

INDIANA POLICY

Review

'A future that works'



A More Perfect Citizenry?

*The government finds residents of one
Indiana neighborhood inadequate.*

*In Congress, July 4, 1776,
the unanimous declaration of the thirteen United
States of America:*

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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A FUTURE THAT WORKS

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- Exalt the truths of the Declaration of Independence, especially as they apply to the interrelated freedoms of religion, property and speech.
- Emphasize the primacy of the individual in addressing public concerns.
- Recognize that equality of opportunity is sacrificed in pursuit of equality of results.

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CHARLESTOWN, INDIANA

When government decides it wants a more perfect citizenry.

by JOHN KERR

Barb Coda has lived in her humble Charlestown, Indiana, home for 35 years. Before her husband died recently, he built a wheelchair ramp and enlarged the door frames so his 70-year-old wife could age more comfortably in the Pleasant Ridge neighborhood residence where they had spent much of their lives and raised four children.

A few blocks away sits the Pleasant Ridge duplex occupied by Tina Barnes. The home has been in the family of the 51-year-old medical receptionist since the 1950s. Ms. Barnes shares one side of the residence with her two granddaughters while her disabled adult daughter occupies the other, providing her a measure of autonomy and independence.

Not much comes easy for the residents of Charlestown's working-class Pleasant Ridge area, which dates back to World War II when the Army needed housing for a new munitions plant built in town. But few in the neighborhood were prepared for the news last year that the city's mayor wanted them out of their homes — and might try to force them to leave if necessary.

Bob Hall in 2011 narrowly won re-election to a third, four-year term as mayor of Charlestown, a town of 7,700 people located about a half hour north of Louisville across the Ohio River. Mr. Hall, a Republican, received 51.4 percent of the vote to edge out his Democratic opponent, who favored building a filtration plant to treat the town's water (an expenditure that the incumbent opposed).

Halfway through Mr. Hall's current term, however, Charlestown's water system was no longer the municipality's most contentious issue. Instead, the mayor raised eyebrows when he recommended in May 2014 that the City Council approve a plan to demolish all 354 properties in Pleasant Ridge to clear the way for a large mixed-use private development that would generate higher tax revenues. The neighborhood, Mr. Hall said, was run down, meant to be temporary and occupied by transients. Never mind that the homes were built 70 years ago, many of them are neatly kept and scores of the residents have lived there for decades.

The mayor insisted the city would treat all property owners in Pleasant Ridge fairly, but at the same time suggested that those who didn't voluntarily sell risked eminent domain proceedings.

"Disbelief was my first reaction," Ms. Barnes recalls upon learning last June that her house might be razed. "You can't just



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

take my home. Then I got mad because they really thought they could. They honestly believed that they can have my property to put a bigger house on it."

Barb Coda, like Tina Barnes and many of her other neighbors, had no interest in relinquishing her longtime residence — and no place to go if it were taken from her. The \$40,000 house was paid for, and she got along on a monthly Social Security

check that afforded her self-sufficiency and the dignity that went along with it. "I didn't want my kids to have to help me," she says. "And they were going to take all that away, take my house and degrade me. There's no way I can pay a mortgage or rent and live on my own."

The uncertainty weighed heavily on many of the area's elderly residents. Ms. Coda worried so much over the thought of leaving her home that she lost 65 pounds last year. "We were all scared to death," she says.

The story surrounding Charlestown's land grab might be lost amid similar examples across the country highlighting the disturbing willingness of public officials to desecrate property rights in the name of economic redevelopment. But the Pleasant Ridge case features a troubling twist. To subsidize the acquisition of the properties, the city targeted a fund financed through a congressional initiative designed to help families avoid foreclosure and remain in their homes.

In other words, Charlestown officials not only invoked the specter of eminent domain to compel the transfer of property from one private owner to a more favored one, they intended to run people out of their residences with taxpayer dollars set aside to achieve the opposite.

Some background: In September and October of 2008, stock markets lost trillions of dollars in value and the housing bubble exploded leaving millions of Americans agonizing over hemorrhaging retirement accounts and mortgages dwarfing the value of their homes. Washington policymakers cobbled together legislation they hoped would mitigate the distress. The result included the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), which authorized the U.S. Department of Treasury to purchase assets from banks and other financial institutions in an attempt to stabilize markets and strengthen balance sheets.

The comprehensive bill — signed into law by President George W. Bush and later overseen by the Obama Administration — led to the establishment of two primary programs dealing with homeownership, the Making Home

Congress never intended that money for programs created to help families meet or reduce their mortgage obligations would be diverted under the guise of fighting blight.

