might be kept in

[1] *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. 2, pp. 156 ff.
[2] (New York, 1904).

mind that the United States is not entirely peculiar. The wealth of the country and the numerous opportunities of profitable business activity supposedly have absorbed the attention of the citizenry and left no time for interest in municipal affairs.

Quite frequently the foreign population of American cities has received the onus for the situation. Some of these groups have taken an active interest in city affairs without the highest motives, but, even so, it may be doubted whether the major part of the blame should be loaded upon their shoulders. People of the United States have a convenient habit of attributing many of their troubles to the foreigners in their midst. There is little authoritative information on the subject, but such objective studies as are available indicate that the role of the foreign groups in contributing to poor city government has been far less than has generally been imagined.[1]

American Fondness for Panaceas.—A major factor in the slow progress made by cities in the United States would seem to be the misplaced emphasis or the distorted picture or the faulty diagnosis entertained by those who have interested themselves in the problems of municipal government in the United States. There has been a decided tendency to search for panaceas. Many of the reforms which have been advocated, and, to some extent at least adopted, have savored of high pressure salesmanship. Their proponents have advanced the most glowing and exaggerated claims of what they would do in completely transforming city government.

Great emotional fervor has frequently made the leaders and followers in such quests resemble an old-time revival meeting: the same highly colored eloquence has been employed in persuading listeners, and the same exalted but fantastic promises have been made as to what a new course of conduct would bring. Adopt this device, they preach, and the bosses and machines, the ward henchmen, the corruption, the tie-up between municipal government and the underworld, the trafficking in votes, and the stealing of elections will be whisked away as if by magic, leaving a city spotlessly pure and regenerated.

Even the experience of conversion has found a place in some

[1] For a recent discussion of this problem in the United States see: David Loth, *Public Plunder, A History of Graft in America* (New York, 1938).

of these movements. The cold-hearted, ruthless captains of industry repent of their indifference and unwillingness to serve in public office. Suddenly they have emerged in the public eye donned in the habiliments of commissioners under the commission form of government. But like the old evangelistic endeavors where the converts give up their card-playing and dancing, the regenerate business leaders of the city soon grow cold and revert to their old ways of secret dealings with the bosses and their contempt for public office.

Emphasis upon Form Rather than Function.—Another aspect of this misplaced emphasis has been the attention paid to the formal side of city government and the comparative neglect of the more basic functional side. Or in a different fashion it may be explained as the interest in the superficial and apparent in contrast to the less spectacular but more essential details of city government. Of course, the political structure of municipal government is important and should receive attention. But the lack of attention to routine matters, such as proper assessing, accounting and auditing, a satisfactory system of recruiting for municipal employment, and careful inspection of contracts involving the construction of public buildings and the paving of streets, suggests that more is required.

The Need for General Interest in Municipal Affairs.—Perhaps the most important problem connected with city government in the United States at the present time is that of developing among the inhabitants a general interest in municipal affairs. The old plan of generating a high degree of emotional excitement over an untried panacea has not demonstrated its worth. A less spectacular but more permanent program of educating the people in the general subject of good city government seems to promise much more in the way of concrete results. The saying, that "People under a democratic form of government get no more in the way of government than they demand or expect," probably contains more than a modicum of truth. Most politicians in the United States are unmoral; they have no definite belief in either good things or bad things in government; but they will follow the popular will rather closely in order to keep in power. Even public officeholders who profess a desire to improve city government can often do little in the absence of a definite demand from

the people for good government. The power of the political machine and the generally cumbersome character of municipal government tie their hands unless the people emerge from their indifference.

The Relation of General Education in Municipal Affairs to Good Government.—The mere desire for good government does not suffice; the term "good government" is far too ambiguous to mean very much to most people. It is probable that at any time and in almost any city a majority of the people would voice a preference for "good government" rather than "bad government." But most of them scarcely know what constitutes good government—what an efficient city government can do for them. They have been told on innumerable occasions that political bosses and their organizations are bad, but they have seldom been told what constitutes good municipal government.

As far as they see bosses and their assistants, they are good—sometimes far better than anything else they experience in connection with government. The boss and his henchmen give them excursions in the summer and maintain clubs for social intercourse during the long winters. They provide coal during blizzards and distribute baskets of good things at Thanksgiving and Christmas. They call in doctors when there is illness and help free children when they get in trouble with the police. They attend weddings and funerals and christenings, sending flowers and presents. And since most people appreciate assistance in time of need and attention to their joys and sorrows, what is more natural, as Boss Martin Lomasney of Boston was fond of saying, than that the people support the boss and his cohorts at election time.[1]

Most of the people in a city know very little about the more vicious practices of bosses and machines. They may hear rumors of stealing from public funds, but then they hear a great many things that are not true. Large numbers of people in New York City never gave credence to the accusations made against Boss Tweed and his ring. They remembered that Tweed had treated

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 82–83. Lomasney said further, "Is somebody out of a job? We do our best to place him and not necessarily on the public payroll. Does the family run in arrears with the landlord or the butcher? Then we lend a helping hand. Do the kids need shoes or clothing, or the mother a doctor? We do what we can, and since as the world is run, such things must be done, we keep old friends and make new ones." *Ibid.*, p. 83.

them generously, and they regarded as malicious untruths the charges of Samuel J. Tilden and the *New York Times* that Tweed and his associates had stolen millions of dollars from the public treasury.[1]

The Case of Kansas City, Missouri.—It may be suspected that this condition prevailed in Kansas City where Boss Pendergast managed until 1939 to maintain control despite the vigorous efforts made to dislodge him. The reformers could howl their heads off about the iniquities of Pendergast. They could point to the corrupt methods which he employed which were later exposed in the trials in the federal court involving both himself and his henchmen. They could describe the repeating, the spoiling of ballots, and the general perversion of proper election administration which eventually resulted in more than two hundred indictments and many convictions. All of this meant little to a people who had a faint idea of what constitutes good city government. They remembered Pendergast's consideration for them in many quite concrete forms. If they paid any attention at all to the evidence piled up in the federal district court, they probably regarded it as not very important. We all have our weaknesses; what counts is not our weaknesses, but what good things we have to counterbalance the ills. And in their eyes, as was demonstrated by the election of 1938, Pendergast had more to his credit than to his discredit.[2]

Kansas City is a particularly good example of the futility of depending upon forms of government alone to bring about good government, for Kansas City had the council-manager form of government and structurally ranked high among cities in the United States. Nevertheless, actually its government for many years prior to 1939 was probably one of the poorer ones to be found in the United States.[3]

Kansas City and London.—It is interesting to compare Pendergast Kansas City with the old city of London which operates under an antiquated and cumbersome form of governmental structure.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[2] Finally the people of Kansas City did awaken to the sad state of affairs in their city and threw out the Pendergast machine. They employed a competent city manager and found it possible to achieve relatively high standards in their city government, but along with Jersey City Kansas City for years occupied a far from enviable position.

[3] See: Walter Matscheck, "Kansas City: Where the Manager Plan Has Failed," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 57 (September, 1938).

Superficially Kansas City far outranked London; actually the quality of government in London was much superior to that of Kansas City. There were, of course, several reasons for this difference, but perhaps the most important was the greater understanding and expectation of good government to be found among the inhabitants and business firms of London.

The Experience of Milwaukee.—Early in the century a Socialist by the name of D. W. Hoan became mayor of Milwaukee. He found the city rendering very mediocre services; a fairly critical debt situation requiring attention and making difficult expansion of municipal functions; and a political organization constructed along traditional lines which expected to live off the city. Mr. Hoan had not achieved any great eminence in the world nor had he had much experience in governmental affairs beyond majoring in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. For two decades following 1915 Mayor Hoan threw himself body and soul into the government of Milwaukee.[1] During most of that time he had to depend upon a city council dominated by men who confessed traditional party affiliations. Moreover, he was consistently opposed by the powerful banking interests of the city and to a large extent by business in general. Yet he succeeded in bringing the government of Milwaukee to a level of excellence where it ranked along with Cincinnati as the best-governed city in the United States—Mayor Hoan maintained that Milwaukee had the best city government in the world.[2] That may have been an extreme claim, but a fair-minded student of municipal affairs can scarcely refuse to give great credit for what was actually accomplished.

Achievements in Milwaukee.—The general administrative standards of city government in Milwaukee were lifted. The health record became one of the very best in the United States, and the success of the police department in apprehending criminals and preventing crime was almost phenomenal.[3] Milwaukee received first place among cities in the United States on several occasions for its handling of the traffic problem. It was able to provide elaborate recreational facilities for young and old. Its public school system

[1] See: his testimony in *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936), Chaps. VI, VII, and VIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[3] See: *Illinois Crime Survey*, pp. 102–103.

received generous support and maintained high standards. A system of adult education was put into operation with considerable success. The services rendered by the city to its citizens were largely increased in number.

All of this was done without imposing heavier taxes than many cities which offered much less to their citizens. The indebtedness, despite the refusal of the bankers to cooperate, was actually reduced until it became the lowest on a per-capita basis of any city in the class 1 population group.[1] Mayor Hoan's book, *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment*, which describes what was achieved in Milwaukee, reads almost like a chamber of commerce brochure. Yet the reports of various national accrediting agencies bear out most of the claims.

The Method Employed by Milwaukee in Achieving Good Government.—Much of the credit for what was done in Milwaukee undoubtedly belonged to Mayor Hoan personally—perhaps no other person could have done quite what he was able to accomplish. Nevertheless, the method which Mr. Hoan used would seem to be applicable in almost any city. Furthermore, the experience of Cincinnati indicates that at least in one other city of somewhat different character a similar method has proved effective in promoting a superior type of municipal government. This method consists of educating the people as to what a good city government can do for them and thus creating a general demand for such a government.

Mayor Hoan went himself on almost countless occasions to every type of group in every section of Milwaukee to discuss municipal problems.[2] He did not hesitate to seek invitations to present his ideas; he spoke ably to small assemblages as well as to large; and he addressed schools again and again, parent-teacher associations, service clubs, neighborhood associations, social organizations, conventions, and virtually any aggregation that would listen to him. Moreover, he managed to arrange to have many other city officials carry on such a program of popular education.

The schools were drafted by Mayor Hoan to assist; the adult education program was made use of; the radio was increasingly

[1] Rosina Mohaupt, "The Bonded Debt of 286 Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 27, p. 321 (July, 1938).

[2] See: *City Government*, Chap. VIII.

used during his later years; and the newspapers were employed in so far as they were willing to participate. Finally, various sorts of mimeographed and printed information were carefully prepared and widely circulated among all classes of Milwaukee residents. At first, Mr. Hoan found the progress slow: people did not seem interested, and frequently he went home from an address almost overcome by discouragement. But gradually interest increased: more people wanted to discuss municipal affairs. During his later years Mayor Hoan found the people his main source of strength in bringing more services and improving standards. A widespread demand for good government, which should ensure a reasonably satisfactory government irrespective of what party may come into power or what changes may occur in the city, seems definitely established in Milwaukee. Of course, such an attitude on the part of the people is likely to relax if the campaign of popular education is not continued.

METHODS THAT PROMISE RESULTS IN CREATING A POPULAR DEMAND FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

a. Adequate Municipal Reporting.—The neglect of city administrations in informing the citizens of the work, the expenditures, and the current problems confronting the city government is almost beyond belief. Some city officials make no effort at all to acquaint the people with what is going on; some of them go so far as to resent inquiries from interested persons who take the trouble to ascertain facts. They may pretend ignorance, shift the burden to some other official or department, maintain that they are too busy with public duties to be bothered with questions, and at times even refuse outright to furnish information on the ground that it is no one's business. In many cases they are willing enough, but simply do not themselves know what the facts are. If reports are issued at all, they are usually so involved, so uninteresting, so incomplete, and so out-of-date that they defy the ordinary citizen, if he ever sees them.

In many cities the reports circulate largely among public employes who presumably do not need them or repose in peace on the shelves of some storeroom. No effort, indeed no provision, is made for placing them in the hands of the people who are the stockholders of the city and therefore entitled to receive a report

on current business. If the municipal income is curtailed, one of the first items which many cities will abolish is the annual report. During the years following 1930 not a few cities abandoned public reporting entirely.[1]

Reporting in Milwaukee and Cincinnati.—Both Milwaukee and Cincinnati make large use of public reports.[2] They report frequently, informally, and in an illuminating fashion. Pamphlets of two or three pages may be sent out every month with the water bills; almost every household in a city makes use of water and hence will by this means receive the report. These monthly bulletins give the citizens information in regard to current problems which the city government is considering or handling.

More elaborate publications supply the citizens with a large amount of knowledge as to what their cities have done during the past year. These reports are carefully prepared, simply phrased, presented in an interesting fashion, and contain many charts, diagrams, and photographs which illustrate the contents. Instead of binding them in morocco leather, as some cities have been known to do at a cost of five or six dollars per copy, Milwaukee uses a paper cover, but prints large numbers of copies which receive a wide circulation. Mayor Hoan reported that there is a surprising demand for these publications and apparently a great deal of interest in their contents.[3] After comparing one of them with the traditional stodgy volumes issued in small numbers and mainly important as occupiers of space on a book shelf it is not strange that the people of Milwaukee should request them in large numbers.

Reporting in Chicago.—In Chicago, a city which has frequently received notoriety because of its poor government, Professor Herman C. Beyle discovered that during the years 1921, 1922, and 1923 approximately fifty-eight per cent of the local government authorities "who might be expected to report did practically no public reporting at all." [4] But that was not the whole picture, for he found many of the reports issued to the public to be far

[1] For a valuable discussion of reporting in cities see: Wylie Kilpatrick, *Reporting Municipal Government* (New York, 1928).

[2] See: Charles P. Taft, *City Management: the Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933); and D. W. Hoan, *Op. cit.*

[3] See: *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[4] Herman C. Beyle, *Governmental Reporting in Chicago* (Chicago, 1928), xvii–xviii.

from satisfactory. There was "considerable irregularity," "great delay," inadequate preparation, low informative contents, and "feeble" or even inaccurate presentation of facts.[1] Altogether Chicago spent less than nine cents per inhabitant each year in acquainting its citizens with the affairs of local government, although it did not hesitate to expend more than twenty-seven cents per inhabitant on a single city election! Such a situation contrasts very unfavorably with the situation in European cities, where for years London, Paris, and Berlin have undertaken the publication of comprehensive and carefully prepared reports of their activities.

Annual Consolidated Reports.—Cities in the United States, large and small, may reasonably be expected to furnish their citizens at the close of each municipal year a consolidated report which will cover in some detail the conduct of municipal affairs during the preceding year. This report ought to be placed in the hands of large numbers of citizens as promptly as possible, for the time element will play an important part in determining interest. Such an annual report of the entire city government requires careful preparation with the primary purpose of informing citizens and other interested persons as to what the city has accomplished during the year. Above all, it must not be an ill-assorted conglomeration of hastily assembled more or less meaningless formal reports of the "Dear Mr. Mayor: I have the honor to submit herewith the Annual Report" variety. Instead of complicated jumbles of figures which mean little to anyone other than an accountant, this consolidated report might wisely make generous use of charts and diagrams to set forth the distribution of funds, the prevalence of disease, and other appropriate items.[2]

Special Reports.—In addition to the consolidated report, larger cities particularly may properly be expected to issue numerous other reports from time to time which treat of current problems confronting the city, the work of a single department, and other

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] A very good discussion of the standards to be observed in preparing such a report will be found in *Public Reporting, With Special Reference to Annual, Departmental, and Current Reports of Municipalities* (New York, 1931), by the National Committee on Municipal Reporting Representing the American Municipal Association, the Governmental Research Association, the International City Managers' Association, and the National Municipal League, Part 2.

special matters. These reports could be less formal than the annual consolidated report.[1] Many of them might consist of only a few pages; some of them in smaller cities might well be mimeographed. All of them require careful preparation, emphasis on graphic presentation, and wide circulation. If the citizens do not take the initiative in asking for them, the city authorities might undertake to plan their effective distribution.

