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**THE PEOPLE SHALL JUDGE. Readings in the Formation of American Policy. Two volumes. Selected and Edited by the Staff, Social Sciences I, The College of the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949.**

Robert A. East

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appraising the administration of Frank B. Kellogg, successor to Hughes, the author states that Kellogg found morale in the Department at a very low ebb.

One would think that in a history of the Department of State, discussion of our contribution to the procedures, if not to the substance, of international law would be called for. It is true that some cases are discussed briefly, as they related to the administration of this or that Secretary of State. Yet the contributions of our eminent international law scholars, notably John Bassett Moore, receive only passing mention.

One unfortunate fact concerning the format of the book should be mentioned. Footnotes are not placed at the bottom of the page, but are gathered together in a section after the text. This arrangement is a nuisance, to say the least. Perhaps it was decided upon as a move to improve the readability of the text for the casual reader. Yet few popular readers are likely to be found who will have the patience to wade through that vast slough of trivial facts which characterizes the text. It seems that, in view of the nature of the work, this one concession could have been made to the scholarly reader.

There is no question that Prof. Stuart devoted many laborious hours to digging the material for this work out of musty old State Department records. For his industry and diligence he is to be commended highly. However, one is inclined to conclude that the definitive history of the State Department has yet to be written.

WILLIAM G. CORNELIUS

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT  
UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

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THE PEOPLE SHALL JUDGE. Readings in the Formation of American Policy.

Two volumes. Selected and Edited by the Staff, Social Sciences I, The College of the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1949. Vol. 1 Pp. 797, Vol. 2 Pp. 931. \$4.50 per volume.

THE purpose of liberal education at the College of the University of Chicago, where the present anthology was developed after more than five years of preparation and testing, is to produce better citizens of our democracy and of the world. This end is sought by subjecting students to a type of education whereby they are made wise by learning to judge well. By presenting historical documents for study rather than "a summary of the facts of American history," for example, it is hoped that students will develop sound judgment, particularly along the lines of those general topics in our history around which these documents are grouped, e.g., "Authority and liberty in the seventeenth century," "The beginnings of American foreign policy," "Governmental policy for business," etc. . . . Such is the larger purpose behind *The People Shall Judge*, as explained by its editors.

Not only is the educational purpose clear, but a perusal of this handsome collection of several hundred documents will also speedily impress upon the reader the unusually widespread interest in American history in our own time, with particular reference to the origins of American ideas and ideals. A unique feature of this present interest lies in just this sort of documentary collection. Anthologies of historical materials have become numerous in recent years, as has also the collection of other objects of antique interest, such as photographs. The contemporary world, which loves clichés on the one hand, seems also to have become more literally minded, at least in its historical perspective. This tendency needs some thoughtful consideration.

The study of documents is, of course, not an easy thing, particularly when its objective is to increase the student's responsibility for historical interpretation, or to make "everyman his own historian" as the late Carl Becker put it. Take the question of John Locke, from whose writings on government the title of this collection is derived. Locke frequently used the term "people" in a collective sense, and spoke of majority rule with approval; but his whole philosophy is certainly based upon a keen perception of the individual's rights and freedom not only in a state of nature but in society as well. An understanding of Locke's viewpoint obviously necessitates the full employment of all possible scholarly help, and a full knowledge of the whole problem of seventeenth century English political speculation and political events with which Locke was concerned. Certain scholars have spent years on the study of Locke alone, to say nothing of the other several hundred authors herein represented. The high standards of scholarship at the University of Chicago, which accompany the use of these documents, will have to be found wherever else they may be used, or we may all become document-wise and history-foolish.

With such a word of, perhaps, unnecessary warning, one may proceed to leaf through these volumes with the greatest delight. What a wealth of riches is spread before the reader! Here are dignified John Winthrop and doughty John Wise, vigorous proponents of various facets of Puritan thought. (But where is Cotton Mather, who wrote more than all of the others put together?) On the American Revolution we get a sermon by the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, a sermon in high Toryism preached with a brace of pistols on the pulpit. It is here cheek and jowl with the *Common Sense* of the irrepressible, not to say irresponsible, Thomas Paine. Jefferson and Hamilton are of course well represented, opposing each other in death as they had opposed each other in life. John Adams and Jefferson, in their old age exchange thoughts on aristocracy; the former in his usual dour manner, the latter delightfully concluding that "all bigotries hang to one another." Washington expresses the hope for a national university, where the youth of *all parts* of the United States (his italics) might receive "the polish of erudition in the arts, sciences,

and belles-lettres," and where they would also have a chance to study politics at the national capitol.