Affordable Program and the Hardest Hit Fund. Congress designated Indiana as one of 18 states eligible for relief under the Hardest Hit Fund and the state subsequently received, according to the Treasury website, \$221.7 million to “develop locally tailored programs to assist struggling homeowners in their communities.” An Indiana Foreclosure Prevention Network flier produced to attract participants promised: “This is your home. We’ll help save it.”

If anything, the folks in Charlestown’s Pleasant Ridge neighborhood — many of modest means, striving to make ends meet — might have qualified under the Hardest Hit Fund for assistance, which included mortgage subsidies for the unemployed, principal reduction and help covering second mortgages. Little did they realize, though, that Indiana’s cut of a federal program intended to save and preserve distressed neighborhoods might instead be drawn on to bulldoze theirs.

In February 2014, Indiana reached agreement with the Treasury Department to set aside \$75 million of its Hardest Hit Fund money to create the Blight Elimination Program. It allowed municipalities to seek grants from the Indiana Housing and Community Development Authority “for the demolition and acquisition of blighted... residential structures.” The state’s Association for Community Economic Development explained that the goal of the Blight Elimination Program was “to stabilize residential property values and prevent foreclosures in Indiana neighborhoods and communities.” This implies that the blight program was established to help cities clear abandoned structures from functioning neighborhoods in an effort to maintain or boost surrounding property values, not to kick people out of their homes and eradicate entire communities.

Indeed, Congress never intended that money for programs created to help families meet or reduce their mortgage obligations would be diverted under the guise of fighting blight. At the same time, Indiana law — strengthened in 2006 in response to the Supreme Court of the United States’ Kelo decision, which sanctioned government land seizures on behalf of private developers — prohibits using eminent domain for private development, with a few narrow exceptions.

None of this deterred Charlestown officials, however, who wasted little time assembling an application seeking \$5.3 million — about \$15,000 per residence — from the Hardest Hit Fund to lay waste to Pleasant Ridge. The submission, dated June 16, 2014, included a resolution from the City Council designating

every structure in the neighborhood as blighted, a determination based on modern design factors and embraced by a consultant who also concluded that all 354 homes in the area suffered from intractable lead, asbestos and mold issues. It was charged, though, that the consultant had never been inside most of the properties and had an interest in a business that stood to gain from the city’s redevelopment plan.

Other documents included in the application were riddled with grammatical and syntax errors, such as one passage arguing that the proposed destruction of the neighborhood “does what the (Blight Elimination Program) is wanting by eliminated a blighted area.” Another maintained that if the state approved Charlestown’s grant request, “Within a few months all the housing developments would start, the acceleration of the strip mall and our empty store fronts will start to fill.”

Perhaps to clean up such issues, perhaps to quiet a growing number of critics — even on the City Council — the city pulled the application in early July. But the mayor promised to resubmit his proposal before a November deadline.

As the mayor and city staff regrouped, residents of Pleasant Ridge mobilized. Unwilling to sit idly by and become victims of this potential injustice, Tina Barnes, Barb Coda and dozens of their neighbors channeled their shock and anger into activism. With help from the Institute for Justice, a public-interest law firm that litigates in defense of property rights, they fought back by voicing their opposition at city meetings, establishing a petition drive, holding a neighborhood yard sale to raise money and even throwing a block party, complete with live music, to rally residents.

As part of this show of solidarity, Josh Craven, an exterminator by trade, formed the Charlestown Pleasant Ridge Neighborhood Association with the goal of bringing the community “back to life and making it a better place.” Mr. Craven, who has owned his Pleasant Ridge property for 34 years, concedes that the neighborhood needs attention and improvement — but that given the means and opportunity, most residents have the pride and enterprise to do something about it.

John Kerr is a communications fellow with the Institute for Justice, a public-interest law firm in Arlington, Va. He wrote this for the foundation.



Mr. Craven assembled residents to participate in a rehabilitation and beautification effort, something city officials might have been wise to consider before simply advocating for the wrecking ball. Once or twice a month, Mr. Craven and a group of volunteers — in an effort that continues today — targeted a few areas for cleanup or landscape work, cutting grass, pulling weeds, painting or performing other tasks that many elderly residents are unable to accomplish themselves. On the third Tuesday of each month, the association holds an open meeting, allowing residents to voice their thoughts or concerns about neighborhood developments.

Mr. Craven says the mayor of Charlestown was unimpressed. “He thinks it’s all a joke,” Mr. Craven observes.

Mayor Hall plowed forward and on Nov. 3 the city submitted its revised application for blight elimination funds. It sought \$3.7 million to remove 192 homes — the properties city officials believed they could acquire voluntarily, although some landlords had agreed to sell only to avoid the threat of excessive fines levied through selective enforcement of the city code. That left 162 residential structures — some 47 percent of the neighborhood — whose owners refused to go along with the redevelopment proposal.