Of course, both the consolidated and the less extensive reports should be accurate. Some critics point out the difficulty of securing unbiased reports and raise the question whether any other kind of report should be placed in the hands of citizens. In certain cities it would undoubtedly be impossible to obtain a reasonably objective and complete report. Poorly managed, politically involved departments are sensitive and naturally attempt to cover up their shortcomings. Nevertheless, even such biased reports sometimes serve a useful purpose. Many of them are so obviously doctored up that numerous citizens will probably realize their unsatisfactory character. Unless the entire city government is of the same inferior type, the contrast of the biased or "retouched" report and the more accurate reports may be interesting to the citizens. Finally, even a faulty report is better than none at all because it at least gives some basis for criticism. Where departments do not report at all, it is frequently difficult to establish a target at which to aim.

Reporting Standards.—During the years since 1925 a considerable amount of attention has been given to the standards of municipal reporting by several agencies, and, as a result, there has been a material improvement in the reports of a fairly large number of cities. Clarence E. Ridley, executive director of the International City Managers' Association, began to rate city reports on the basis of twenty criteria as far back as 1927, publishing the conclusions in an annual article in the *National Municipal Review.* At the end of ten years the improvement in the form of the reports was striking, but it was not felt that contents had kept pace with appearance, and consequently a committee was set up to revise the criteria.[2] The external and internal appearance of the annual

[1] For a very good discussion of the preparation of departmental and functional reports see: *Ibid.*, Part 3.

[2] See: H. A. Simon, "Municipal Reporting," *The Municipal Year Book, 1938,* p. 47.

reports of Milwaukee, Berkeley, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Topeka, and many other cities leaves little to be desired. They have attractive covers, sometimes in color; they are printed on handsome paper; they make generous use of photographs, pie charts, diagrams, and other interesting graphic material; and they are carefully organized into sections.

Measuring the Quality of Municipal Activities.—Along with attention to reporting has gone a reasonably wide interest in municipal measurement. Clarence E. Ridley and H. A. Simon, of the International City Managers' Association, Professor William B. Munro, and A. E. Buck are among those who have exhibited particular activity in drafting criteria that might be applied to city governments for purposes of measuring their efficiency.[1] It should be apparent to everyone that superior municipal reporting depends in no small measure upon adequate criteria for the measurement of municipal activities.

b. Exhibits.—One reason why people do not display more interest in municipal affairs is that they have a very slight idea of just what the city government actually is doing. Of course, they have some contact with the policeman on his beat and with the garbage collector, but even so they entertain a very dim notion of the complex problems of the police department and the sanitation department. In the case of certain other departments of the city government the average citizen may have almost no knowledge of what is being attempted. Exhibits may serve a useful purpose in acquainting people with the functions of various departments of their city government. Of course, a miscellaneous collection of poorly arranged items is not likely to attract much attention, but a carefully prepared array of health charts, safety devices, and other illustrative material may add greatly to the understanding and interest of many citizens.[2]

These exhibits may be located in some central place where people frequently congregate, or they may be portable affairs and circulated about from school to school, branch library to

[1] For criteria drafted by Ridley, Simon, and Munro see: C. E. Ridley and H. A. Simon, *Measuring Municipal Activities* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1943); and W. B. Munro, *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), Chap. XXIII.

[2] For a valuable discussion of the use of photographs, sketches, curve line graphs, bar charts, circle or pie charts, maps, and other similar devices see: National Committee on Municipal Reporting, *Op. cit.*, pp. 27–31.

branch library, or club to club. They may even be placed on wheels in a truck or trailer. A variation of this plan calls for tours of certain city departments. While some departments can offer little that is of interest to an average citizen, departments, such as the police and fire departments, the health department, and the sanitary department, often can provide instructive tours.

c. Speakers.—Even small cities usually are the scene of an elaborate system of clubs and social organizations. A survey in a little city of less than five thousand inhabitants revealed approximately one hundred organizations of one kind and another for women alone.[1] Many of these groups like to have speakers present various topics of interest; some of them actively seek speakers, while others are glad to provide an opportunity for anyone who wishes to speak. Milwaukee has made some use of these organizations in educating the people as to the specific nature of good city government and thereby creating a general popular demand for good city government. It would seem that other cities might well make use of such an opportunity.

Even where no money is available for educating the people, this plan could be used. The printing of reports costs money; radio may be expensive; but almost every city has employes who can be spared from their public duties on occasion to present the problems of their department to these social organizations. Where cities do have funds, they might very well employ special persons for this purpose. As far as possible, the mayor and the department heads themselves should be willing to assist in such an enterprise, for they can speak with an authority which other employes of the city do not enjoy.

d. Radio.—Radio time frequently costs a great deal of money. However, the rule of the Federal Communications Commission requiring all broadcasting stations to devote a certain amount of their time to educational purposes would probably enable most cities to obtain time either at no cost or for a small sum. Some cities, such as New York City with WNYC, own their own broadcasting stations. A carefully prepared series of radio addresses dealing with the activities and problems of a city government ought to reach a large number of people and serve a useful purpose.

[1] Greencastle, Indiana. The survey was conducted by the Sociology Department of DePauw University.

These addresses could be scheduled at a regular time so that people might expect them. They will be more valuable if non-technical and could to advantage be concrete and specific rather than abstract.[1]

e. Movies.—Some cities have made movie films of certain of their activities. If the films are artistically executed and carefully planned, they can expect a large audience. The social, professional, and business organizations which will listen to speakers also usually make good groups for the showing of movies. Schools and parent-teacher associations frequently manifest a particular interest in this type of education. Movie buses might carry these films to the various neighborhood parks during the summer. If the films are sufficiently interesting and not too long, the regular movie theatres will on occasion run them.

f. Schools.—Civics courses in public schools might wisely devote more attention to city government. The ordinary person has many more contacts with the government of his city than with either state or national government. If the civics course cannot be expanded because of time required for all the courses in foreign language, mathematics, history, and shop, perhaps less emphasis could be placed on the national Constitution, the powers of Congress, and the Supreme Court and the time saved devoted to a concrete study of the government of the city in which the school is located. There ought to be time for a consideration of both municipal government and the larger spheres of state and national government.

That a student should spend two years or more studying the language of another people, three years studying the grammar and literature of his own language, two years or more on the history of the world, but find no more than half a year—if that—for a consideration of the government of his own country seems almost incredible, especially in a democratic country where presumably the role of the people is especially important in government. Such a state of affairs is in great contrast to the situation in the fascist countries where the entire educational system is closely tied up with training in public affairs.

It would seem quite reasonable to require every public-school student to devote a course running throughout one year to a study

[1] See: D. W. Hoan, *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment*, p. 112.

of government. City government might receive one semester. Emphasis could be placed on the actual working of the student's own city government, with tours of city departments and if possible some actual participation in city politics and government as is urged by the National Self-Government Association. A few schools are actually carrying on such a program now.[1]

g. Citizens' Groups.—One of the most promising techniques for creating a demand for improved standards in city government may be found in the organizing of citizens' groups. Such groups have existed for years in some cities, but their full significance has not been recognized until recent years. If they are set up on a temporary basis or if they exist only in a few neighborhoods in a city, they may not exert a great deal of influence. But if they are planned as a permanent instrument of control and organized on a city-wide basis, they frequently manage to wield substantial influence in improving municipal standards, especially where they enjoy able leadership. By holding regular meetings on a neighborhood basis to consider current problems they create a continuing demand for good government.

h. Adult Education.—Des Moines and Milwaukee have been quite successful in organizing classes among adults to study municipal government. The Office of Education of the national government has conducted a series of experiments in selected centers throughout the United States in the general field of adult civic education. No other subjects have attracted more interest than governmental affairs.[2] Milwaukee has especially given attention to instruction in municipal government. Such courses in all cities of the United States above the smallest ought to assist in creating a popular demand for good city government. If the experience of Milwaukee and the experiments of the national Office of Education mean anything, it ought not to be difficult to enroll comparatively large numbers of citizens in these courses. As carried on by the national government, these courses were organized as forums; they therefore not only presented pertinent information, but allowed a chance for discussion, criticism, and

[1] See: D. W. Hoan, *City Government—The Milwaukee Experiment*, Chap. XIX.

[2] The Office of Education has prepared detailed records of the experiences of these demonstration projects. Reports summarizing the work are available upon application to the Office of Education.

the exchange of ideas. The opportunity to participate seems especially worthwhile in educating for good municipal government.

i. Newspapers.—Newspapers are deluged with appeals for space. Nevertheless, it seems probable that they offer some opportunity for increasing interest and knowledge of municipal affairs. If a city has money, it can, of course, always secure space. Perhaps in certain cases it would be justifiable for a city to spend its funds to purchase space for some of its reports to its citizens. Such reports would have to be prepared with unusual care and with due attention to brevity. There is some probability that much could be done in the way of obtaining the assistance of the newspapers without the expenditure of large sums of money. Newspapers print what they think interests their subscribers. If the city government would prepare articles which meet this requirement, the newspapers would in many cases at least accept them.[1]

Some newspapers display not a little civic interest and boast that they are among the leaders in civic affairs. While their projects in this field sometimes smack of selfishness, in many cases much more use of press facilities could be made by city officials than has been the case in the past. Of course, the officials would have to coöperate with the newspapers in preparing the material; they could scarcely expect whatever they chose to be printed. At times the terms of such coöperation might be so high that it would not be worth while for the city to meet them.[2] However, in many instances there seems to be reason to believe that mere intelligent care and planning are all that stand between the city departments and the newspapers.

Large cities are establishing public relations sections in their departments; these are frequently manned by former newspaper men. However, in many cases there is no real effort to secure the coöperation of the press in a positive program of civic education. Too often the public relations sections are motivated by partisan politics and mainly reflect the desire of the political heads of the departments to avoid unfavorable newspaper attention.[3]

[1] For an interesting discussion of the city hall by a newspaper man see: Hal Hazelrigg, "The Newspaper Man Looks at City Hall," *Public Management*, March, 1938.

[2] Mayor Hoan has had an unfortunate experience with the newspapers of Milwaukee and doubts whether they can be depended upon at all in such an endeavor. See: D. W. Hoan, *City Government*, Chap. VIII.

[3] For a valuable discussion of the relation between City Hall and the newspapers see: *Public Reporting*, pp. 12–15.

j. Bureaus of Governmental Research: Types of Bureaus.—Two general types of bureaus of governmental research have been set up in cities of the United States. One plan makes such a bureau a part of the city government; Cincinnati may be cited as an example of a city which has such an arrangement. The more common system is to make the bureau independent of the city government. It is set up and supported by private individuals. The bureaus carried on under private auspices are supposed to be less partisan and more objective in their investigations and recommendations. Whether they actually are will depend largely upon what private sources support them. Some bureaus of governmental research have represented the selfish interests of wealthy business groups and have failed in large measure to achieve an objective point of view. Among the bureaus which have more than local reputations may be mentioned those in Detroit, Cleveland, Rochester, Philadelphia, Boston, Minneapolis, Saint Paul, St. Louis, New Orleans, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, New York, and San Francisco.[1]

The Role of Bureaus of Governmental Research.—How much bureaus of governmental research can accomplish in the way of heightening the demand for good city government depends to some extent upon their directors.[2] Some of them have already built up enviable reputations. The service rendered by the Detroit Bureau under the direction of Dr. L. D. Upson has been notable. Potentially such agencies should constitute a very important device for increasing the demand for good city government. They have trained staffs as a rule, and they can get at the heart of problems as certain other agencies can scarcely hope to do. Of course, if they are controlled by selfish groups, they cannot expect to attain a place of great influence among the rank and file of the people, although by the use of devious methods they may be influential on occasion.

These bureaus have been charged with being unduly technical. The reports which they issue have been said to be far too intricate and dry to attract the attention of the ordinary citizen. Probably

[1] A complete list of the municipal research bureaus currently active may be found in the reports of the Governmental Research Association.

[2] For a very good discussion of the importance of these groups see: Lent D. Upson, "Contributions of Citizen Research to Effective Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 171 (September, 1938).

most of the bureaus have not paid enough attention to their responsibilities in such a field. They have prepared more or less careful reports for small groups of persons within the body politic. It would seem that they might properly place greater emphasis in many cases upon popularizing their findings and circulating them among all the citizens.

k. Reformers.—The place of reformers and reform associations in any movement to add to the effectiveness of the demand for good city government is not entirely clear. The average layman may associate good government with reformers and reform groups; certainly reformers take all or most of the credit for achievements in this field. As far as studies have been made, it seems doubtful whether the reformers really deserve the credit they claim. For example, in attempting to place the cause of the downfall of political bosses in cities a scrutiny of twenty well known bosses revealed a comparatively minor role for reformers.[1] One of the chief weaknesses of individual reformers as a device for increasing popular demand for good city government is their lack of permanence. They come on the scene, make a great deal of noise, and shortly disappear. As a group their effectiveness is impaired because they tend to be so highly individualistic. They often fight bitterly among themselves and consequently have little energy to devote to anything else.

Yet it would be unfair to relegate reformers and reform groups to a place of no importance at all.[2] They have at times stirred the people up and engineered a revolt against the bosses, although perhaps the disgust of the people had reached a point where not much generalship was required. No accurate measuring device has as yet been employed to check such popular feeling before an election, although Dr. Gallup's techniques might well be applied to municipal situations. The main contribution that reformers can make is probably specific and temporary rather than general and permanent. They can assist in ousting a corrupt administration and displacing a city boss; they can bend their energies toward revamping the city charter; and they can do something to help a new set of officials or a new form of city government

[1] See: the author's *City Bosses in the United States*, pp. 56–59.

[2] An interesting discussion of the role of reformers may be found in William B. Munro, *Personality in Politics* (New York, 1925), Chap. III.

get under way. However, after a few years they are likely to become disorganized and ineffective.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barton, J. T., *Municipal Public Reporting in Texas* (Austin, Texas, 1936).

Beyle, Herman C., *Governmental Reporting in Chicago* (Chicago, 1928).

Bradley, Phillips, *Making Municipal Reports Readable* (Concord, New Hampshire, 1935).

Cincinnati, City of, *Annual Reports* and *Reports* on special problems issued from time to time.

Hoan, Daniel W., *City Government—The Record of the Milwaukee Experiment* (New York, 1936).

Jones, Howard P., "Citizen Groups, Tool of Democracy," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 176 (September, 1938).

Kilpatrick, Wylie, *Reporting Municipal Government* (New York, 1928).

Milwaukee, City of, *Annual Reports* and *Reports* on special problems and departments.

Moses, Robert, "You Can Trust the Public," *American Magazine*, July, 1938.

Municipal Finance Officers' Association, *Pictures and Graphs in Municipal Reports* (Chicago, 1937).

National Committee on Municipal Reporting, *Public Reporting, With Special Reference to Annual, Departmental, and Current Reports of Municipalities* (New York, 1931).

National Municipal Review, annual articles on municipal reports, together with ratings of the reports of numerous cities, by Clarence E. Ridley, beginning in 1927.

New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, *Making Municipal Reports Readable* (Trenton, New Jersey, 1937).

Princeton University, Local Government Committee, *Reports* on finance, personnel problems, and other problems relating to local government in New Jersey.

Ridley, Clarence E., and Simon, H. A., *Measuring Municipal Activities* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1943).

Taft, Charles P., *City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment* (New York, 1933).

Upson, Lent D., "Contributions of Citizen Research to Effective Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 199, p. 171 (September, 1938).

APPENDIX

A PROJECT IN MUNICIPAL MEASUREMENT

Along with the study of city government in general there is much to be derived from a detailed study of a single city—preferably one's own city. Principles tend to become more meaningful when viewed against the background of a given city government. Experience with several hundred students over a period of years in courses in municipal government seems to indicate that more profit may be derived from a project in municipal measurement than from background or collateral reading or from a semester report on a problem drawn from city government.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Personal Observation.—The sources from which information may be obtained for such a project are numerous. To begin with, a student may properly draw on his own observations for material having to do with the several aspects of city government. For example, it is not difficult to determine the general standards of street surfacing or street cleaning by driving and walking over and along several streets.

Municipal Officials and Departments.—Various city offices and departments may often be depended upon to furnish information. Where reports are issued, it is frequently possible to obtain copies on application to the city clerk or some other department. Financial data are almost always available from official sources. In small or medium size cities the public officials themselves usually have the time to discuss municipal problems with interested students. Even in large cities while it may not be possible to talk to the mayor or a department head, the mayor's secretary or assistant or a deputy in a department will be willing to talk about the government of the city.