There is a sober character to the selections in *The People Shall Judge* due to its largely political nature; the touch of American political humorists, for example, is largely lacking; no Artemus Ward or Will Rogers adorns these pages, although we can all rejoice in "Mr. Dooley" on American policy in the Philippines. Social commentary is only indirectly included, foreign commentators being represented by the classical DeTocqueville who made the incisive observation that "in no country in the civilized world is less attention paid to philosophy than in the United States." Of course, he was talking about philosophy in the academic sense, for he immediately added that "without ever having taken the trouble to define the rules, they have a philosophical method common to the whole people."

It was the plain philosophy of democracy which was sweeping the country in the early nineteenth century, and it is herein documented with the better known political speeches and writings: by Jackson, Clay, William Gouge (on paper money) and John L. O'Sullivan (on "Manifest Destiny"). The growing sectional controversy over the tariff and slavery, of course, appears, as in the works of Calhoun and of Fitzhugh (*Sociology for the South, or, the Failure of Free Society*), and we have Webster's familiar reply to Hayne, on the doctrine of nullification: "Sir, I deny the whole doctrine. It has not a foot of ground in the Constitution to stand on." The first volume ends at the point of the Civil War, a tragedy which obscured the promising Yankee transcendentalism of Emerson and Thoreau, but at least called forth the manly prose of Abraham Lincoln. It is regrettable that the nature of this work precluded more of Thoreau, the essayist, than is found in "Civil Disobedience." Some of the selections from Lincoln are less revealing on political aspects of the Civil War than would have been his masterful Cooper Union Address, which is not included.

The second volume of *The People Shall Judge* continues largely political in character, with some polemical material on the "trusts" and labor problems, plus notable decisions by the courts. The content ranges all the way from Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," to the amazing *Autobiography* of Lincoln Steffens, Wilson's "Peace Without Victory," "The Commonwealth Club Address" of F. D. R. in 1932, Robert A. Taft, "On the Governmental Guarantee of Full Employment," Henry Steele Commager, "Who is Loyal to America?" David E. Lilienthal on TVA, Chancellor Hutchins on World Order, Vishinsky before the United Nations Assembly, Bernard Baruch on control of Atomic Energy, President Truman, James E. Forrester, Dean Acheson, and many others on a great variety of present day problems. The reader has an almost endless bill of political fare from which to choose.

What is perhaps most noticeable between the contents of these two volumes is the more philosophical or speculative character of the earlier documents as compared with those of more recent decades. With more exceptions, such as reports of several U. N. commissions, plus certain war speeches, and Wilkie's *One World*, the practical and factual nature of the more contemporary documents is quite evident. This is another proof of our literal-mindedness, and it is not very reassuring. Even after one discounts our natural tendency to glorify the past, and admitting that time has not yet winnowed out the wheat from the chaff of more recent writings, it is still disquieting to find so little emphasis today on theory and principles in political matters. Statutes have tended to replace constitutional principles, and statistics have sometimes overshadowed humanity. The people are going to have a hard time to judge if they continue to be snowed under by details and figures.

But judge they must, and if there is any one thing that stands out after reviewing these documents it is that our political traditions are strong and fine, an inspiration for judgment. It is true that only a few "reactionary" documents are included here (such as the Constitution and Ritual of the Knights of the White Camellia, 1869, a lamentable document which must be ascribed to the tragedy of Reconstruction), but then there have been relatively few of these in our history. If our problems continue, so does our optimism; and only optimism can enable us to proceed with the responsibilities which we have either assumed or have had thrust upon us, as in the field of foreign relations. That this is the increasingly new field with which Americans must grapple, the latter part of this political collection makes abundantly clear, in case anyone is still in doubt. Discussions of "world order" are numerous.

These documents and the topics under which they are arranged have brief but adequate editorial introductions for the benefit of the reader. One criticism, however, is that it is not always made clear at what time a particular document first appeared. "Dates" sometimes give valuable historical insight despite the general disrepute into which they have recently fallen. Of course, it is impossible not to sympathize with honest John Adams when he lamented to Jefferson that, after having written on a certain subject for nearly thirty years, "I have been so unfortunate as never to be able to make myself understood." In such a case, Adams probably did not consider dates to be too important, either!

ROBERT A. EAST

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY  
BROOKLYN COLLEGE