At a spirited Dec. 1 meeting of the Charlestown City Council, Mayor Hall protested that he harbored only honorable intentions. But he acknowledged, according to the minutes of the meeting, that the private developer’s financial commitment to

the Pleasant Ridge makeover depended on acquiring every home in the neighborhood. When pressed by Councilman Danny James to expound on how the city might obtain the homes of unwilling sellers so the project could move forward, the mayor was noncommittal.

Several Pleasant Ridge residents in attendance — forced relocation now hanging over their heads for half a year — pleaded for a resolution. Mayor Hall sought a vote of confidence from the council, a show for both the state and the developer that the city was committed to supporting the redevelopment plan.

A week later on Dec. 8, at a meeting that went late into the night, the City Council rejected the mayor’s plan to raze the neighborhood and turn it over to private developers. The effort to demolish Pleasant Ridge was dead.

“Christmas has come early to Charlestown,” Tina Barnes remarked after the decision. What happened in Charlestown reflected a perverse mix of deceitful moral indifference and arrogant disdain for the law. But it was also an encouraging reminder of the power wielded by engaged and motivated citizens willing to fight for their rights.

“It’s really shocking that they would even try something of that nature,” Josh Craven said of his neighborhood’s proposed destruction. “Ninety percent of the people don’t stand up to it. They just give in because you’re fighting the government and what can you do? Who has the money to fight back? But in some cases, it doesn’t take money. It just takes people.” Q

What happened in Charlestown reflected a perverse mix of deceitful moral indifference and arrogant disdain for the law.

No matter what you do, modern liberals will tell you you’re wrong. For decades, liberals complained that American society is segregated because rich, white people don’t want to live in ethnically mixed neighborhoods. Sometimes, liberals had a point. From the 1930s to 1960s, as rich white people moved into New York City, urban planner Robert Moses got city bureaucrats to condemn and destroy busy black neighborhoods. The city called the neighborhoods ‘blighted’ and moved many of the poor into rent-subsidized apartment complexes called ‘projects.’ Many quickly became slums. Now times have changed. Some rich, white people want to move into poorer, non-white neighborhoods because they like diversity (and cheaper real estate). So today the newcomers are attacked by liberals because they cause ‘gentrification.’ Movie director Spike Lee, who lives in Brooklyn, said gentrifiers behave almost like ‘Columbus and kill off the Native Americans.’ Of course, the new gentrifiers don’t actually kill anyone, but because their arrival often leads to rising real estate values, critics complain that they drive poor people out of the neighborhood. Two women in Brooklyn got so angry about it, they pulled out a gun, forced two white people out of an apartment and moved in (they were later arrested). Columbia urban planning professor Stacey Sutton calls gentrification a ‘manifestation of inequality’ that may ‘fundamentally alter the culture and character of the neighborhood’ in ways that hurt the poor. Yet her own school did something worse. In court, the school argued that it had the right to take neighbors’ land because it would ‘benefit West Harlem.’ Who owns the land is something that ought to be decided not by government but by free people.

— John Stossel in the March 25 *Patriot Post*

THE EDUCATION DOLLAR

Common Core is only the latest reason to doubt the worth of federal aid.

Commentary on recent education essays touching on the theme of the spring cover article, "Let's Get It Right."

by ANDREA NEAL

(March 27) — After almost two years on the State Board of Education, I've reached a conclusion that shatters previous notions I had about federalism and local control of schools.

Hoosiers don't determine education policy in Indiana. The federal government does. Whether through the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) or its companion waiver program overseen by Education Secretary Arne Duncan, states have been stripped of their constitutional responsibility for operating schools.

Almost nothing that comes before the state board escapes the inevitable litmus test: Would the feds allow it? A far better question would be: What's best for our children?

Case in point: The waiver-renewal application just filed by the Indiana Department of Education contains 470 pages of explanations and examples of ways in which Indiana will submit to federal mandates. The needs of children go unmentioned.

In exchange for obedience, Indiana gets \$1.2 billion a year to apply to its education budget with flexibility in spending Title 1 funds in low-income schools. That's about 10 percent of Indiana's total education budget. According to one analysis, the money we receive from the feds may be just enough to cover the costs of complying with their mandates.

Dr. Maryann O. Keating, writing in the current issue of the quarterly *Indiana Policy Review*, notes, "Educational grants come with detailed federal directives, depriving state and local officials of the flexibility to address issues effectively and taxpayers' ability to determine local priorities rather than those of federal regulators in Washington."

State legislators are unwitting abettors. Every time they craft legislation designed to assert authority over schools, they throw in language to make sure the state won't be sanctioned by the feds. In the end, they sabotage their own efforts to regain control.

Consider Senate Bill 91, the 2014 law that removed Indiana from the Common Core initiative, the movement to create uniform "college and career-ready" academic standards in all 50 states. Critics call Common Core a direct attack on state sovereignty over education.