Opposition Leaders.—Information obtained from such sources may be biased in favor of the current administration, but it may be balanced with data secured from representatives of the opposing party. Almost invariably former mayors or leaders of a party out of power will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of discoursing on the shortcomings of the present city government. Their opinions are usually fully as biased

as those of the officials who are responsible for the management of the city, but they are often interesting and usually have some truth back of them. If they are used in connection with the information from official sources, they will be valuable in most cases.

Chambers of Commerce.—Chambers of commerce often display a great deal of interest in city government. In large cities they may run a bureau which studies certain problems of municipal government; they almost always have a committee on city government. As a rule, it is not difficult to interview the secretary of a chamber of commerce. If he does not have time to go into details, he will frequently suggest a member of the committee on city affairs or some other informed person. Data obtained from such sources may be more dependable than information drawn from political sources. However, it must be remembered that chambers of commerce have a tendency to judge cities on a dollars-and-cents basis, sometimes to the exclusion of other important considerations.

Bureaus of Governmental Research.—Large cities frequently support an independent bureau of municipal or governmental research. As a rule, these bureaus have a wealth of information in regard to city affairs on hand. Moreover, their point of view tends to be more objective than that of most other agencies, and hence their data carry considerable weight. In seeking the assistance of such bureaus definite questions should be submitted, for a general request for information is not likely to produce results. Such a request may give the impression that the student is not worth attention. Even where such a poor impression is not given, it is difficult for these bureaus to know where to begin unless specific items are mentioned.

Leagues of Women Voters.—If cities attain substantial size, they are likely to have local branches of the League of Women Voters. These local branches vary a great deal in vigor and intelligence, but in many cases they maintain a very live interest in city government. In contrast to many organizations, they pride themselves on a careful study of facts rather than emotional appeal. The chairman of the committee on government may be able to offer valuable assistance.

Civic Leagues and Taxpayers' Associations.—As a rule, students will find civic leagues, taxpayers' associations, and various other organizations which concern themselves with municipal government. Many of these associations confine their attention to a certain phase of city government. In some cases they have an axe to grind and color their reports accordingly. Nevertheless, they are not to be ignored. Their files are especially valuable for data on the financial aspects of the city government.

Publications.—Various publications issued by agencies not connected with the city government offer information. A series of publications, en-

titled *City Finances*, issued annually by the national Bureau of the Census, is to be found in most libraries and contains authoritative financial data on cities over 25,000 in population. The publications of state leagues of taxpayers sometimes present comparative financial data for all cities within a state. Publications of leagues of municipalities also sometimes contain pertinent information. The decennial reports of the national Bureau of the Census are worth consulting.[1]

Private Citizens.—Finally, there are numerous private citizens who inform themselves as to the affairs of a city government. Teachers of civics, clergymen, business men, lawyers, and others may be able to furnish valuable assistance. At times information obtained from such sources may be biased, but in certain cases it may be quite objective.

Importance of Several Sources.—As far as possible, it is desirable to draw information on any given item from at least two or three different sources. Certainly no one agency or person should be depended upon for all the data. One of the most valuable aspects of the project will be the weighing of conflicting data.

Rating.—It is suggested that each of the items in the list of criteria be rated on the scale of ten. Where a city can claim no credit at all, zero must be given. Where a city stands out because of its achievements in a certain field, ten may be assigned. In general, extreme ratings are to be avoided. Even where a city does not have a formal merit system of appointing public employes, it may be that the officials who make the selection are not entirely motivated by political considerations. In such an event a city should receive some credit on this point. On the other hand, the mere fact that a city has a formal merit system does not entitle it to a rating of ten, for many municipal merit systems exist largely on paper. In determining the score it is essential that the real effectiveness of the appointing system be determined as far as possible. Scores alone mean little. In every case specific reasons should be attached for the particular rating given. After all of the points have been scored, the scores may be added to obtain the general rating for the city government as a whole. It is suggested that such a rating be reduced to a percentage basis.

Time of Carrying Out the Project.—In many cases students are some distance from their home cities when they pursue courses in municipal government. It is possible to study the government of the city in which the

[1] It is suggested that the student also consult *The Municipal Year Book* which has been issued annually since 1934 by the International City Managers' Association. Recent volumes contain information in regard to some 2,000 cities with populations over 5,000. Another valuable source of information in regard to cities between 5,000 and 10,000 is *Government in Small American Cities* (Chicago, 1938), published by the International City Managers' Association. See also: *Government in Small Council-Manager Cities* (Chicago, 1937), issued by the same association.

academic institution happens to be located, but this is not recommended for most students. In the first place, the government of the student's home city will be more interesting as a rule. The student will have more contacts and be able to gather better material. Finally, it is probable that the city authorities in the university city will be irritated at so many requests for assistance. If the home city is to be made the subject of the study, information must either be gathered by mail or some other long-distance method or during school recesses. The former is not very satisfactory. Something can be accomplished during Christmas or spring recess. However, it is suggested that where students know beforehand that they will enroll in courses in municipal government an attempt be made to collect the material upon which the ratings will be based during the summer vacation. The project may then be organized, the ratings given, and the final touches added during the college year when the course is taken.

The Basis for the Project.—Fifty items have been drawn up as a basis for the study of cities in general, but not all of these can be applied to every city for obvious reasons, and consequently some adjustment may be required. This list is not hard and fast: certain items may be omitted, and others added. No attempt has been made to weigh the relative importance of the various items, although obviously some of them are more important than others. However, there would be a difference of opinion as to the relative importance to be attached to each item. Furthermore, weighing would add so much to the complication of such a study that it seems unwise to attempt it here.[1]

THE FIFTY GENERAL ITEMS SUGGESTED FOR USE IN RATING A CITY GOVERNMENT

1. *Popular interest.*—To what extent are the people of the city interested in its government? How large a proportion of citizens avail themselves of the privilege of voting in municipal elections? How many social groups take an interest in city government? How much space is devoted to news relating to the city government in the local newspapers? To what extent are the problems of city government used as a basis for conversation? The answers to these and other similar questions will determine the rating to be given on this point.

2. *Precinct committeemen.*—What is the calibre of the precinct committeemen within the city? Are they the choice of interested citizens, or are they really selected by a political boss? What is their philosophy of govern-

[1] For further discussion of the techniques and aims of municipal measurement consult Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon, *Measuring Municipal Activities* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1943).

ment? To what extent do they look upon city government as belonging to the politicians rather than to the people? What are their standards in the matter of political honesty?

3. *The mayor or city manager.*—What is the background of the mayor or the city manager? Is he reasonably independent in his actions, or is he controlled by a pressure group or a political machine? Is he a leader in municipal affairs that might properly be considered within his province? Is he a man who has attained success in his private affairs? Is he progressive in his conception of the role of municipal government, or does he measure everything on the basis of the tax rate? Is he primarily interested in his own aggrandizement or in the welfare of the city?

4. *The city council.*—What is the general calibre of the members of the city council? Have they attained a fair amount of success in their private affairs? Are they reasonably free agents, or do they take their orders from a political organization or a pressure group? Are they interested in the welfare of the city, or do they regard the office as one of personal opportunity? Do they welcome interest on the part of individual citizens? Do they work openly, or do they make most important decisions behind closed doors? Are the members representative of the major interest groups in the city?

5. *Relations between the mayor or manager and the council.*—If the city has the mayor-council form of government, do the mayor and the council work in coöperation or at cross purposes? Does the council attempt to hold up items recommended by the mayor until the mayor has extended patronage or official favors? Does each accept its fair share of responsibility for the conduct of municipal affairs, or does one seek to dominate completely? In the case of a city with the manager-council form of government does the council keep within its province, or does it interfere in the work of the manager?

6. *Administrative organization.*—Are the departments few enough in number to avoid undue complexity and duplication? Are they sufficient in number to handle adequately the administrative functions? Are the heads of the departments appointed by and responsible to the mayor or the city manager? Do the departments coöperate, or do they work at cross purposes? Are the functions of each department defined with reasonable care, and are they properly placed within the scope of such a department?

7. *Heads of administrative departments.*—What is their general background? What professional training and experience have they had which fits them for their present position? How dependent are they upon political friends? Would they be able to obtain positions of similar responsibility and salary in private employment? Are they interested only in their own

departments, or do they appreciate the importance of the entire administrative set-up of the city?

8. *Recruiting of personnel.*—Are public employes selected on the basis of political influence or personal friendship, or are they chosen because of their ability to do the work called for in their positions? Are able young men and women interested in public employment, or do they regard such employment as lacking in promise? Is an attempt made to bring vacancies to the attention of properly qualified people? How do the city employes compare with the employes in private concerns in general efficiency and personal qualities?

9. *Personnel treatment.*—Is there a reasonably adequate plan for promotions? Are promotions dependent upon political influence or upon personal accomplishment? Do salaries compare favorably with salaries paid by private employers in the city? Is there a pension system which is reasonably adequate and which takes in all employes? Is night work the exception? Are vacations provided? Are uniform salaries paid for similar positions? Are discharges handled in such a way that the individual employes are protected against unfair removal?

10. *Registration.*—Is the registration system convenient to the voters? How frequently is personal registration required? Is provision made for registration without visiting the city hall? Is the registration sufficiently detailed that the public welfare is protected against repeaters and other illegal voting? To what extent are the registration lists padded with the names of those who are not entitled to vote?

11. *Voting.*—Are the election precincts so laid out that the number of voters is neither too large for convenience nor too small for economy? Are public buildings used as far as possible for polling places? Are the ballots reasonably short? Are the ballots free from technical referenda? Are the election officials honest? Are the election officials courteous?

12. *Elections.*—Are separate municipal elections provided? Do elections for choosing city officials occur frequently enough to allow the voters to indicate their general wishes, but not so frequently as to impose an undue burden on the voters?

13. *Political parties.*—Are the political parties responsive to the wishes of the people? Are there two major parties which are rather evenly matched or does one party completely dominate the scene?

14. *Contracts.*—Are bids called for in letting public contracts? Are the bids widely advertised? Are the specifications drafted in such a manner that there can be general bidding? Are bids awarded to the lowest bidder? Is there an avoidance of splitting contracts so that bids will not have to be called for? Are contracts carefully enforced by proper inspection and official action?

15. *Records.*—Are the municipal records adequate? Are they kept up-to-date? Are they in such form that they are easy to use? Do the officials place them at the easy disposal of interested citizens?

16. *Reporting.*—Does the city issue reports of its work at regular intervals? Are these reports prepared in such a manner that they are intelligible, illuminating, and interesting? Is an attempt made to circulate them widely among the citizens?

17. *Accounting.*—Does the city employ modern accounting devices? Is the system sufficiently elaborate to safeguard public funds? Is it simple enough to require no more personal service than is reasonable? Is the system carefully administered? Are audits regularly made? Is the system of paying out public funds such that there is adequate safety without undue delay in meeting bills?

18. *Budget.*—Are estimates carefully prepared as a basis for drafting a budget? Are estimates carefully reviewed and examined? Is the budget itemized but not too detailed? Is the budget given careful and fair consideration by the city council? Is the budget lived up to after enactment?

19. *Expenditures.*—How does the per-capita expenditure compare with other cities of the same size which furnish the same services?

20. *Tax rate.*—How does the tax rate on general property compare with cities of the same size which render similar services? Consideration should be given in comparing the tax rate to the relation of assessed valuation to actual value.

21. *Indebtedness.*—Amount of bonded indebtedness per capita may be compared with that of cities of approximately equal population. Floating indebtedness, if any, may be considered. What rate of interest is paid on bonds? What is the term of bonds in relation to the life of the improvement?

22. *City planning.*—Does the city have an adequate plan under which it operates? If there is no general plan, do the several departments plan their future work, or do they carry on haphazardly from day to day?

23. *Zoning.*—Is the city divided into zones for residential, industrial, and commercial purposes? Is the zoning satisfactory? Is it administered carefully, or are exceptions made where political influence is exerted?

24. *Streets.*—Are the streets adequately surfaced? Are they carefully maintained? Are they cleaned at frequent intervals so that they present an attractive appearance? Are they plainly marked?

25. *Educational equipment.*—Are school buildings modern? Are they sufficient for the number of pupils? Are they maintained in a proper condition? Do they have plenty of light? Are playgrounds equipped with play materials? Are toilet facilities modern and clean?

26. *Educational personnel.*—Is the school board free from political influences to a reasonable degree? Does the school board interfere with the operation of the school system in such respects as hiring and firing teachers? Is the superintendent progressive and adequately trained? Are the teachers progressive, experienced, not too old, and reasonably secure in their positions?

27. *Educational curriculum.*—Is the curriculum adapted to the needs of the community? Are vocational courses adequate? Does the school system train pupils in such a fashion that they can transfer to universities without difficulty and maintain a high standard of work there? Is reasonable emphasis placed on the social sciences?

28. *Public library.*—Are reasonably generous purchases of new books made? Are the rules as to withdrawing books reasonably liberal? What is the per-capita circulation per year? Are the reading rooms adequately lighted and reasonably comfortable? Is it easy to locate desired books? Are the staff members interested and courteous?

29. *Street lighting.*—Are the city streets and parks adequately illuminated at night? To what extent do the lights glare in the eyes of motorists and pedestrians? Are the fixtures attractive, and do they fit into their background?

30. *Milk supply.*—What is the quality of the milk supply? Is it produced by clean dairies? Are the cows inspected for tuberculosis? What are the standards of pasteurization?

31. *Insect control.*—Are the foods handled by merchants protected from flies and other disease-spreading insects? To what extent is mosquito control provided?

32. *Disease prevention.*—Are contagious diseases properly quarantined? Is the city prompt in locating the source of such diseases as typhoid fever? How much is done with children in the public schools in testing for tuberculosis and other infections?

33. *Death rate.*—What is the general death rate? What is the infant mortality rate? What is the death rate for infectious diseases that are subject to control? How do these rates compare with those of other cities?

34. *Fire prevention.*—What is done by way of inspecting basements, barns, garages, and yards to remove fire hazards? What attention is paid to a campaign of education in the field of fire prevention?

35. *Fire loss.*—What is the per-capita fire loss and how does it compare with the record of other cities of similar size and character?

36. *Crime record.*—What is the crime record of the city? What are the prevalent crimes? How does the crime record compare with that of other cities of approximately the same size and problems? What is the

relationship between the number of crimes committed and the number of arrests and number of convictions?

37. *Police personnel.*—Are the members of the police force selected on a political basis or on the basis of their qualifications? What is the tenure of policemen? Are the members of the force honest, or are they allied with the underworld? Are the members of the police force courteous?

38. *Traffic regulation.*—What is the record of the city as to number of traffic accidents and number of traffic fatalities in comparison with other cities of approximately the same size? Are the traffic regulations reasonable? Does a system of "fixing tickets" prevail? Has the city undertaken a careful study of its traffic problems?

39. *Garbage, rubbish, and ash disposal.*—Does the city provide a collection service for these wastes? Is the service regular and sufficiently frequent? Is the arrangement for disposing of these wastes satisfactory?

40. *Sewerage.*—Does the city provide adequate sanitary sewers? Is a separate system of storm sewers of adequate character provided? Does the city dispose of its sewage in such a manner that it does not constitute a menace?

41. *Water supply.*—(where a city owns its own water system) Is an abundant supply of pure water furnished? Are the water rates reasonable in comparison with those of other cities? Is water available for watering yards and gardens? Is the water free from color, objectional taste and odor, and turbidity?

42. *Parks.*—Is the space set aside for parks adequate to meet the needs of the people? Are the parks conveniently located and served by adequate transportation facilities? Are the parks well developed and diversified? How popular are they with the people?

43. *Recreational program.*—Are playgrounds provided for children and youths? Are these playgrounds well equipped? Are satisfactory supervision and leadership furnished?

44. *Adult education.*—What facilities does the city provide for training adults? Is vocational training available? Are general informative and cultural courses offered? What is the enrollment in such courses?

45. *Municipal courts.*—What is the standing of the judges among members of the legal profession? What is the relation between city courts and politicians? How far behind are these courts with their dockets? What is the cost of bringing cases to these courts? Are small-claims courts maintained? To what extent does courtesy prevail in the city courts?

46. *Central purchasing.*—Are the quantity purchases of the city handled by a central-purchasing agency? Is some leeway permitted so that small items may be exempted from the central-purchasing plan? What is the amount of redtape in requisitioning supplies from the central agency?

To what extent does the central-purchasing agency permit political considerations to influence its purchases?

