

**THE "MACHINE" ABOLISHED: AND
THE PEOPLE RESTORED TO
POWER, BY THE ORGANIZATION
OF ALL THE PEOPLE ON THE LINES
OF PARTY ORGANIZATION**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649641253

The "Machine" Abolished: And the People Restored to Power, by the Organization of All the People on the Lines of Party Organization by Charles C. P. Clark

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Edited by Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd.
Cover @ 2017

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CHARLES C. P. CLARK, M.D.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK & LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press

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PREFACE TO NEW EDITION

NOTHING could be further from the intention of its founders than the subjection of the government to party rule, or the system of elections which it has developed.* To the citizen who has some conception of a logical method of carrying out a truly representative system, the scene is one of bewilderment, with party forces running wild and the issue in the hands of fate. That orderly pro-

* "In this rise of political parties the philosophy of the Constitution was negated for our fundamental law, unlike those of other modern democracies, was built on the non-party theory and did not contemplate party government. Its architects did not foresee parties. Indeed, for several years after the Constitution was adopted, the term 'party' was used as an expression of reproach. The correspondence of the day teems with illustrations of this important fact. For a considerable time most of the leading men of the period looked with dread upon the growing idea of political parties; and the favorite rebuke to opponents was to accuse them of being a party or a faction, these designations being used interchangeably. The 'Farewell Address' is a solemn warning against political parties almost as much as against foreign alliances." (*Life of John Marshall*, by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 75 and 76).

gress should come out of such confusion could only be in spite of such conditions. The public's sense of sound and sterling qualities when individuals have become the cynosure of popular attention so that character can be judged at large, as in the recent Presidential election, gives assurance that it will choose safely when it has the opportunity. National candidates are usually of such prominence. But the selection for our election of the multitude of lesser candidates is not so protected.

The defects and evils of the existing party rule have supplied ample material for condemnation, culminating in the present national third party movement, which finds its most substantial force and probably only appeal to sound minds, in the dissatisfaction with the old party system. Other such movements have succumbed to the real power under our system, of selfish party organization. No tangible change in that respect is offered. The root of the trouble has become so overgrown, that it is forgotten. This book proposes a definite plan of reform, based on first principles.

A brief glance at political developments since this work appeared nearly a generation ago will explain its re-issue. Its occasion originally was the failure of popular elections operating through the party system in this country to satisfy the faith in representative government. Time has confirmed and emphasized this occasion. But the shock of the War has reached deeper and revealed on a world scale the

need of strengthening popular government if this aspiration for human justice is to survive. As in a geologic upheaval old strata are thrust to the surface, so we have been reminded of the possibilities of reverting to the semi-barbarism of the middle ages or to anarchy. Not only thrones and states have been overthrown, but the idea of government itself has been shaken. If the war was in the name of democracy, and dynasties have been unseated, autocracy has taken new life. Governments have been saved from utter demoralization only by the strong hand of dictators, and the republican theory deliberately set aside. Aside from the War, the progress of society presents new problems of government. Representative government is faced with the necessity of justifying itself as fitted to preserve the popular principle. Meanwhile parties in this country are disintegrating through the disaffection of citizens who no longer identify them with popular causes or trust them. The party system's methods of election are thoroughly discredited.

The plan of popular elections here proposed involves nothing else, or less, than the reinstatement and extension to meet modern conditions, of the principle of intermediate bodies of representative electors in large constituencies, embodied in the federal constitution in the college of Presidential electors, which was not only regarded by the founders, as testified by Hamilton, as vital to representative government, but was the part of the con-

stitution unanimously and uniquely endorsed at the time of its adoption. This principle as the method of elections in large electorates ordained by the constitution, has been nullified by the party system so far as the intention of the founders to put it in direct service of government goes. It illustrates the unconstitutional character, and, at the same time the power of this extra-constitutional party election system. The two were incompatible and the constitution had to give way. There is no other example of such open violence to that instrument. Party's explanation is that the device would not work; the refutation of that would seem to be party's own appropriation and indefinite extension of the principle, in a modified form, in party organization. It has had no trial as a part of our constitutional government, whereas it has served party's ends powerfully. Until this principle, thus cut out at the heart of our original instrument of popular government, is restored, it at least must be said that representative government as designed by the makers of the constitution has not had a trial. Cut off at the root, there has been no opportunity for its beneficent development.

The Republic started with an election plan as simple as the existing conditions and conception of popular government. All the federal constitution contemplated generally was direct voting for elective public officers. It left the qualification of electors to the States, with a guaranty of some form of