Lisa Barnum, graphic design

The bill, in its final form, directed the state board to adopt new standards to replace Common Core as long as they "comply with federal standards to receive a flexibility waiver under 20 U.S.C. 7861, as in effect on Jan. 1, 2014."

As a result, Indiana ended up with "new" academic standards that are at minimum 85 percent Common Core or Common Core paraphrased. The feds made clear they'd grant no waivers to states that didn't have "college and

career-ready" standards, assessments tied to those standards and teacher evaluations based significantly on test scores. The safest bet — as states quickly learned — was to adopt standards that looked a lot like Common Core. That was not the intent of SB 91.

It's happening again during the current legislative session. Sen. Luke Kenley's SB 566 would replace the ISTEP test, currently undergoing a costly redesign, with a cheaper off-the-shelf test such as the Iowa Assessments. The idea is to obtain data we need to compare our students to national and international peers at a fraction of the cost.

Somewhere along the way, the bill was amended to become a paeon to the federal waiver process. "The state board shall ensure that applications for obtaining and renewing necessary flexibility waivers under Section 9401 of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended and reauthorized under the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 ... are timely filed," says the bill's latest rendition.

Many of my colleagues on the state board have publicly welcomed the federal role, which they say has forced states with subpar schools to improve or face severe penalties ranging from state takeover to closure.

Since passage of NCLB, Indiana can brag of modest improvements in test scores on the ISTEP and NAEP, but there's no evidence that this has resulted from federal intervention. More likely it's the result of "teaching to the test" — focusing instruction on math and reading in order to perform better on the tests that determine school-accountability grades.

Likewise, two national studies released in March 2015 theorize that small gains on student scores in the wake of Common Core are the result of changes in instructional methods keyed to testing formats. Both of the studies, by the Brookings Brown Center on Education Policy and the National

Center for Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education Research, say more analysis is needed.

One unintended consequence of all this federal meddling is the displacement of key stakeholders — parents, teachers, school administrators, even the State Board of Education — in decision-making.

It's time to cut the federal strings that are literally tying our hands. Congress's ability to oversee education has been completely discredited by the No Child Left Behind law, which created annual improvement goals deemed unreachable by all experts. Indiana lawmakers are fully capable of setting our own goals for Indiana schools, based on the ideas and evidence presented by Indiana parents, school leaders and teachers.

Andrea Neal, an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a member of the State Board of Education and a teacher at St. Richard's Episcopal School in Indianapolis.

Common Core to the Rescue?

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(March 12) — The most recent issue of *The Indiana Policy Review*, Dr. Maryann O. Keating describes the priorities of the key “stakeholders” in K-12 education: a) parents and children; b) the general public, including future employers; and c) providers of educational services, including school teachers and staff (public, private or for-profit), testing services and textbook publishers.

Dr. Keating leads us into a discussion of recent reform — most notably No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and Common Core. It's noteworthy that the reforms have been largely bipartisan. This tells us that the status quo was — and still is — broadly viewed as ineffective, and it indicates that the reforms have had strong intuitive appeal.

In the past, spending more money seemed like an obvious strategy. Now, however, it is patently obvious that this has been ineffective. (Nationally, we spend more than \$12,000 per student—more than \$300,000 per classroom of 25 students.)

Is the emphasis on testing in NCLB based on more reliable intuition? Testing can certainly be a useful method for assessment, teaching and learning. But scratching just below the surface, there are obvious reasons for concern. Standardized testing is imperfect and not completely objective. Effective testing is costly to construct. And any testing takes time away from teaching content.

If rewards and penalties are involved with test results, there is an incentive to “teach to

the test,” sacrificing learning in the pursuit of better test scores. And if test performance is judged as pass/fail, students at that margin will probably receive disproportionate attention, because their performance becomes key to how a school will be assessed.

If we connect test scores to school funding, how do you reward and penalize effectively and equitably? If you pay for success, then poorly-performing schools will receive less money, making it more difficult to improve. If you give them more money, then you necessarily incentivize schools to under-perform. (Similar problems arise with connecting test scores to teacher pay.)

Dr. Keating also notes the “race to the bottom” stirred by the incentives inherent in NCLB. The hope is that testing is an objective and accurate manner to judge learning against objective and accurate performance standards. But in practice, standards can fade through easier tests and lower score thresholds for “success.” Keating describes all of this as “unintended and unanticipated.”

Yes and no. Nobody intends these consequences, but it's easy to anticipate these consequences. (In fact, we covered this topic for years in the first Econ course at Indiana University Southeast.) One might be surprised by the size of the consequences but only sloppy policy analysis could lead one to be surprised by the existence of these consequences.