47. *Assessing.*—Is assessing performed by full-time, trained employes? Are land and buildings assessed separately? Are land-value maps used in connection with land assessing? Are architects tables used in assessing buildings? Are the assessment records modern?

48. *City jail.*—Is the jail reasonably secure? Is it maintained in such a fashion that vermin and filth are not characteristic? Are plumbing facilities adequate? Are separate provisions made for first offenders and professional crooks?

49. *Building code and public housing.*—Does the city have a modern building code? Does this code receive proper attention from city officials and builders? Is careful inspection made to ascertain whether its provisions are observed? What is the city doing in the way of slum clearance and the construction of low-cost housing?

50. *Relief.*—Does the city have a long-range relief program or does it proceed on a day-to-day basis? Is the provision for relief adequate? Is money given to deserving poor, or are they forced to depend upon grocery orders, commissary handouts, and so forth? Is a professionally trained staff employed to administer relief? Is the giving of relief separated from politics?

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bruére, Henry, "Development of Standards in Municipal Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 61, pp. 199–207 (September, 1915).

Buck, A. E., "Measuring the Results of Government," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13, pp. 152–157 (March, 1924).

City Finances, annual publication of Bureau of the Census.

Gibbon, I. G., "Efficiency Audit," *Public Administration*, Vol. 13, pp. 332–333 (October, 1935).

King, Clyde L. (ed.), "Efficiency in City Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 41, entire issue of May, 1912.

Municipal Year Books, The, published by the International City Managers' Association annually since 1934.

Munro, William B., *The Government of American Cities* (New York, 1926), Chap. XXIII.

Ridley, Clarence E., *Measuring Municipal Government* (Chicago, 1927).

Ridley, Clarence E. and Simon, Herbert A., *Measuring Municipal Activities* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1943).

Sikes, P. S., *A Guide to Published Data for Cities of the United States* (Bloomington, Ind., 1943).

INDEX

Accounting, municipal, the current situation, 387–388; purpose of, 388; various systems, 388–390; importance of funds in, 390–391.
Accrual-basis, system of accounting, 390.
Adamic, Louis, book by, 249*n*.
Adams, H. C., book by, 446*n*.
Adams, S. H., book by, 434*n*.
Adams, Thomas, books by, 567*n*, 572*n*, 575*n*, 585.
Administrative control of cities by states, general character of, 69.
Administrative departments of cities, proper number of, 342–343; staff and line departments, 343–344; types of organization, 344–347; selection of department heads, 347–350, qualifications of executives, 350–354; importance of uniform rules and regulations, 354; integration of, 354–355; interdepartment relations, 355–356.
Administrative provisions of municipal charters, 114.
Adult education, 473, 601–602.
Age distribution in cities, 32.
Agricultural improvements, importance of, as a factor in city growth, 13–15.
Airports, municipal, 80, 456; essentials of, 457–458.
Akron, Ohio, 7, 318, 526.
Alabama, 8, 10, 49*n*, 119*n*.
Allen, R. S., book edited by, 216, 255.
American Academy of Political and Social Science, 497, 499; *The Annals* of, 314, 561, 577*n*, 586, 592.
American City, 71, 71*n*.
American City Planning Institute, quoted, 565, 566, 567; report of, 566*n*, 567*n*.
American Legion, 254.
American Municipal Association, publications of, 489*n*; referred to, 107.
American Public Health Association, reports of, 488*n*, 499; referred to, 487*n*.
American Public Welfare Association, surveys of, 479, 480.
American Public Works Association, reports of, 424*n*, 431, 432*n*, 441; referred to, 107.
American Society of Planning Officials, quoted, 565; report of, 462, 585, 586; referred to, 107*n*.
American Transit Association, report of, 453*n*, 462.
Ames, "Doc" A. A., 197, 208.
Amusement taxes, 375, 386.
Amusement-center type of city, 7.
Anderson, F. M., book by, 468*n*, 478.
Anderson, William, books by, 25*n*, 96*n*, 99*n*, 107, 123*n*, 130, 344*n*, 356; articles by, 71*n*, 94.
Arbitration and conciliation tribunals in cities, 553.
Argentina, 10, 17, 199.
Arizona, 122*n*.
Arkansas, 10, 119*n*, 120.
Arneson, Ben A., article by, 150*n*, 153.
Asheville, North Carolina, 465*n*.
Ashton v. Cameron County Water Improvement District, 37*n*, 82*n*.
Assessing in cities, the problem of, 377; personnel, 377–378; state supervision of, 378; frequency of, 378–379; full-value assessments, 379; should be done by assessors rather than the taxpayer, 379–380; tax maps, 380–381; appraising cards, 381; assessing buildings, 381–382; assessing personal property, 382–383; review and equalization, 383–384.
Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 484.
Association of New York Savings Banks, 41.
Assumption of municipal services by states, police, 54–55; highways, 55; education, 55–56; miscellaneous, 56.
Atlanta, Georgia, 49; governmental organization chart of, 348.

Atlantic City, New Jersey, 384–385, 406.
Auditing in cities, 391.
Australia, 10, 17.

Babbitt, H. E., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Baker, D. M., book by, 445*n*, 462.
Baltimore, 12, 99*n*, 387, 448, 510, 516.
Bankruptcy Act, Municipal, of 1934, 37*n*, 81–82, 410; of 1937, 81–82, 410.
Banks as pressure groups, programs, 235–236; legitimacy of, 236–237; techniques employed, 237.
Barbour v. Ellsworth, 136*n*.
Barth, E. L., article by, 289*n*, 297.
Barth, H. A., article by, 288*n*, 297.
Bartholomew, H., article by, 453*n*, 582*n*.
Barton, J. T., book by, 605.
Barton, W. H., book by, 422*n*.
Barton v. Syracuse, 137*n*.
Baruch, Ismar, article by, 365*n*, 372.
Bassett, E. M., books by, 578*n*, 579*n*, 586.
Bates, F. G., book by, 53; article by, 69, 100*n*.
Baumhoff, R. G., article by, 277.
Beard, Charles A., article by, 172*n*.
Beeson, F. S., book by, 422*n*, 431.
Behrman, Mayor Martin, 302.
Bellman, Arthur, article by, 529.
Benson, George S. C., quoted, 112–113, 119; articles by, 113*n*, 117*n*, 119*n*, 126*n*, 127*n*, 129*n*, 130.
Berkeley, California, 515, 598.
Berlin, 10, 596.
Betters, Paul V., book by, 94; article by, 72*n*, 80*n*, 94.
Bettman, Alfred, book by, 586.
Bevan, E. V., book by, 441.
Beyer, W. C., article by, 354*n*, 356.
Beyle, Herman C., quoted, 595–596; book by, 595*n*, 596*n*, 605.
Billboards, the problem of, in cities, 585.
Bird, F. L., books by, 264*n*, 265*n*, 276, 352*n*, 392, 411*n*, 462; article by, 390*n*.
Birth rate in cities, 32.
Black, Mary H., book by, 586.
Black, R. V., book by, 586.
Blanchard, A. H., book by, 431*n*.
Blanshard, Paul, book by, 224*n*, 227, 340*n*.
Blucher, Walter H., quoted, 565, 566*n*, 577*n*.
Boddington, W. H., article by, 618.
Bombay, 10.
Bonbright, James C., books by, 392.
Bond Buyer, 410*n*.
Bonds, municipal, types of, 406; registered, convertible, and convertible coupon, 406–407; maturity of, 407; serial versus sinking-fund bonds, 407–408.
Book of the States, 144*n*, 359*n*.
Borchard, E. M., articles by, 135*n*, 136*n*, 139.
Borrowing, municipal, constitutional limitations on, 40–41; extent and methods of, 406–408.
Bosses, political, distinction between bosses and elected officials, 199–200; hybrid politician-bosses, 200; evolution of, 201–203; local bosses, 201–202; work of, 203–204; tenure of, 204–205; rewards of, 205; power of, 205; business relations of, 205–206; graft, 207; underworld tribute, 207; honest graft, 207–208; wealth of, 208; the so-called typical boss, 208–209; attributes frequently encountered in, 209–211.
Boston, 11, 12, 17, 18, 99*n*, 106, 157, 246, 254*n*, 260, 272, 286, 445*n*, 448, 481, 482, 483, 495, 510, 529, 570, 603; governmental organization chart of, 349.
Boston Municipal Research Bureau, 349, 481.
Bostwick, Arthur E., book by, 475*n*, 478.
Bowron, Judge Fletcher, quoted, 265*n*.
Bradford, E. S., articles by, 302*n*, 314, 322*n*.
Bradley, Phillips, book by, 605.
Bradway, J. S., book by, 561; article by, 552*n*; book edited by, 553*n*.
Brazil, 199.
Bridgeport, Connecticut, 216.
Bridges in cities, design, construction, and maintenance of, 430–431.
Briggs, G. N., article by, 277.
Bright, John, book by, 161*n*, 260*n*, 276.
Brogan, D. W., book by, 193*n*, 198*n*, 216, 225*n*.
Bromage, A. W., quoted, 317; article by, 318*n*.
Bronx County, New York, 49.
Brookline, Massachusetts, 4, 106.
Brooks, Robert C., book by, 144*n*, 153, 155*n*, 158*n*, 162*n*, 169*n*, 170, 175*n*, 192*n*, 194, 217, 223*n*, 227, 234*n*.
Brown, L. G., book by, 17*n*.
Brown, V. J., books by, 421, 431, 431*n*.
Bruce, Harold R., book by, 170, 194.
Bruere, Henry, article by, 618.
Bryce, James, book by, 223, 227, 587, 587*n*.
Buck, A. E., books by, 392, 413*n*, 414; article by, 618.

Bucklin system of preferential voting, 262.
Budgets, municipal, rapid spread of among cities, 397; what a budget includes, 397–398; types of, 398; importance of adequate data in preparation of, 398; estimates, 398–401; submission to council, 401–402; in the city council, 402; veto of by mayor, 402–403; review of by state authorities, 403; execution of, 403–404.
Buenos Aires, 10.
Buffalo, 172*n*, 301, 485.
Building codes, why required, 527; some essentials of, 527–528; administration of, 528–529.
Bullen, J. T., article by, 421*n*.
Butler, Colonel Edward, 166, 169, 197.
Butler, G. D., book by, 499.
Butler's Indians, 166.

Cady, F. E., book by, 426*n*.
Calcutta, 10.
California, 10, 49*n*, 51, 122*n*, 317, 362, 372.
California, University of, 367, 515–516.
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 335–336, 378*n*.
Campaigns, political, in cities, preparations made by party organizations, 157–158; rallies and public meetings, 158–159; young voters' meetings, 159; parades, 159–160; shows, 160–161; radio, 161; street and window displays, 161–162; personal cards, 162; newspaper advertising, 162–163; mail campaigning, 163.
Canada, 17.
Capes, N. P., book by, 276.
Capital outlay, 396–397.
Capone, Al, 84.
Carpenter, W. S., book by, 107.
Carr, R. K., book by, 69, 414.
Casey, James J., 378*n*.
Cash-basis system of municipal accounting, 389–390.
Census definition of urban places, 4.
Center, R. I., article by, 503*n*.
Central cities, 7.
Central purchasing, the general problem of, 411; accomplishments in New York City, 411–412; defects in, 412–413; current developments of, 413–414.
Chain voting, 168.
Chambers of commerce and cities, pressure programs, 229–230; interest in low tax rate, 230; pressure techniques, 230–232; character of interests, 232.
Chang, T. S., book by, 299*n*, 312.
Chapin, C. V., article by, 65*n*.
Charity Organization Society of New York, 484.
Charlotte, North Carolina, 413.
Charter Party of Cincinnati, 216, 319.
Chatters, C. H., quoted, 389, 390, 391; articles by, 94, 388*n*, 389*n*, 390*n*, 391*n*, 392, 404*n*, 405*n*, 409*n*, 410*n*, 414.
Cheesborough, E. R., article by, 310*n*.
Chicago, 7, 12, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 37*n*, 47, 49, 51–52, 53, 98, 101, 101*n*, 106, 149, 151, 153, 160, 181*n*, 182*n*, 183, 187*n*, 192, 198, 205, 219, 220, 222, 243, 260, 268, 285, 287, 288*n*, 295, 317, 340, 359, 371, 408, 440, 446*n*, 453, 467, 483, 492*n*, 503, 515, 520*n*, 538, 558–560, 582, 595–596; governmental organization chart of, 261.
Chicago Citizens' Police Committee, report of, 529.
Chicago Municipal Court, 558–560.
Chicago Political Machine, 50.
Chicago Tribune, 250*n*.
Chicago, University of, 464, 465, 467.
Child-care centers, 94.
Childs, H. L., book by, 241*n*, 249*n*, 255.
China, 10.
Churches, as pressure groups in cities, influence of, 243–244; scope of program, 244; Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, 245; techniques employed by, 245–246.
Cigarette taxes, 375.
Cincinnati, street plan of downtown section, 569; reports of, 605; 12, 244, 282, 284, 318–320, 322, 334, 335, 377, 407*n*, 414, 529, 585, 595, 598; governmental organization chart of, 322.
Cincinnati Regional Crime Commission, report of, 529.
Cincinnati, University of, 367.
Citizens' groups, 601.
Citizens' Housing Committee of New York City, report of, 498*n*, 499.
City Finances, 374*n*, 376*n*, 385*n*, 393*n*, 423*n*, 441*n*, 474*n*, 611, 618.
City managers, role of the council in selection of, 323; procedure in selection of, 323–324; local son versus outsider, 324–325; general qualifications of, 325–326; backgrounds of, 326–327; age and educational qualifications, 327–328; occupational backgrounds, 328; length of tenure, 328–329; separa-

tions from the service, 329; salaries received, 329–330; distribution of time by, 330–331; functions of, 331; public appearances of, 331–332; affiliations of, 332–333; motives characterizing, 333.
City political organizations, committees, 192–193; officers of the central committee, 193–194.
Civic associations, 254.
Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, report of, 320*n*.
Civics courses, their relation to muncipal government, 600–601.
Civil Aeronautics Administration, 80.
Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, publications of, 67*n*, 359*n*, 360*n*, 362*n*, 365*n*, 372, 372*n*; 107.
Civil service, assistance rendered cities by states, recruiting, 66–67; in-service training, 67.
C.W.A., 73.
C.C.C., 74–75, 486.
Civilian defense programs in cities, 93.
Classification in municipal personnel administration, importance of, 364–365.
Classification of cities, on the basis of population, 6; on the basis of economic interest, 6–7.
Classified charters of cities, general nature of, 119; classification by population, 119–120; constitutional or legal basis for, 120; an evaluation of, 120–121.
Clay, H. H., book by, 441.
Clemmer, H. F., book by, 421*n*.
Cleveland, Ohio, 262, 282, 285*n*, 318, 339, 340, 377, 413, 483, 504, 529, 558, 603.
Cleveland Crime Survey, report of, 504, 504*n*, 544, 561.
Clinard, Marshall, report by, 34.
Coffin, "Cap," 177.
Cole v. Nashville, 136*n*.
Colorado, 99, 122*n*, 414.
Colorado, University of, 367.
Columbia, South Carolina, 384.
Columbia University, 215.
Columbus, Ohio, 262.
Comer, John P., book by, 527.
Comey, A. C., book by, 578*n*, 579*n*, 586.
Commission budgets, use of by cities, 398.
Commission form of city government, history of, 299–301; current status of, 301–302; executive provisions of, 302–303; legislative provisions of, 303–305; administrative provisions of, 305–307; merits of, 307–311; weaknesses of, 311–314.
Commission on Social Trends, report of, 19, 20*n*, 22*n*, 34.
Commonwealth v. Patton, 119*n*.
Conkling, Harold, book by, 445*n*, 462.
Connecticut, 10, 52, 121, 362.
Connolly, "Slippery Dick," 196.
Connor, C. N., book by, 421, 431, 431*n*.
Consolidated charters, 115.
Consolidated city-counties, 99–100.
Consolidated reports of cities, 596.
Consolidation of large and small cities, 105.
Constitution of the United States and cities, 111–112.
Contractors, as pressure agents in cities, 239–241.
Contributions, financial, of cities, 397.
Conventions, political, in cities, 155–156.
Convertible bonds, 406–407.
Cook County, Illinois, 49, 98, 155.
Cooley, R. W., book by, 139.
Cornick, P. H., book by, 392, 414, 586.
Coroners, 555.
Corruption, political, in cities, in New York City, 224; in Kansas City, 224–225; forms of, 225–227; embezzlement and bribery, 225–226; corruption of the ballot box, 226; honest graft, 226–227.
Cost of city government in the United States, 28, 93–94, 393–397.
Cottrell, E. A., articles by, 297, 334*n*.
Coughlin, "Bathhouse John," 295.
Council manager form of city government, development and current use of, 315–321; the mayor under, 321; the council under, 321–323; the manager under, 323–325; qualifications of managers, 325–330; activities of managers, 330–333; merits of the form, 334–337; weaknesses of, 337–341.
Councils, city, qualifications of members, 279; methods of selecting members, 279–285; terms of members, 285; salaries received by members, 285–286; unicameral versus bicameral, 286–287; size of, 287; organization of, 288–289; powers of, 289–292; direct legislation as a limitation on, 292–295; types of members, 295–296; gradual improvement of, 296–297.
Counties and cities, relations of, 96–100;

small cities and counties, 97–98; large cities and counties, 98–100; consolidated city-counties, 99–100.
County courts and cities, 556.
Coupon bonds, 406–407.
Cox, "Old Boy," 203–204, 244, 318, 319.
Crane, R. T., book by, 341.
Crawford, F. G., books by, 53, 463.
Crime, activities of the federal government in controlling in cities, 82–85.
Croker, E. F., book by, 524*n*.
Croker, Richard, quoted, 204; referred to, 202, 203, 206, 207, 243, 245.
Crosby, E. U., book by, 521*n*, 529.
Cruise, Michael J., 221.
Crump, I., book by, 529.
Cubberley, E. P., book by, 466*n*, 468*n*, 478.
Cultural program of the federal government in cities, 89–90.
Culture, importance of in cities, 5; as a factor in city growth, 18.
Cummings, H. S., book by, 83*n*.
Cunningham, R. J., article by, 139.
Curley, James, 275.
Curry, John F., 206, 504.
Cushman, R. E., book by, 576*n*, 586; article by, 172*n*.