Since NCLB didn't seem to be helpful, and given concerns about fading standards, the government has established national standards (Common Core) and subsidized a “race to the top.” But can this approach be reasonably expected to work? Perhaps we should anticipate a similar article from Dr. Keating a decade from now — on the “unintended and unanticipated” consequences of the latest faddish education reform.

Let's speak to root issues. Arguably, the top problem in education is social: problems with family structure and stability. But we live in a context in which government encourages broken homes through welfare policies. In any case, fixing this problem through public policy is somewhere between difficult and impossible. So, what's the best we can do, given those constraints?

At present, we rely on government-run schools to deliver most K-12 educational services. And for parents in the lower- and middle-income classes, government schools have tremendous monopoly power over “consumers.” It seems odd to have faith in government-run monopolies, but those with this faith must explain why the current system

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— SCHANSBERG

FOLLOWING UP

“There is a circular pattern to the government intrusion. The National Council of State Legislatures concludes that, at best, federal funding may come close to covering compliance costs but not the costs required to bring children up to proficiency, which, of course, was the rationale for the aid in the first place.”

— LADWIG

is not working well and why reforms like NCLB and Common Core should be effective.

Another consideration: As Dr. Keating notes, “good education . . . evolves from give and take, success and failure.” But again, this is less likely with monopolies and the government, particularly the federal government.

Research shows that great teachers can make a huge difference, but it is difficult to measure what makes a great or even a good teacher. As with NCLB, any performance-pay system will lead to some perverse incentives.

In all of this, should we try to regulate a monopoly — or just let schools and consumers figure all of this out through competition? In most contexts, we rely on markets. We don’t set up a government-run monopoly to distribute food or veterinary care — and then try to regulate that monopoly to be effective.

Many policy options would provide more competition in K-12 education. We can encourage charter schools (public schools with less funding but more autonomy), educational vouchers (equivalent to food stamps to feed people) or “backpack” funding (in which funding follows students to the school of their choice). None of these are panaceas, but they increase competition and invite the market to do what markets generally do — provide choices with effective results, delivered with efficiency.

Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation is professor of economics at Indiana University Southeast.

Unachievable Goals

by CRAIG LADWIG

(March 9) — Could Indiana live without 12 percent of its education budget, the \$1.2 billion coming from Washington each year? The answer is yes if you trust cost-benefit analysis.

An expert in that field, Dr. Maryann O. Keating, writing in the current issue of the quarterly *Indiana Policy Review*, raises an even more troubling question: Does that 12 percent have anything to do with education whatsoever?

“Certainly, the \$1.2 billion yields some directed benefits,” Dr. Keating wrote as she began the project. “But economists stress opportunity costs and the value of foregone options. For example, state revenue necessary for implementation of federal programs can be a cost that translates into a specified decrease in classroom teachers.”

The data soon came rolling in: 1) Projections from both the Government Accounting Office and Accountability Works greatly underestimated funds required to implement federal goals; 2) a study suggests that federal

aid in one state covered as little as 8 percent of the required increase in per-student educational expenditures; and 3) after passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), per-student educational expenditures increased by 7.8 percent.

Any accountant trying to assign an exact dollar cost to Indiana’s federal aid would have to throw up his hands in dismay because it cannot be measured in mere percentages. Rather, it must be measured in magnitudes or even universes. Indeed, the word aid is suspect; it’s more like when the Mafia becomes your “partner.”

There is a circular pattern to the government intrusion. The National Council of State Legislatures concludes that, at best, federal funding may come close to covering compliance costs but not the costs required to bring children up to proficiency, which, of course, was the rationale for the aid in the first place.

Nonetheless, Title I, the funnel through which all of that aid must pass, a program set to expire a half century ago, goes on forever, its purpose twisted beyond recognition. Let Dr. Keating help us count the ways:

Mission Creep — “The explicit priority of Title I was not education in general but to provide equitable education to children in low-income schools. The expansion of Title I (through NCLB) represented the largest single federal involvement ever in education.”

Perversity — “Federal government subsidies such as Title I ostensibly designed to target disadvantaged students instead have locked them into low-quality education.” The perverse result has been that states play the system in a “race to the bottom,” testing so as to win more federal money.

Broken Promises — Despite the fact that NCLB specifically prohibited national testing or a federally controlled curriculum, a system of such standards (Common Core) is seen as the only way Washington can combat the gamesmanship that its rules encourage.

Bureaucratic Scatter — “Even when implementation of these unfunded federal mandates are perceived to yield positive local benefits, there is often a tangential relationship between the grants and benefits. For example, the lists of grants offered in return for implementation of NCLB are not necessarily targeted to improving education in general.”

Lost Accountability — “State officials, bound by federal regulations, are not held responsible for the costs and failures of the projects they administer. Although states are free to decline to participate in these programs, it is politically costly to forfeit lucrative grants when taxpayers see their federal taxes sent elsewhere.”