Dade County, Florida, 49.
Dallas, Texas, 19, 308, 407*n*, 529.
Dates, H. B., book by, 426*n*.
Davie, M. R., book by, 33.
Dayton, Ohio, 315–316, 529.
Death rates in cities, 32.
Debt, city, 404–410.
De facto cities, 131.
Definitions of the term *city*, political and legal, 3; socioeconomic, 3–4.
De jure cities, 131.
Delaware, 68*n*, 117*n*, 302*n*.
Denver, Colorado, 19, 99, 99*n*, 100, 262, 288*n*, 467*n*, 495, 495*n*, 580.
Denver University, 367.
Des Moines, Iowa, 601.
Detroit, Michigan, 7, 34, 52*n*, 53, 254*n*, 265, 279*n*, 292, 392, 428*n*, 446*n*, 453, 458*n*, 517, 549, 558, 603.
Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, quoted, 405; referred to, 439*n*, 442, 603.
Dewey, Thomas E., 215, 220, 503.
Diehl, O. W., book by, 392.
Dillon, J. F., books by, 3*n*, 53, 131*n*, 133*n*, 139, 139*n*, 292*n*, 297.
Dinwiddie, Courtenay, book by, 489*n*.
Direct legislation in cities, the referendum, 292–293; the initiative, 293; use of, 293–294; evaluation of, 294–295.
Direct primary, use of in cities, 156.
Diversified type of city, 6–7.
Doane, L. H., book by, 422*n*.
Doddridge, D. W., article by, 134*n*, 139
Dodds, H. W., article by, 368*n*.
Doland, J. J., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Domestic relations courts in cities, 547–549.
Dorau, H. B., book by, 452*n*, 462.
Dormitory type of city, 6–7.
Dortch, Carl, article by, 70, 403*n*, 414
Double-entry system of municipal accounting, 388–389.
Doughtery, T. F., book by, 521*n*, 530.
Douglas, J. F., book by, 544.
Dudley, L. L., book by, 478.
Duluth, Minnesota, 262, 384.
Durham, North Carolina, 529.
Dykstra, C. A., 319.

Easley, R. M., article by, 155.
East north central states, 8.
East south central states, 8.
Education-center type of city, 7.
Egger, R. A., book by, 451*n*.
Election machinery in cities, 164–165.
Elections, municipal, conduct of, 165–170; polls, 165; officials, 165–166; party workers, 166; disorder at polling places, 166–167; arrangements within polling places, 167; depositing of ballots, 167–168; chain voting, 168; ballots, 168–169; voting machines, 168–169; election returns, 169; informal returns, 170; canvassing and recounts, 170.
Electricity, municipal ownership of facilities, 451–452.
Elliott, C. B., book by, 112*n*, 130, 131*n*, 139.
Elliott v. City of Detroit, 122*n*.
Ellms, J. W., book by, 449*n*, 462.
El Paso, Texas, 407*n*.
Employment offices, 77.
Enderis, D. C., article by, 583*n*, 586.
Engelhardt, N. L. and F., book by, 470, 471*n*, 478.
England, 13, 502.
Eriksson, E. M., article by, 147*n*.
Ervin, S., article by, 540*n*, 541*n*, 54[illegible]
Essex County, New Jersey, 49.
Estimates, budgetary, 398–40[illegible]
Evanston, Illinois, 517.

Ewing, R. H., book by, 255.
Executive budgets, use of in cities, 398.
Expenditures by cities, general cost of city government in the United States, 393–394; municipal costs compared with state and federal costs, 394; classification of, 394–395; operation and maintenance of the general departments, 395–396.
Expenditures of political parties in cities, size of, 221–222; objects of, 222–223.

Fagg, Fred D., article by, 457*n*.
Fair, G. M., book by, 442.
Fairchild, H. P., book by, 17*n*.
Fairlie, J. A., books by, 70, 97*n*, 107, 286*n*, 537*n*.
Falk, I. D., book by, 488*n*.
Fall River, Massachusetts, 318.
Falsgraf, W. A., book by, 372.
Farley, Thomas M., 221.
Farm bureaus, 46.
Farmer-Labor Party, 33.
Fassett, C. M., article by, 311*n*, 314.
Faust, Martin L., book by, 387*n*, 392.
Fawcett, Waldron, article by, 92*n*, 94.
Feder, Leah, quoted, 483; book by, 483*n*, 499.
Federal Bureau of Investigation, 83–84.
Federal-city relations, character of, 72.
Federal Communications Commission, 161.
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 19*n*.
Federal Housing Administration, 81, 567.
Federal Power Commission, report of, 451*n*, 460, 460*n*, 462.
Federal Reserve Banks, 19*n*, 386.
Federal Trade Commission, report of, 239*n*.
Fesler, Mayo, articles by, 263*n*, 318*n*.
Field, O. P., books by, 53, 499.
Fifth Avenue Association of New York City, 249.
Fire departments, municipal, relation to size of cities, 520–521; fire fighting versus fire prevention, 521–522; fire losses in cities, 522–523; causes of fires in cities, 523; fire schools, 523; organization and equipment of, 524–526; administrative costs of, 526–527.
Fishack, Howard G., article by, 312*n*, 314.
Fisher, M. J., book by, 194.
Fiske, H. A., book by, 521*n*, 529.
Fitzgerald, Mayor, of Boston, 274.
Flanagan, Luke, book by, 524*n*.
Flexner, Jennie M., book by, 477*n*.
Flinn, A. D., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Flinn, William, 39, 208, 234.
Florida, 117*n*, 121, 122*n*, 317, 329, 410.
Foley, E. H., article by, 94.
Folwell, A. P., books by, 432*n*, 434*n*, 436*n*, 442, 451*n*.
Forbes, Russell M., quoted, 411–412; article by, 414.
Ford, George B., book by, 579*n*, 586.
Ford, James, books by, 498*n*, 499, 584.
Ford, R. S., book by, 70.
Foreign colonies in cities, 31.
Forster, H. W., book by, 521*n*, 529.
Fort Wayne, Indiana, 423.
Forty Thieves, Board of, 296–297.
Forum Planning, 90*n*.
France, 13, 14, 15.
Franchises, municipal, constitutional limitations on the granting of, 40.
Freitag, J. K , book by, 521*n*.
Fulton County, Georgia, 49.
Functions of municipal corporations, governmental, 133; proprietary, 133.
Fusion Party of New York City, 215–216.
Future of cities in the United States, immediate, 19; more distant, 19–20; role of new inventions and discoveries in, 20–21.

Gallup, Dr. George, 604.
Galveston, Texas, 7, 299, 300, 311.
Garbage, collection of, 437–438; disposal of, 438–439.
Garber, J. O., article by, 268*n*, 355*n*, 356.
Gary, Indiana, 7, 12.
Gas, municipal works, 452–453.
Gates, E. J., book by, 451*n*.
Gemunder, M. A., article by, 309*n*, 314.
General charters, 118.
General-property tax in cities, importance of, 376; nature of, 376; assessing process, 377–384; rates of, 384–385.
George-Deen Act, 368–369.
Georgia, 49, 82, 117*n*.
Germany, 13, 14.
Germans in city politics in the United States, 247.
Gibbon, I. G., articles by, 344*n*, 356, 618.
Gilbert, H. T., book by, 561.
Gillis, Mayor "Bossie," 275.
Goethals, Colonel, 316.
Goldman, R. P., article by, 282*n*, 297.
Goodnow, F. J., book by, 276.
Goodrich, K. S., book by, 70.
Goodrich, R. M., article, 481*n*.

Goodwin, A. E., book by, 455*n*, 462.
Goos, T. G., article by, 275*n*, 277.
Gosnell, H. F., quoted, 149, 153, 183, 180*n*, 181*n*, 182*n*, 183*n*, 186*n*, 187*n*, 192*n*; books by, 31*n*, 150*n*, 151*n*, 152*n*, 153*n*, 180*n*, 181*n*, 182*n*, 183*n*, 186*n*, 189*n*, 190*n*, 192*n*, 194, 195, 216, 248*n*, 255.
Government-center type of city, 7.
Government Research Association, 107*n*.
Government Research Directory, 230*n*, 254*n*, 603*n*.
Graham, G. A., book by, 392.
Grange, 46.
Granger Movement, 33.
Grants-in-aid received by cities from the states and the federal government, 385.
Graves, W. Brooke, book by, 53.
Great Britain, 13, 14.
Greater Boston, 3, 103.
Greencastle, Indiana, 25–26, 27, 149, 150, 152.
Greening, J. A., quoted, 514; referred to, 516*n*.
Gridiron plan of street layout, 570–572.
Griffith, E. S., books by, 22, 33, 40*n*, 53, 70, 117*n*, 259*n*.
Growth of cities, in the world, 10; in the United States, 10–11; rate of, 11–12; agricultural improvements as a factor in, 13–15; large-scale industrialization as a factor in, 15–16; development of transportation facilities as a factor in, 16; public health and sanitation as factors in, 16–17; immigration as a factor in, 17–18; cultural factors, 18; political factors, 18–19.
Guffey Bituminous Coal Act, 414.

Hague Machine in Jersey City, 198.
Hague, Mayor-Boss, 205.
Hall, Albert H., 369*n*.
Hall, Mayor "O.K.," 196.
Hallett, George H., books by, 281*n*, 283*n*, 284*n*, 298; referred to, 284.
Halsey, Maxwell, book by, 530.
Ham, C. W., article by, 368*n*.
Hamilton, Ohio, 322.
Hammond, Indiana, 12.
Hanford, A. C., book by, 138*n*, 157*n*, 170, 304*n*, 346*n*.
Hanmer, L. F., book by, 495*n*.
Hansen, A. H., book by, 414.
Hare system of proportional voting, 283–284.
Harno, A. J., article by, 140.
Hardenbergh, W. A., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Harris, J. P., books by, 144*n*, 147*n*, 153, 165*n*, 170; articles by, 145*n*, 153, 275*n*, 277, 283*n*, 297.
Harris, Leonard V., book by, 530.
Harris, W. O., book by, 388*n*.
Harrison, Carter H., book by, 276.
Harrison, Ward, book by, 425*n*, 431.
Harvard University, 367.
Hatton, A. P., book by, 53; article by, 130; referred to, 123.
Haworth, J. R., article by, 315*n*.
Hazelrigg, Hal, articles by, 107, 602*n*.
Hazen, Allen, book by, 451*n*.
Health-resort type of city, 7.
Helms, E. A., book by, 168*n*, 195, 198*n*, 217, 219*n*, 227.
Henry, Nelson B., quoted, 464–465, 467; book by, 464*n*, 465*n*, 466*n*, 467*n*, 478.
Hering, Rudolph, book by, 437*n*.
Herring, E. P., book by, 228*n*, 255.
Herring, Frank W., quoted, 416, 417*n*, 420*n*, 423*n*, 460*n*; article by, 442.
Hersey, A. S., article by, 437*n*, 441.
Highways, 79.
Hillhouse, A. M., books by, 392, 404*n*, 410*n*, 414.
Hines, J. J., 207*n*, 504.
Hines, W. M., article by, 277.
Hjeite, George, book by, 499.
Hoag, C. G., books by, 281*n*, 283*n*, 284*n*, 298; referred to, 284.
Hoan, Mayor D. W., book by, 216*n*, 236*n*, 255, 408*n*, 473*n*, 499, 592*n*, 593, 595*n*, 600*n*, 601*n*, 602*n*, 605; referred to, 216, 275, 592–594.
Hobart College, 517.
Hodes, Barnett, quoted, 52–53; book by, 140.
Hodges, H. G., book by, 372, 413*n*, 431, 478, 544.
Hoehler, Fred K., articles by, 499.
Holcombe, Arthur N., quoted, 103*n*; article by, 103*n*.
Holling, T. L., article by, 195; 172*n*.
Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 81.
Home-rule charters, legislative type, 121–122; constitutional type, 122; future of, 122–123; framing of, 123; charter commissions, 123; use of outside experts in framing of, 123–124; influence of other charters in framing of, 124; submission to voters, 124; advantages of, 125–126; weaknesses of, 126–128; use of, 128.
Hong Kong, 10.

Hoover, Herbert, 83.
Hoover, J. Edgar, quoted, 84; book by, 83*n*, 94.
Hopkins, Harry, 74*n*, 84.
Hopkins, W. R., 339.
Hospital-construction federal-aid program, 85–86.
Hostetter, G. L., book by, 242*n*.
House numbering, general system of, 428–429; buildings, 429–430.
Housing, municipal, federal assistance in, 80–81; scope of, 496; Wagner Act of 1937, 496–497; essentials of, 497–498.
Hubbard, H. V., books by, 456*n*, 462, 584*n*, 577*n*, 586.
Hubbard, T. K., books by, 577*n*, 586.
Hudson County, New Jersey, 49.
Hudson, I. R., article by, 313*n*, 314.
Hulse, G. G., article by, 541*n*.
Hunter, M. H., quoted, 383; article by, 383*n*.
Hurd, R. M., book by, 380*n*, 392.
Hynicka, Rud, 216, 318, 319.
Hynning, C. J., articles by, 374*n*, 392.