The Devil Loves an Impossible Task — “The most painful lesson learned is that NCLB’s goal of having 100 percent of all students show mastery on standardized tests by 2014 was unachievable, and that some harm may have been done in trying to achieve the unattainable.”

Education Cronyism — “Throughout the United States, over 1,800 companies have their names on approved provider lists for supplemental educational services, such as tutoring. Local school districts must set aside up to 20 percent of their total Title I federal grant money for the combination of either a transfer-choice option or supplemental educational services.” Dr. Keating, citing Geyer School in Fort Wayne, adds that “closing a school and transferring these students to schools with better scores does not address the problems of students failing to make adequate progress.”

Now let’s apply the same analytical skills to how much Indiana’s Collective Bargaining Act costs our individual school districts.

Craig Ladwig is editor of the journal.

Restoring Self-Government

by JOY PULLMANN

(March 25) — Indiana’s current debate over government’s role in education mirrors the national debate, which has resurfaced as Congress considers bills to rewrite No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the central federal-education law. Republican leaders in Congress had to pull a vote on one of those rewrites for lack of conservative votes after constituents peppered lawmakers with complaints that the new proposal was too much like the old.

Republican leaders may not have noticed, but NCLB’s painful effects have undone the “bipartisan compromise” that created it. More federal direction over education has not increased student achievement, and everyone knows it. But it has introduced even more pain and frustration into U.S. classrooms. Schools now spend less time teaching core classes that don’t face federally mandated tests — history and science — and far more time in “benchmark testing,” or testing children every few weeks to gauge their trajectory toward the federally mandated math and reading tests come spring.

Earth to Congress: Parents and teachers have noticed what happens when you get your sticky fingers into local schools, and they don’t like it. If lawmakers paid attention to realities that economists uncovered decades ago, such as the information problem and law of unintended consequences, we could have avoided the present mess. In “Education Reform: Let’s Get It Right,” Dr. Maryann O. Keating’s recent paper for

The Indiana Policy Review, we see the federal government’s limits recognized and applied to America’s current schooling system. Further, we see the limits of government itself, placed in tension with America’s historic regard for public provision of education as an essential component for a free society.

Perhaps the central difficulty about education, as Dr. Keating notes, is that it is what economists call both “a private good” and “a public good.” Education benefits both the individual who partakes in it and his community, especially in representative systems such as ours. As James Madison put it: “The advancement and diffusion of knowledge is the only guardian of true liberty.” One of the great ideas of the American experiment was that people could rule themselves. And self-government requires moral and intellectual virtue. So early in American life, families and local communities established schools to secure and perpetuate the special kind of government they considered necessary for liberty.

At some point in American history, however, government and education, these two creatures of the people, got pretty big for their britches. They moved from functioning at the people’s direction into functioning at the direction of those previously appointed to carry out the people’s bidding. Education commissioners and lawmakers at all levels moved from being public servants to being public masters. During approximately the same era, the federal role in education began, despite an utter lack of constitutional authority.

As Keating concludes: “The increasing control over family and education is taking America in a new direction, away from the free association of self-governing individuals toward a society of obedient dependents who exchange their freedom and responsibilities for federal funds.”

This is a discussion Americans and Hoosiers want to have. We are realizing the Tenth Amendment’s wisdom because we live with the consequences of ignoring it for decades. Our state lawmakers should begin by putting exact figures to the cost of complying with federal dictates. They should re-imagine the possibilities for an Indiana education system freed from counterproductive micromanagement from inexperienced, ideological bureaucrats. And they should consider the many well-demonstrated civic, financial and cultural benefits of restoring self-government to education.

My children don’t have another decade to wait, and neither do anyone else’s.

Joy Pullmann is managing editor of The Federalist. She wrote this for the foundation.

“As Keating concludes:
“The increasing control
over family and education
is taking America in a
new direction, away from
the free association of
self-governing individuals
toward a society of
obedient dependents who
exchange their freedom
and responsibilities
for federal funds.”

— PULLMANN

Assessing Charters

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(*March 10*) — Tim Ehrgott, a former charter president, has done a fine job with a limited form of statistical analysis assessing the performance of charter schools. Let me comment on his work, extend it a bit further, and then explain how difficult it is to measure these things well.

Ehrgott starts by discussing the simplest comparisons between non-charter public (NCP) schools and charter public (CP) schools, using Indiana's A-F "school grading" system. With these broad comparisons, CP schools fare poorly.

But populations at CP schools are not nearly the same as those at NCP schools, so one is left wondering whether we're comparing apples and oranges — or apples and rocks. (This is similar to other popular but facile comparisons — *e.g.*, between the average income of men and women, looking at all men and women while failing to account for differences in other variables, such as level and type of education, number of hours worked, experience, etc.) Such analysis is not only simple, but obviously simplistic.