Ickes, Harold, 452.
Idaho, 119*n*.
Illinois, 3, 10, 48, 119*n*, 137, 155, 414, 516.
Illinois Association for Criminal Justice, survey of, 255, 530, 554*n*, 557*n*, 560*n*, 561, 592*n*.
Illinois League of Municipalities, 106*n*.
Illuminating Engineering Society, report of, 427*n*, 431.
Imhoff, Karl, book by, 442.
Imhoff tanks, 435.
Immigration, as a factor in city growth, 17–18.
Importance of cities in the United States, as population centers, 4; from the standpoint of business and industry, 4–5; as centers of culture, 5; as centers of vice and crime, 5; from a political standpoint, 5–6.
Income taxes, 375.
Increasing costs, law of, in city government, 26–28.
Indebtedness, municipal, general, 28–29; types of, 404–405; fluctuation in, 405; total, 405–406; methods of borrowing, 406–408; pay-as-you-go policy, 408–409; limits of, 409; defaults, 409–410; municipal credit, 410.
Independent cities, 7.
India, 10.
Indiana, 12, 43*n*, 44*n*, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 68*n*, 82, 100, 119, 120, 145*n*, 147, 148, 164*n*, 177, 183–184, 377*n*, 403, 409, 480*n*.
Indiana Board of Accounts, work of, 59.
Indiana Plan, 61–63, 403, 409.
Indianapolis, Indiana, 25, 26, 100, 160, 160*n*, 177, 178*n*, 181*n*, 184, 189*n*, 219, 239, 444, 467, 468, 483, 520, 520*n*, 579.
Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, 229*n*, 230*n*.
Indianapolis News, 47*n*, 156*n*, 232*n*, 250*n*.
Indianapolis Star, 232*n*.
Indianapolis Times, 232*n*.
Industrial revolution, 14.
Industrial type of city, 6–7.
Industrialization, as a factor in city growth, 15–16.
In-service training, 368–369.
Institute for Training in Municipal Administration, quoted, 510, 514; books of, 365*n*, 369*n*, 372, 503*n*, 506*n*, 507, 507*n*, 508*n*, 510*n*, 511*n*, 514*n*, 515*n*, 516*n*, 517*n*, 519*n*, 530.
Insull, Samuel, 220.
Interest charges, 397.
International Association of Chiefs of Police, 107*n*.
International Association of Public Works Officials, report of, 433*n*.
International Business Machines Corporation, 283.
International City Managers' Association, quoted, 333; books of, 316*n*, 323, 341, 368*n*, 372, 611*n*; referred to, 107, 330, 332, 333, 339.
Interpretation of charters by courts, 129–130.
Iowa, 49*n*, 69*n*, 121, 129, 329, 403, 409.
Irish, role in contributing political bosses, 210; political activity in cities, 246–247.
Isakoff, J. F., book by, 94.
Italians, political activity in cities, 247.

Jails, municipal, 519–520.
James, Harlean, book by, 420*n*, 573*n*, 586.
Jersey City, New Jersey, 49, 198, 205, 262.
Johnson, Claudius O., book by, 276.
Johnson, L. T., article by, 305*n*.
Johnson, Tom L., book by, 273*n*, 277; 273.
Jones, O. Garfield, article by, 195.
Jones, Howard P., article by, 254*n*, 605.
Jones, Victor, book by, 22, 107.
Jones, W. R., article by, 55*n*.
Justament, Louis, book by, 586.

Justice of the peace courts in cities, 531–538.
Juvenile courts in cities, 545–547.

Kalamazoo, Michigan, 405, 408, 585.
Kansas, 129*n*, 516.
Kansas City, Kansas, 441.
Kansas City, Missouri, 40, 84, 169, 198, 224–225, 318, 320, 332, 334, 336, 510*n*, 591–592.
Kansas University, 517.
Kearney, P. W., book by, 521*n*, 530.
Keefer, C. E., book by, 442.
Kelly, Edward J., 260.
Kelly, "Honest John," 210.
Kelly-Nash Machine, 198.
Kenealy, E. J., book by, 451*n*.
Kenlon, John, book by, 524*n*.
Kennedy v. New York, 138*n*.
Kenosha, Wisconsin, 529.
Kent, Frank R., book by, 153, 170, 195, 218*n*, 219.
Kentucky, 8, 119*n*.
Kentucky, University of, 517.
Kerwin, Jerome G., quoted, 464–465, 467; book by, 464*n*, 465*n*, 466*n*, 467*n*, 478.
Key, V. O., article by, 51*n*, 53.
Kibbey, C. H., book by, 439*n*.
Kilpatrick, Wylie, books by, 70, 414, 595*n*, 605; article by, 63*n*.
Kimball, T., book by, 586.
King, Clyde L., book edited by, 618.
Kings County, New York, 49.
Kingsley, J. D., book by, 365*n*, 372.
Kiwanis Club, 253, 332.
Klein, Philip, book by, 499.
Kneier, Charles M., quoted, 128; books by, 50*n*, 70, 94, 97*n*, 107, 120*n*, 122–123, 123*n*, 128*n*, 130, 143*n*, 293*n*, 307*n*, 314, 356, 414, 442, 462.
Kreml, F. M., book by, 530.
Kurtzman, David H., book by, 170, 180*n*, 186*n*, 191*n*, 195, 198*n*, 217, 226*n*, 542*n*.

La Guardia, F. H., 74, 199, 215, 224, 235*n*, 275, 276, 284, 340, 411, 560, 601.
Laidler, H. W., book by, 459*n*, 461*n*.
Lake County, Indiana, 52, 538, 559.
Lancaster, Lane, books by, 70, 107.
Large-city classification, 8.
Lasswell, Harold, book by, 251*n*.
Lavine, E. H., books by, 225*n*, 227, 243*n*.
Lawrence, T. E., book by, 448*n*.
League of Women Voters, 45–46, 46*n*, 144, 183–184, 185, 185*n*, 252–253.
Leagues of municipalities, 45.
Legal aid, 551–553.
Legislative type of city budget, 398.
L'Enfant, Major, 570.
Leningrad, 10.
Leonard, V. A., book by, 530.
Lepawsky, Albert, books by, 22, 33, 52*n*, 53, 101*n*, 107, 531*n*, 534*n*, 535*n*, 536*n*, 538*n*, 542*n*, 544, 556*n*, 559*n*, 560*n*, 561; articles by, 33, 374*n*, 392.
Lewinson, Paul, book by, 247*n*.
Lewis, Charles F., article by, 296*n*, 297.
Lewis, E. E., book by, 472*n*, 478.
Lewis, Harold M., book by, 586.
Lewis, N. P., book by, 570*n*, 586.
Lexow Committee of the New York Legislature, report of, 220*n*.
Leyton, C. E., book by, 495*n*, 499.
Liability, municipal, 133–139.
Libraries, municipal public, organization of, 474–475; staff problems of, 475–476, essentials of, 476–478.
Lichterman, A., article by, 490*n*, 499.
Lies, E. T., book by, 495*n*.
Lighting of streets in cities, standard lights, 425–426; suspended lights, 426; common defects of, 426–427.
Lindley, Betty, and Lindley, E. K., book by, 75*n*, 94.
Lindsay-Strathmore Irrigation District v. Same, 82*n*.
Lions Club, 253, 332.
Local districts, their relation to cities, 101–102.
Lockport, New York, 315.
Lockwood, B. J., articles by, 428*n*, 431, 575*n*.
Loeffler, H. C., article by, 481*n*.
Logan, Edward B., book by, 165, 170; articles edited by, 228*n*, 255.
Lohmann, Karl B., book by, 570, 586.
Lomasney, Martin, quoted, 270, 295, 590*n*; referred to, 203*n*, 210, 295.
London, 10, 22, 84, 591–592, 596.
Long, Huey P., 200*n*.
Los Angeles, California, 101*n*, 265, 265*n*, 294, 359, 377, 504.
Los Angeles County, California, 362, 372*n*.
Loth, David, book by, 216, 227, 588*n*.
Lou, Herbert H., book by, 547*n*, 561.
Louisiana, 96, 119*n*, 121.
Louisiana University, 367.
Louisville, Kentucky, 516.
Lovett, W. P., article by, 277.
Low, B. R. C., book by, 277.

Lowe, John Adams, book by, 476*n*, 478.
Lowrie, S. Gale, article by, 297.
Lundin, Fred, 160, 205.
Lutz, H. L., book by, 26*n*, 27*n*, 33, 41*n*, 53, 392, 414.
Lynch, D. T., books by, 197*n*, 216, 226*n*, 227, 229*n*, 242*n*, 255.
Lynd, R. S. and H. M., book by, 33.

MacCorkle, S. A., books by, 356.
Macdonald, A. F., book by, 130, 293*n*, 413*n*, 459*n;* articles edited by, 458*n*.
Machines, political, 197–198.
Macmahon, E. C., book by, 452*n*.
Macon, Georgia, 465*n*.
Magee, C. L., 39.
Maine, 68*n*, 362.
Malcher, Fritz, book by, 530.
Mandel, A., article by, 335*n*.
Manny, T. B., book by, 105*n*, 108.
Manufacturing type of city, 6–7.
Markets, municipal, wholesale, 454–455; retail, 455–456.
Martin, A. J., book by, 435*n*.
Martin, E. M., article by, 277.
Martin, R. C., article by, 153.
Maryland, 68*n*, 117*n*, 122*n*, 359.
Maschke, Maurice, 318.
Massachusetts, 10, 64, 67, 68*n*, 117*n*, 128, 129*n*, 211, 359, 362.
Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, report of, 263*n*.
Masslich, C. B., article by, 61*n*, 63*n*, 70, 409*n*.
Matscheck, Walter, article by, 318*n*, 336*n*, 591*n*.
Matthews, J. M., book by, 53; article by, 53.
Matthews, Nathan, book by, 112*n*, 113*n*, 114*n*, 116, 130.
Maxey, C. C., books by, 48*n*, 459*n;* article by, 105*n*, 107.
Maxwell, W. H., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Mayors, qualifications of, 260–262; election of, 262–263; removal of, 263–264; recall of, 264–265; powers of, 265–271; terms of, 272; compensation of, 272; distribution of time by, 272–274; types of, 274–275; political importance of, 276.
McBain, H. L., book by, 40*n*, 43*n*, 53, 130.
McCarthy, J. J., book by, 530.
McClintock, Miller, books by, 456*n*, 462, 530.
McCombs, Carl E., book by, 499.
McCormick, James J., 221.
McCracken, Dwight, book by, 512*n*.
McElroy, H. F., 332.
McGoldrick, J. D., quoted, 122; book by, 122*n*, 124*n*, 126*n*, 128*n*, 129*n*, 130; articles by, 275*n*, 277*n*, 287*n*, 288*n*, 297; referred to, 215.
McIntire, J. A., quoted, 131; book by, 140.
McKean, D. D., book by, 216.
McKenzie, Charles W., book by, 195.
McKenzie, R. D., book by, 22, 33.
McLaughlin, A. J., book by, 491*n*.
McLaughlin, Hugh, 208.
McLeod v. Duluth, 137*n*.
McManes, James, 208, 211.
McMichael, S. L., book by, 392.
McNeish, R. H., book by, 525*n*.
McQuade, James A., 221.
McQuillin, E., book by, 42*n*, 53, 117*n*, 130, 140, 290*n*, 297.
Measurement of municipal services, 598, 609–618.
Medical examiners, 555.
Melrose, Massachusetts, 76.
Memphis, Tennessee, 474.
Merchants' Association of New York, 528*n*.
Merriam, Charles E., quoted, 149, 150, 151, 152; books by, 31*n*, 150*n*, 151*n*, 152*n*, 154, 156*n*, 170, 195, 266*n*.
Metcalf, Leonard, books by, 432*n*, 434*n*, 435*n*, 442.
Metropolitan Area of Chicago, 3.
Metropolitan districts, their relation to cities, 102–103.
Metropolitan New York, 3, 12, 101*n*.
Metropolitan Opera of New York City, 18.
Mexico, 199.
Miami, Florida, 49.
Michelson, B. F., article by, 277.
Michigan, 10, 52, 120, 122, 122*n*, 128, 317, 410, 414, 516.
Middle Atlantic states, 8, 302, 361.
Middle West, 302, 317, 361.
Miles, Arnold, article by, 372.
Miller, J. F., master's thesis, 71*n*.
Miller-Tydings Act, 414.
Millett, John D., book by, 73*n*, 94.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 216, 284, 359, 406, 408, 428*n*, 429*n*, 592–594, 595, 598, 601, 605.
Mining-center type of city, 7.
Minneapolis, Minnesota, 197, 359, 603.
Minnesota, 68*n*, 122*n*, 128, 137, 516.

Minnesota League of Municipalities, 106*n*.
Minnesota, University of, report of quoted, 516; report of, 516*n*.
Mississippi, 8, 10, 82, 119, 121.
Missouri, 68*n*, 119*n*, 122, 122*n*, 320.
Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, survey of, 544, 551*n*, 554*n*, 561.
Mitchell, J. P., article by, 268*n*, 273*n*, 277; 273.
Mitchell, R. B., articles edited by, 586.
Model Municipal Traffic Ordinance, 92.
Mohaupt, Rosina, quoted, 410; articles by, 335*n*, 379*n*, 384*n*, 385*n*, 392, 405*n*, 410*n*, 415, 593*n*.
Moley, R. S., books by, 533*n*, 536*n*, 538*n*, 542*n*, 543*n*, 544, 549*n*, 554*n*, 557*n*, 561; articles by, 282*n*, 560*n*.
Monahan, P., article by, 288*n*, 297.
Montana, 129*n*.
Moore, Lyman S., article by, 333*n*.
Morey, Lloyd, book by, 392.
Morgan, J. T., article by, 277.
Morrison, R. L., book by, 431*n*.
Morrow, K., book by, 498*n*, 499.
Moses, Robert, article by, 605*n*; referred to, 76.
Mosher, W. E., quoted, 359; books by, 365*n*, 272, 462; articles by, 187*n*, 195, 359*n*.
Mott, R. G., article by, 263*n*.
Mountain states, 8.
Mowbray, A. H., article by, 370*n*.
Mowrer, E. R., book by, 548*n*.
Mumford, Lewis, books by, 5*n*, 18*n*, 22, 22*n*, 23; article by, 22.
Municipal corporations, character of, 131–133.
Municipal courts, 558–560.
Municipal Finance Officers' Association, quoted, 369; publications of, 368*n*, 369, 370*n*, 387*n*, 388*n*, 392, 398*n*, 400*n*, 404*n*, 406*n*, 407*n*, 408*n*, 410*n*, 414, 605; referred to, 107, 388, 400.
Municipal Law Officers' Association, 53.
Municipal ownership, objections to, 459; advantages of, 459–461.
Municipal representation in state legislatures, problem of, 48–51.
Municipal Year Book, The, 79*n*, 119*n*, 156, 172*n*, 259*n*, 279*n*, 280*n*, 281*n*, 285*n*, 287*n*, 302*n*, 325*n*, 327*n*, 328*n*, 329*n*, 330*n*, 332*n*, 359*n*, 363*n*, 370*n*, 393*n*, 395*n*, 396*n*, 454*n*, 611*n*, 618.
Munro, William B., books by, 7*n*, 23, 32, 33, 130, 199*n*, 216, 302*n*, 306*n*, 314, 342*n*, 346*n*, 352*n*, 353*n*, 356, 372, 413*n*, 421*n*, 428*n*, 431, 442, 462, 469*n*, 478, 499, 574*n*, 580, 598*n*, 604*n*, 618; articles by, 199*n*, 313*n*; 122, 128*n*, 598.
Muntz, E. E., book by, 33, 33*n*, 499, 584*n*.
Murphy, C. F., 156, 224.
Murphy, Frank, quoted, 84.
Museum of Natural History, 18.
Myers, Gustavus, book by, 203*n*, 216,

Nash, J. B., book by, 495*n*, 499.
Nashville, Tennessee, 318.
National Airport Plan, 80.
National Association of Assessing Officers, quoted, 377, 378, 381, 382, 383, 384; publications of, 377*n*, 378*n*, 379*n*, 380*n*, 381*n*, 382*n*, 383*n*, 384*n*, 392; referred to, 107*n*.
National Association of Housing Officials, yearbooks of, 499.
National Board of Fire Underwriters, quoted, 523; publications of, 521*n*, 523*n*.
National Building Code Committee, report of, 528*n*.
National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, report of, 5*n*.
National Committee on Municipal Accounting, quoted, 389, 390, 391; reports of, 388*n*, 389*n*, 390*n*, 391*n*, 392, 398*n*; referred to, 387.
National Committee on Municipal Reporting, report of, 605.
National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, 92.
National Constitution and cities, 37–38.
National Directory of Commodity Specifications, 92.
National Electric Light Association, report of, 452*n*.
National Fire Protection Association, reports of, 524*n*, 526*n*.
National Health Conference, 85–86.
National Industrial Conference Board, reports of, 28, 394*n*, 415.
National Municipal League, Model Bond Law, 407*n*; Model City Charter, 130, 341; series of articles on city councils, 296*n*, 297; series of articles on mayors, 277; miscellaneous publications, 104*n*, 108, 154, 324*n*.
National Municipal Review, 598, 605.
National Recreation Association, reports of, 495*n*, 499.
National Resources Committee, quoted,

522–523; reports of, 4*n*, 6*n*, 7*n*, 13*n*, 17*n*, 19–20, 20*n*, 21, 23, 29*n*, 31*n*, 32*n*, 34, 71*n*, 72*n*, 94, 101*n*, 107–108, 393*n*, 451*n*, 484*n*, 523*n*, 518*n*, 527*n*, 566*n*, 572*n*, 577*n*, 582*n*, 586.
National Safety Council, reports of, 518*n*, 519*n*.
National Self-Government Association, 601.
National Youth Administration, 75, 90, 486.
Nebraska, 3, 68*n*, 82, 122*n*, 128, 129*n*.
Negroes, activity of, in municipal politics, 248.
Neighborhood associations, their relations with cities, 249–250.
Newark, New Jersey, 49, 262, 301, 455, 492, 580.
New England, 7, 8, 302, 361, 362, 481.
New Hampshire, 302*n*.
New Jersey, 10, 49, 52, 67, 87, 129*n*, 362, 390, 439.
New Jersey Commission to Investigate County and Municipal Taxation and Expenditures, report of, 70, 127*n*.
New London, Connecticut, 416.
New Mexico, 10, 129*n*, 414.
New Orleans, 12, 17, 99*n*, 212, 272, 301, 302, 303, 307, 413, 447, 454.
Newspapers, their role in municipal government, 162, 163, 250–251, 602.
Newton, J. W., book by, 529.
New York, 3, 4, 10, 49–50, 52, 67, 68, 68*n*, 82, 122*n*, 128, 129*n*, 359, 362, 368, 369, 382, 409, 516.
New York City, 7, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25–26, 27, 37*n*, 51–52, 53, 68, 73, 75, 76, 78*n*, 87–88, 98, 99, 115, 164, 190, 196, 207, 213, 214, 219, 220, 222, 224, 234, 235, 245, 246, 249, 254*n*, 260, 271*n*, 272, 276, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 296, 317, 319, 321, 340, 345, 350*n*, 359, 374, 381, 405, 406, 408, 411–412, 413, 423, 428*n*, 434, 439, 441, 446*n*, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 459, 467, 482, 483, 490, 495, 499, 503, 504, 515, 515*n*, 516, 518, 520, 526, 529, 547, 555, 558, 560–561, 580, 582, 584, 590, 599, 601.
New York City, Commission on a Regional Plan, report of, 586.
New York Constitutional Convention of 1938, report of, 154; referred to, 49, 51, 54, 284.
New York County, 99.
New York Philharmonic Society, 18.
New York State Conference of Mayors, reports of, 369*n*, 372.
New York State, University of, report of, 372.
New York Times, 12*n*, 32*n*, 41*n*, 49*n*, 52*n*, 53*n*, 74*n*, 75*n*, 76*n*, 78*n*, 81*n*, 82*n*, 85*n*, 86*n*, 88*n*, 90*n*, 99*n*, 100*n*, 115*n*, 164*n*, 169*n*, 206*n*, 220*n*, 224*n*, 225*n*, 235*n*, 241*n*, 265*n*, 284*n*, 320*n*, 336*n*, 340*n*, 412*n*, 453*n*, 454*n*, 457*n*, 481*n*, 482*n*, 483*n*, 496*n*, 497*n*, 551*n*, 561*n*, 591.
New York University, 367, 517.
New York World-Telegram, 206*n*, 221*n*, 222, 224*n*.
Nicolson, J. W., article by, 414*n*, 415.
Nolen, John, books by, 570*n*, 584*n*, 586.
Nolting, D. E., book by, 530.
Nolting, O. F., quoted, 325, 326, 328, 416–417, 418, 419; books by, 325, 326*n*, 327*n*, 328*n*, 329*n*, 330*n*, 331*n*, 333*n*, 339*n*, 341, 530.
Nomination for municipal office, the convention system, 155–156; direct primaries, 156; petition, 157.
Non-Partisan League, 33.
Non-partisan primaries, 155, 156*n*.
Non-partisanship in cities, 172.
Non-voting, the general problem of, 147; reasons for variation, 147–148; why people do not vote, 148–150; types of people who vote unusually well or poorly, 150–151.
North Carolina, 63–64, 82, 129*n*, 403, 409, 410, 414.
North Dakota, 10, 129*n*.
Northwestern University, 517.

Oak Park, Illinois, 4, 106.
Odegard, Peter H., books by, 168*n*, 195, 198*n*, 217, 219*n*, 227, 244*n*, 246*n*, 255.
Ogburn, William F., book by, 33*n*, 34.
Ohio, 3, 10, 69*n*, 82, 122*n*, 128, 129*n*, 369*n*, 382.
Ohio State University, 517.
Oklahoma, 122*n*, 317, 329.
Old-age and survivors insurance, 76.
Old-age assistance program, 76.
Olson, W. M., article by, 102*n*, 107.
Olvany, George W., 206, 224.
Opperman, Paul, book by, 530.
Optional charters, nature of, 128–129; types of, 129; lack of popularity of, 129.
Oregon, 122*n*, 414, 516.
Orfilla, E. R., book by, 552*n*.
Organization of political parties, in small cities, 173–175; in large cities, 175–194.

Organized labor, relations with city government, 248–249.
Orth, S. P., book by, 217.
Osborn, Frederick, quoted, 32*n*.
Overacker, Louise, book by, 156*n*, 170.
Overmyer, Grace, book by, 90*n*, 94.

Pacific coast states, 8, 302, 317, 361.
Paige, Robert M., 254*n*.
Palmer, Gladys, book by, 95.
Pangburn, W. W., article by, 492*n*, 493*n*, 494*n*.
Parent-teacher associations, their relations with cities, 252.
Paris, 10, 84, 596.
Parkhurst, Charles H., book by, 245*n*; 245.
Parking meters, 375, 386.
Parks, municipal, developments of recent years, 492; administration of, 492–493; federal assistance to, 493; local share of, 493–494; variation among cities, 494; types of, 494–495; essentials of, 495–496.
Parks v. City of Des Moines, 138*n*.
Parratt, S. D., article by, 530.
Party officials as pressure agents, patronage program of, 233–234; desire for public contracts, 234–235; techniques, 235.
Pasadena, California, 387.
Patterson, J. H., 315, 316.
Pay-as-you-go policy of cities, 408–409.
Payroll taxes, 375, 386.
Payrow, H. G., book by, 442.
Peel, Roy V., quoted, 212; book by, 211*n*, 213*n*, 217; article by, 193*n*, 195; referred to, 211, 213, 214*n*.
Pendergast, Boss, 84, 173, 198, 224, 225, 244, 320, 591.
Pennsylvania, 3, 4, 10, 100*n*, 119, 120, 122*n*, 211, 241*n*, 329, 414.
Pennsylvania, University of, Institute of Local and State Government, publications of, 53, 70, 392; referred to, 367.
Pensions, municipal systems of, general problem of, 369; some essentials of a sound system, 369–370.
Perkins, R. M., book by, 530.
Perloff, H. S., book by, 414.
Personnel administration, municipal, number of employes, 359; cost of salaries, 359–360; importance of, 360; record of cities in, 360–361; merit system in cities, 361–362; machinery, 362–364; classification, 364–365; promotion, 365–366; rating systems, 365–366; dismissals, 366–367; pre-service training, 367–368; in-service training, 368–369; pensions, 369–370; evaluation of, 370–372.
Pfiffner, J. M., book by, 356.
Phi Beta Kappa, 333.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 10, 12, 51–52, 53, 99, 99*n*, 100*n*, 101*n*, 117, 182, 182*n*, 188, 219, 221, 222, 234, 238, 272, 285, 288*n*, 317, 340, 359, 416, 495, 440, 452, 454, 459, 483, 515, 529, 603.
Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, publication of, 98*n*.
Philadelphia Gas Ring, 50, 197, 208.
Philadelphia Republican Machine, 173.
Phillips, Jewell C., book by, 341; article by, 279*n*.
Phoenix, Arizona, 495*n*.
Physical appearance of the city of the future, 21.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 101*n*, 107, 234, 279*n*, 285, 483.
Planning, city, problem of, 565–566; agencies, 566; surveys, 566–567; of streets, 567–576; zoning, 576–579; location of public buildings, 580–581; transportation facilities, 581–582; parks and recreation programs, 582–583; housing and slum clearance, 583–584; water supply, 584; water fronts, 584; debts, 584–585; billboards, 585.
Plunkitt, George Washington, 182.
Polah, Sophie, article by, 359*n*.
Police courts in cities, organization of, 538; atmosphere of, 539–540; procedure in, 540–541; jurisdiction of, 541–542; defects of, 542–544.
Police departments of cities, general functions of, 501; types of crime, 501–502; contrasted with European cities, 502; difficulties of, 502–505; recent achievements of, 505–507; basic elements of police administration, 507–510; organization of, 510–514; personnel, 514–517; crime prevention, 517; numerical size of, 517–518.
Political cities, 3.
Political clubs, nature of, 211–212; clubrooms and membership, 212; names of, 212; organization of, 213–214; programs of, 214.
Political consequences of urbanization, number of services performed, 24–25; increasing complexity of problems,

25–26; increased costs, 26–28; salaries and equipment, 27–28; debts, 28–29.
Political factors in municipal growth in the United States, 18–19.
Political indifference of urban inhabitants, 29–30.
Political party organization, in small cities, 173–175; in large cities, 175–194.
Pollard v. City of Richmond, 138*n*.
Pollock, J. K., book by, 218*n*, 227.
Pollock, W. W., book by, 380*n*, 392.
Pontius, Dale, book by, 70.
Population, minimum requirements imposed by states for cities, 3.
Porter, Kirk H., book by, 154; article by, 102*n*, 108.
Portland, Oregon, 262, 448.
Post, Adolph, book by, 428*n*, 431, 575*n*.
Post, Langdon, W., article by, 498*n*, 499.
Pound, Arthur, book by, 34.
Poverty in cities, 30–31.
Precinct committeemen in cities, importance of, 176–177; functions of in well-to-do precincts, 177–178; characteristics of in well-to-do precincts, 178–179; functions of in congested precincts, 179–186; characteristics of in congested precincts, 186–187; rewards received by, 187–188.
Precincts, election, 164.
Preferential voting, 263.
Pressure groups, municipal, activity in state legislatures, 44–48; difference between city and state groups, 228–229; chambers of commerce, 229–233; party officials, 233–235; banks, 235–237; public utilities, 237–239; other business groups, 239–241; public employes, 241–242; the underworld, 242–243; churches, 243–246; racial groups, 246–248; organized labor, 248–249; neighborhood associations, 249–250; newspapers, 250–251; miscellaneous, 252–254.
Price, Don K., book by, 341.
Princeton Bureau of Urban Research, book of, 586.
Princeton University Local Government Committee, reports of, 605.
Pringle, H. F., article by, 274*n*.
Probst, J. B., book by, 365*n*, 372.
Probst rating system, 365–366.
Proctor, A. W., book by, 365*n*.
Proportional representation, nature of, 281–282; experience in Cleveland and Cincinnati, 282; experience in New York City, 282–283; details of, 283–284; evaluation of, 284–285.
Providence, Rhode Island, 287, 518.
Providence Governmental Research Bureau, report of, 513*n*.
Pryor, J. W., article by, 285*n*.
Public Administration Clearing House, 107.
Public Administration Service, books of, 372, 456*n*, 462.
Public Business, 292*n*.
Public contractors, their role in city government, 44–45.
Public health, as a factor in city growth, 16–17; federal assistance to cities, 85–87; small cities contrasted with large, 487; vital statistics, 487–488; control of common diseases, 488; child hygiene, 488–489; milk inspection, 489; protection of food and meats, 489–490; laboratory services, 490; hospitals, 490; control of nuisances, 490–491; miscellaneous, 491–492; cost of in cities, 492.
Public prosecutors, their relations with cities, 554–555.
Public safety costs, 395; activities in cities, 501–529.
Public Service Institute of Kansas City, report of, 146*n*, 154.
Public utilities, as pressure agencies in cities, scope of activities, 237; techniques, 237–238; franchises, 238–239.
P.W.A., activities of in cities, 77, 78, 86, 88, 90, 419, 452, 486, 493, 520, 582.
Public works departments in cities, importance of, 416; functions performed by, 416–417; organization of, 417–418; heads of, 418–419; allocation of funds by, 419–420.
Public works program of the federal government in cities, 77–79.
Purdue University, 517.

Quay, M. S., 39.
Queen, Stuart A., book by, 23, 34.
Queens County, New York, 49.

Racial groups, as pressure agencies, general character of, 246–247; Irish, 247; Italians, 247; Germans, 247; Negroes, Poles, Russians, etc., 248.
Radburn, New Jersey, street layout map of, 571.
Radial plan of street layout, 570–572.
Radicalism in cities, 32–33.

Radio, use in political campaigning, 161; use in educating citizens, 599–600.
Rankin, Robert S., book edited by, 227.
Ray, P. O., book by, 170.
Reading, Pennsylvania, 485.
Recall, use of in cities, 264–265.
Reckless, W. C., books by, 499, 545*n*.
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 73, 82.
Recreational programs in cities, 492–496.
Reed, T. H., books by, 297, 356; articles by, 106*n*, 260*n*, 277; 123; referred to, 224.
Rees, B. T., book by, 441.
Reformers, political, programs in cities, 214–215; weaknesses of, 215–216; role of in good city government, 604–605.
Registered bonds, use of by cities, 406–407.
Registration, particularly a municipal problem, 143–144; permanent versus periodic, 144; advantages and disadvantages of permanent registration, 144–145; central versus neighborhood, 145–146; essentials of an adequate system of, 146–147.
Reid, K. M., book by, 425*n*, 431.
Reidy, M. F., article by, 383*n*.
Reinhold, Frances L., book by, 371*n*, 372.
Relief, municipal, federal activity in cities, 72–76; city or county function, 480; magnitude of the problem in cities, 480–481; the federal share, 481–483; failure of cities to face problem of, 483; role of private agencies in, 483–484; outdoor and indoor relief, 484–485; cost of, 485; state and federal projects affecting, 485–486.
Rent taxes, 375.
Reporting, municipal, 594–598.
Reports of cities to states, public health, 66; public safety and welfare, 66; education, 66.
Retail type of city, 6–7.
Reuter, E. B., book by, 247*n*.
Revenues, municipal, magnitude of problem of raising, 374; municipal share in the tax dollar, 374; increasing seriousness of problem in cities, 375; search for new sources, 375–376; general-property tax, 376–385; other sources, 385–386.
Revenues of political parties in cities, from candidates, 218–219; assessments on public employes, 219; contributions from business, 220; levies on the underworld, 220–221; miscellaneous, 221.
Reynolds, George M., book by, 198*n*, 217.
Rhode Island, 10, 302*n*.
Rhyne, C. S., book by, 140.
Ridley, C. E., quoted, 325, 326, 328, 336*n*, 416–417, 418–419; books by, 325, 326*n*, 327*n*, 328*n*, 329*n*, 330*n*, 331*n*, 333*n*, 339*n*, 341, 417*n*, 418*n*, 419*n*, 442, 443*n*, 605, 612*n*, 618; articles by, 343*n*, 350*n*, 356, 529; referred to, 598.
Rightor, C. E., book by, 316*n*; article bv, 395*n*, 396*n*, 415.
Rings, political, 196–197.
Riordon, W. L., book by, 182*n*, 217, 227.
Robertson, "Doc," 160.
Robinson-Patman Act, 414.
Rocca, Helen M., book by, 154; articles by, 285*n*, 341.
Rochester, New York, 440, 603.
Rome, 10.
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 68, 86, 224, 453*n*.
Roosevelt, Theodore, book by, 345*n*; referred to, 345.
Rosahn, B. C., article by, 498*n*.
Rose, S. E., article by, 541*n*.
Rotary Club, 253, 332.
Roumbos v. City of Chicago, 137*n*.
Ruef, Abe, 197.
Rural distrust of cities, 50–51.
Russell Sage Foundation, publications of, 499.
Ryan, F. M., books by, 264*n*, 265*n*, 276, 461*n*, 462.
Ryan, Oswald, article by, 310*n*, 314.