Ehrgott improves on this by looking at correlations between school grades and one key variable at a time — "Free and Reduced Lunch" (SES) or "Ethnicity" — for CP and NCP schools. If schools have a similar population (as defined by SES or Ethnicity), how do they perform? Then, he looks at the correlation between school grades and two key variables: SES and Ethnicity. Finally, he analyzes Marion County separately, restricting the data set — or in a sense, he looks at two more pairs of variables (location along with SES or Ethnicity). In all of these cases, using more rigorous analysis, NCP schools still seem to outperform CP schools. But we know that there are other variables at play.

Another concern is the arbitrary reclassification of "continuous variables" into categories. Explaining this in English: in turning all B's into a single category called "B" (whether a low B or a high B), we're treating all B's as equivalent. Likewise, when you treat all members of the 5th quintile of SES the same, you're implicitly saying that an SES of 81 percent is equivalent to an SES of 100 percent. In a word, when you reduce an entire grading scale to five grading categories — and a full range of 0-100 percent to five quintiles — you necessarily suppress quite a bit in the data.

Fortunately, there are more sophisticated methods to deal with these limitations. Multiple regression models allow one to assess the quantitative impact of multiple variables and to take advantage of continuous data. When I saw Ehrgott's paper, I was excited about the opportunity to bring my skills to the project and see if the results would differ.

The good news for Ehrgott's analysis is that his results hold with the more sophisticated analysis. SES and Ethnicity are more impressive variables, statistically but being a CP school in Indiana turns out to be "statistically significant" and negatively correlated with school grades. The bad news is that my more sophisticated analysis still does not inspire much confidence.

Let me offer a number of caveats to my analysis and Ehrgott's:

1. We're assuming that the state's grading scale is reasonably accurate — and at least, unbiased. If CP schools are routinely

graded low — because they are charters — then the results are being influenced by a huge missing variable.

2. We're assuming that the state's grading scale is a reasonable measure of the "quality" of a school. Beyond that, it would be a mistake to ignore other considerations. First, CP schools provide choice to parents and children — which is valuable in itself. (If parents are choosing CP schools, they must perceive that it's a good decision for their children — on some metric, probably something we're not measuring.) Second, CP schools receive far less funding. They may well be more efficient than NCP schools. And they might perform better with more equitable funding. (Opponents of CP schools often claim that funding is a crucial factor, so I'm confident that they are sympathetic on this point.)

3. In these results, the identity of the authorizer does not seem to matter. The larger authorizers have similar results and the smaller authorizers do not present enough data to analyze them separately.

4. These are only general results. So, any given CP school — or any given authorizer — could be relatively effective. Perhaps Indiana's charter legislation is relatively ineffective. Perhaps CP schools in Indiana have chosen an ineffective approach for some reason. And so on.

A far larger concern: The multiple regression model has a "low R-squared." In English: The variables in the model do not explain much of the variation in school grades. This shouldn't be all that surprising. Surely, many other variables matter — beyond ethnicity, SES, whether one is a CP or a NCP school, and which authorizer is used. (In fact, opponents of CP schools are fond of telling us this when we try to measure their effectiveness.)

For example, are CP schools with "Education Management Organizations" (EMO's) more or less effective? Are CP schools more effective with K-5 than middle school or high school? Are CP schools concentrated in areas with high concentrations of family instability or low levels of parents' education — important variables not included in our data? If we don't (or can't) identify and measure those variables, then the model will be (far) less impressive. This is a limitation of the available data and the nature of a question that is difficult to quantify.

It is likely that these other variables would (and should) carry the "weight" this analysis ascribes being a CP or a NCP school. If a missing variable correlates with being a CP school, then the "real" explanation could be the missing variable, rather than whether the school is a CP or a NCP school. As another example, CP schools may provide more competition for NCP schools, encouraging improvement in NCP schools that we would not be measuring here.

Finally, as I've indicated above, school grades are not a particularly impressive way to measure quality. Far better than what we've done: using data at the individual student level, over time, based on more objective and specific forms of evaluation (*e.g.*, standardized test scores). The best research on educational success will look at individual students, holding all of these variables constant, measuring each student's year-to-year improvement in standardized test scores at both CP and NCP schools.

Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., is a professor of economics at Indiana University Southeast.

THE SOUTH WALL

A grumpy review of the post-modern media

More Junk Journalism from the Ind Star

by TOM HUSTON

(April 13) — *The Indianapolis Star* pulled out all stops in its Sunday, April 12, edition. While it gave priority coverage to the many ways in which Republicans hate gays and dream up ways to discriminate against them, it didn't neglect the race card.

In an article headlined "Uneven Indiana," it addressed a problem I have harped about for the past several years: the decline in median family income. The article, however, surveyed this important problem with all the nuance of Al Sharpton, casting it as fundamentally a race problem, which is simply untrue.