Saarinen, Eliel, book by, 23.
Sacramento, California, 458*n*.
Saginaw, Michigan, 387.
Sait, E. M., book by, 154, 155*n*, 165*n*, 171, 195, 217.
Salter, J. T., quoted, 176*n*; book by, 167, 167*n*, 175*n*, 177*n*, 179*n*, 182, 182*n*, 185*n*, 186, 186*n*, 187*n*, 188, 188*n*, 195, 217, 227, 234*n*, 255; book edited, 275*n*, 277; articles by, 191*n*, 538*n*, 542*n*, 544; referred to, 221.
Salt Lake City, Utah, 485.
Salt Lake City v. Hollister, 139*n*.
San Francisco, California, 19, 99, 99*n*, 197, 238, 248, 262, 294, 321, 387, 452, 454, 603.
Sanitary districts, relation of to cities, 102–103.
Sanitation, municipal, sewers and sewage

disposal, 432–436; refuse collection and disposal, 436–441.
Satellite cities, 103–105.
Saturation point in city size, 21–22.
Schlesinger, A. M., book by, 15*n*, 23, 24; article by, 147*n*.
Scholtz, K. W. H., book by, 380*n*, 392.
Schools, public, in cities, relation to city government, 464–466; separate school elections, 466–467; non-partisanship in school elections, 467–468; the school board, 468–471; the superintendent, 471–472; the curriculum, 472–473; cost of, 473–474.
Schramm, G. L., book by, 550*n*, 561.
Seabury Investigation, 220–221, 222.
Sears, J. B., book by, 478.
Seasongood, Murray, book by, 140, 320*n*, 341; article by, 319*n*, 341; referred to, 321.
Seattle, Washington, 265, 413, 423, 452.
Sedgwick, W. T., book by, 436*n*, 437*n*, 442.
Selective service program and cities, 93.
Separate statehood for cities, 51–53.
Serial bonds, use of by cities, 407–408.
Sert, J. L., book by, 23.
Service clubs, as pressure groups, 253–254.
Sewage, importance of adequate disposal of, 433–434; disposition of, 434–436.
Sewerage taxes, 375.
Sewers, general problem of, 432–433; materials used in construction of, 433.
Shanghai, 10.
Shank, Lew, 160, 275.
Shaw, Frank L., 265*n*.
Shaw, G. W., book by, 108.
Shelley, A. N. C., book by, 298.
Shenton, C. G., books by, 278, 297, 557*n*, 561; article by, 481*n*.
Shepperd, Frederick, books by, 525*n*, 526*n*, 530.
Sherrill, Colonel, 319.
Shoup, E. L., article by, 295*n*, 298.
Showalter, J. F., article by, 277.
Shull, C. W., book by, 53.
Shyster lawyers, a problem in cities, 553–554.
Siebenschuh, R. W., book by, 356.
Sigma Xi, 333.
Sikes, P. S., books by, 59*n*, 618.
Simon, H. A., books by, 605, 612*n*, 618; article by, 597*n*, 605; referred to, 598.
Simpson, R. E., article by, 427*n*.
Sims, L. B., article by, 405*n*.
Sinking-fund bonds, use of by cities, 407–408.
Sixteenth Census of the United States, 8*n*, 11*n*, 12*n*, 20*n*, 32*n*.
Small-city classification, 8.
Small-claims courts in cities, 549–551.
Smith, Alfred E., quoted, 99, 284; referred to, 51.
Smith, Bruce, quoted, 505, 511; article by, 505*n*, 511*n*, 512*n*, 530.
Smith, E. E., article by, 277.
Smith, Harry P., book by, 471*n*, 478.
Smith, M., book by, 545*n*.
Smith, R. H., book by, 544, 548*n*, 549*n*, 553*n*, 561; articles edited by, 553*n*.
Social consequences of city growth, crime, 29; political indifference, 29–30; extremes of poverty and wealth, 30–31; foreign colonies, 31; age distribution, 32; vice, 32; birth and death rates, 32; radicalism, 32–33.
Social Security Board, 19*n*, 77, 86.
Social Security Bulletin, chart borrowed from, 499; referred to, 480*n*, 484*n*, 485*n*, 482.
Social security program in cities, 72–77.
Social studies in curriculum of public schools, place of, 473.
Socio-economic cities, 3, 6–7.
Somervell, B. B., quoted, 87–88.
Soule, George, article by, 22*n*.
South Africa, 17.
South Atlantic states, 8.
South Carolina, 10, 68*n*, 119*n*, 121.
South Dakota, 10, 119, 129*n*.
Southern California, University of, 367, 517.
Sowers, D. C., article by, 297.
Special charters, defects of, 117; advantages of, 118.
Spokane, Washington, 262.
Springfield, Illinois, 406.
St. Louis, Missouri, 166, 169, 197, 238, 285, 297, 447, 483, 485, 510, 598.
St. Paul, Minnesota, 529, 603; governmental organization chart of, 303.
Stahl, C. J., book by, 425*n*.
State administrative departments and cities, 46.
State constitutions, as agencies of control over cities, 38–42.
State legislatures, as agencies of control over cities, 42–48.
State v. Thompson, 122*n*.
States and their cities, relations of, grants-in-aid, 56–58; rules prescribed for

guidance, 58–61; review, 61–64; laboratory services, 64; technical advice, 64–65; appointment and removal of local officials, 68.
Statistical services of the federal government to cities, 91.
Staunton, Virginia, 315.
Stecher, G. E., book by, 521*n*.
Steel, E. W., books by, 435*n*, 442, 446*n*.
Steffens, Lincoln, books by, 179*n*, 217, 227, 300*n*, 587*n*; referred to, 179.
Stein, M. F., book by, 449*n*, 463.
Stene, E. O., book by, 70.
Steubenville, Ohio, 384.
Stevenson, Marietta, book by, 57*n*, 63*n*, 65*n*, 70, 479*n*, 480*n*, 499.
Stewart, F. M., article by, 277.
Stoddard, L., book by, 203*n*, 217.
Stone, Donald C., book by, 431, 433*n*, 436*n*, 442.
Stone, Harold A., book by, 341, 521*n*; article by, 337*n*.
Stone, Kathryn, book by, 341; article by, 337*n*.
Stoner, John E., book by, 499.
Story, R. M., book by, 262*n*, 269*n*, 271*n*, 278; article by, 125*n*.
Straus, M. W., book by, 499.
Straus, Nathan, book by, 500; referred to, 497*n*.
Streets, design of, 420; width of, 420–421; surfacing of, 421–422; cost of, 422–423; cleaning of, 423–424; snow removal, 424; sidewalks, 424–425; lighting of, 425–427; excavating of, 427–428; name signs of, 428; planning of, 567–576.
Street railways, municipal, 453.
Studensky, Paul, article by, 370*n*.
Suburban cities, 7.
Subways, municipal, 453–454.
Sullivan, "Big Tim," 202, 208.
Sullivan, Timothy D., Association, 214.
Sumter, South Carolina, 315.
Surplus Commodities Corporation, 75.
Surrounded cities, towns, and villages, the problem of, 105–106.
Sutherland, E. H., book by, 561.
Swan, H. S., article by, 571*n*.
Sweeney, Peter "Brains," 196.
Swift, Stewart, book by, 437*n*, 442.
Syracuse, New York, 529.
Syracuse University, 367.

Taft, Charles P., book by, 216*n*, 320*n*, 341, 595*n*, 605.
Taggart, Thomas, 273.
Tammany Hall, 50, 156, 173, 182, 203, 206, 215, 216, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 234, 243, 245, 284, 459.
Tanzer, L. A., book by, 115*n*.
Tax maps, 380–381.
Tax Systems of the World, 392.
Taylor, Graham, 103*n*.
Taylor, R. E., book by, 399*n*, 400*n*, 410*n*, 402*n*, 403*n*, 404*n*, 415.
Telford, Fred, article by, 366*n*.
Tennessee, 8, 82, 117*n*.
T.V.A., 452.
Texas, 4, 49*n*, 82, 122*n*, 128, 299, 300, 301, 317, 410.
Theatre project, federal, in cities, 89.
Thirteen-thirteen agencies, 107.
Thomas, L. F., book by, 23, 34.
Thomas, Norman, book by, 224*n*, 227, 340*n*.
Thompson, C. D., book by, 461*n*, 463.
Thompson, G. N., book by, 498*n*, 499.
Thompson, J. G., book by, 48*n*, 53.
Thompson, W. S., book by, 22*n*, 23, 34.
Thompson, William Hale, 160, 161, 220, 260, 274, 275, 371.
Thorndike, E. L., book by, 23, 34.
Tobey, James A., articles by, 85*n*, 94, 95.
Toledo, Ohio, 322, 335.
Tooke, Charles W., book by, 140; articles by, 121*n*, 133*n*, 135*n*, 140.
Topeka, Kansas, 387, 598.
Townships and cities, 100.
Traffic regulation, the problem of, 518–519; administration of, 519.
Training for the public service, pre-service, 367–368; in-service, 368–369.
Transportation, as a factor in city growth, 16.
Tripp, H. A., book by, 530.
Trull, Edna, book by, 529*n*, 530.
Tulsa, Oklahoma, 492.
Tuttle, George W., article by, 571*n*.
Tweed Ring, 50, 196–197.
Tweed, William M., 196, 207, 208, 590.
Twin Cities Research Bureau, 392.

Underworld, as a pressure group in cities, 242–243.
Unemployment compensation, 76.
Uniform Vehicle Code, A, 92.
United States Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 92.
United States Bureau of Mines, 92.
United States Census *Abstract, 1930*, 4*n*.
United States Census Bureau, 294.

United States Children's Bureau, reports of, 517*n*, 545*n*, 546*n;* referred to, 86.
United States Civil Service Commission, 92.
United States Conference of Mayors, 74, 106, 144, 145*n*, 154, 271.
United States Department of Agriculture, 86.
United States Department of Commerce, 90.
United States Department of Justice, quoted, 518; report of, 502*n*, 518*n;* referred to, 225, 501.
United States Employment Service, 76–77.
United States Government Master Specifications, 92.
United States Housing Authority, 80, 497.
United States Office of Education, report of, 601, 601*n;* referred to, 90, 91.
United States Public Health Service, quoted, 438; reports of, 437*n*, 439*n*, 449*n*, 463, 491*n;* referred to, 85, 91.
United States Securities and Exchange Commission, 383.
Upson, Lent D., quoted, 522; book by, 350*n*, 351*n*, 406*n*, 407*n*, 431, 438*n*, 448*n*, 463, 478, 499, 522*n*, 576*n*, 605; articles by, 24*n*, 28, 28*n*, 603*n;* referred to, 603.
Urban distribution, among geographical divisions of the United States, 8; among states, 8–9.
Utah, 122, 122*n*, 128*n*.

Van Devander, C. W., book by, 217.
Van Waters, Miriam, book by, 545*n*.
Vare Brothers, 234.
Vare, W. S., 217.
Veiller, L., book by, 498*n*.
Vermont, 68*n*, 302*n*.
Veterans of Foreign Wars, 254.
Veterans' pensions, 77.
Vice in cities, 5, 29, 32.
Vieg, John A., book by, 478.
Virginia, 129*n*, 317, 329, 516.
Virginia, University of, 367.
Vitz, Carl, book edited by, 477*n*, 478.
Vollmer, A., book by, 501*n*, 530.
Voltmer, Harry W., quoted, 148–149, 150–151; study by, 149*n*, 151*n*.
Voting machines, 168–169.
Voting, qualifications for, in cities, 143; stimulation of, 153.

Wager, P. W., article by, 61*n*.
Wagner Act of 1937, 81, 496–497.
Wagner, R. F., 81.
Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, 81, 497*n*.
Waite, E. F., article by, 548*n*.
Waite, Henry M., 316.
Waite, Herbert H., book by, 491*n*, 500.
Wales, 13.
Walker, Harvey, book by, 38; article by, 298.
Walker, James J., 68, 224, 272*n*.
Walker, Mabel L., book by, 584*n;* article by, 269*n*.
Walker, R. A., book by, 586.
Walker, William H., 224.
Wallace, Schuyler C., book by, 56*n*, 60*n*, 64*n*, 66*n*, 68*n*, 70.
Walnut, T. H., article by, 277.
Walter, David A., article by, 53.
Ward organizations of political parties in cities, 189–192.
Ware system of preferential voting, 263.
Warner, Edwin E., article by, 70.
Wartime relations of cities and federal government, 93–94.
Washington, 119, 128, 129*n*, 414.
Washington, D. C., plan of street layout, 568; referred to, 99*n*, 428*n*, 516, 570.
Washington, University of, 517.
Water, public versus private ownership of waterworks in cities, 444; household uses of, 445; industrial uses of, 445–446; public uses of, 446; waste of, 446–447; sources of, 447–448; qualities of good, 448–449; treatment of, 449–450; distribution of, 450–451.
Waterbury, Connecticut, 527.
Water districts, relation to cities, 102.
Waterman, Earle L., book by, 463.
Webb, W. D., book by, 23.
Weber, A. F., book by, 15*n*, 23, 34.
Wegg, Talbot, book by, 499.
Welch, R. B., book by, 392.
Wells, Roger H., book by, 108.
Welsh, O. A., article by, 51*n*.
Wengert, E. S., book by, 392.
Werner, M. R., book by, 203*n*, 217.
West north central states, 8.
West south central states, 8.
West Virginia, 10, 68*n*, 122, 122*n*, 128*n*, 329, 375.
Weston, R. S., book by, 447*n*, 462.
Wheeler v. Philadelphia, 119*n*.
Wheeling, West Virginia, 335, 335*n*.
Whelpton, P. K., book by, 22*n*, 23, 34.
Whipple, G. C., book by, 488*n*, 500.
White, H. Ferris, quoted, 78*n*, 81*n*.
White, Howard, book by, 341.

White, Leonard D., quoted, 326, 327, 338, 444; books by, 70*n*, 315*n*, 321*n*, 323*n*, 325*n*, 332*n*, 336*n*, 338*n*, 341, 347*n*, 356, 359*n*, 367*n*, 373, 444*n*; referred to, 336.
White, M. R., book by, 446*n*, 463.
Whiting, Indiana, 12.
Whitlock, Brand, book by, 278.
Wholesale type of city, 6–7.
Wilcox, D. F., book by, 452*n*, 453*n*, 463.
Williams, F. B., books by, 456*n*, 462, 576*n*, 586.
Williams, S. J., book by 530.
Willoughby, W. F., book by, 343*n*, 356.
Wilmerding, L., book by, 373.
Wilson, O. W., book by, 530.
Wilson, R., article by, 277.
Winnetka, Illinois, 172*n*.
Wirth, Louis, articles by, 34, 586.
Wisconsin, 52, 122, 382, 414.
Wisconsin, University of, 592.
Women's clubs, as pressure groups, 251–252.
Wood, E. E., book by, 498*n*.
Wood, K. D., book by, 95.
Wood, W. J., article by, 552*n*, 561.
Wooddy, C. H., book by, 155*n*, 158*n*, 162*n*, 163*n*, 170.
Woodruff, C. R., book edited by, 308*n*, 314.
Woolpert, E. D., article by, 404*n*, 405*n*, 409*n*, 410*n*, 414.
Woolston, H. B., book by, 33*n*, 34.
Worcester, Massachusetts, 438*n*.
W.P.A., report of, 423*n*, 431; referred to, 19*n*, 74, 75, 78*n*, 79, 84–85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 186, 419, 424, 481, 482, 493, 496, 496*n*, 520, 566.
Wright, Henry, book by, 500.
Wright, Joseph, book edited by, 135*n*, 140, 171, 200*n*, 291*n*.
Wyoming, 119*n*.

Yale University, 517.
Yarros, V. S , article by, 277.
Year Book of the State of Indiana, 55*n*, 59*n*, 66*n*.
Yonkers, New York, 474.
Young Democratic clubs, 159.
Young Republican clubs, 159.

Zeller, Belle, book by, 231*n*, 248*n*, 255.
Zimmerman, Carle C., book by, 34.
Zink, Harold, book by, 39*n*, 167*n*, 169*n*, 173*n*, 197*n*, 202*n*, 203*n*, 204*n*, 205*n*, 206*n*, 207*n*, 208*n*, 209*n*, 210*n*, 211*n*, 214*n*, 217, 220*n*, 222*n*, 234*n*, 238*n*, 239*n*, 243*n*, 244*n*, 247*n*, 270*n*, 272*n*, 278, 295*n*, 297*n*, 303*n*, 371*n*, 555*n*, 590*n*, 604*n*.
Zoercher, P., article by, 61*n*, 70, 409*n*.
Zoning, importance of, 576–577; types of zones, 577–578; effect of, 578; ordinances, 578–579; rezoning, 579.
Zukerman, T. David, book by, 168*n*, 171.