I won't point out all the ways in which this *Star* story is wrong-headed, but two aspects are notable:

First is this penultimate paragraph of the story, which sums up the heavy thinking on the problem by *the Star* reporter: "Local advocates say it also will take policy changes to improve the well-being of Hoosiers most vulnerable to economic shifts, such as strengthening social safety nets, enacting a work-share program and increasing the minimum wage." Here we have the standard Democratic formula for economic failure.

Second is the graphic that purports to show how racially unbalanced is the percentage of college graduates in Indiana. The same graphic is spread across the front page above the fold. It shows the startling fact that 87.6 percent of Hoosiers 25 and older who have earned a bachelor's degree or higher are white, while Blacks, Asians and Hispanics, in the aggregate, constitute only 12.3 percent of degree holders.

This vast discrepancy would, indeed, be an outrage if it weren't for the fact that 86.3 percent of Hoosiers are white. That is, the difference between whites' share of the general population and their share of degree holders is 1.3 percentage points, or 1.5 percent.

Compare this modest difference with Asians, who constitute 1.9 percent of Indiana's population but represent 4.1 percent of its college graduates. Blacks and Hispanics are under-represented among holders of



four year degrees, but not nearly so badly as the graphic suggests. Blacks constitute 9.5 percent of the population but only 6.1 percent of degree holders, while Hispanics constitute

6.4 percent of the population and 2.3 percent of degree holders.

The Star's graphic is either a deliberate attempt to exploit racial grievance, or it is evidence that its staff has no training in either statistics or political science. How could any educated person actually believe that the information in the graphic has any relevance whatsoever without reference to the proportion that each group constitutes of the general population? And what is the relevance of this information to the decline in median family income, which cuts across race and levels of education?

This is a typical example of what passes for journalism at the newspaper, and it is a piece of junk.

Are Big-Shot Corporate Newspapers Still Necessary?

"If the legislators were trying to reinforce Indiana's image as a backwater, it couldn't have done better than this (the Religious Liberty law). I Googled 'Indiana' Tuesday morning, and this issue was at the top of the page. How embarrassing." — Matthew Tully in the April 3 *Indianapolis Star*

by CRAIG LADWIG

(April 7) — As the religious-freedom hysteria subsides, the governor of Illinois, Bruce Rauner, is threatening to "rip the economic guts out of Indiana." In fact, some Chicago opinion leaders believe he will be able to poach corporate executives here, those embarrassed to have their companies associated with bigoted Christian Hoosiers.

May it be suggested that he start with *the Indianapolis Star*, champion of the same-sex wedding cake. The senior leadership there has only a passing acquaintance with Indiana anyway. A journalist we know likes to refer to them as "occupiers" in reference to the Franco-Norman knights who took possession

"*The Star's* graphic shows the startling fact that 87.6 percent of Hoosiers 25 and older who have earned a bachelor's degree or higher are white, while Blacks, Asians and Hispanics, in the aggregate, constitute only 12.3 percent of degree holders. This vast discrepancy would, indeed, be an outrage if it weren't for the fact that 86.3 percent of Hoosiers are white."

— HUSTON

“What about the loss of Gannett Company investments and payroll?

Won’t the money be leaving Indianapolis for Illinois along with that from those other large corporations of strong social conviction whom Governor Rauner would gut from us? Well, it might not make as much difference as you would think.”

— LADWIG

of Medieval England after the Battle of Hastings, their status and influence assigned from afar.

But what about the loss of Gannett Company investments and payroll? Won’t the money be leaving Indianapolis for Illinois along with that from those other large corporations of strong social conviction whom Governor Rauner would gut from us?

Well, it might not make as much difference as you would think. Some points to consider:

To begin with the most obvious, there are individual Hoosiers with the ways and means to step into any media vacuum left by a socially affronted Gannett management team — and perhaps do so more profitably. Because corporatism is not the same thing as capitalism. The former primarily limits financial liability while the latter actually creates wealth.

Indeed, there are serious people who will tell you that single proprietorships, even a small Christian bakery or pizzeria, build a community, while widely held corporations, even as large as Gannett and its Indy Star, take more out than they put in.

This is the general argument of the economic philosopher Roderick T. Long in his 2008 essay for the Cato Institute, “Corporations Versus the Market.” In a truly free market, Dr. Long argues, firms are smaller and less hierarchical, more local and more numerous (many being family proprietorships or employee owned); prices are lower and wages higher; and corporate power is greatly reduced.

“Small wonder that big business, despite often paying lip service to free-market ideals, tends to systematically oppose them in practice,” he adds.

Giant national firms are not only direct beneficiaries of government intervention in the form of eminent domain and tax breaks, but from policies of wider application. The funding of public highways through tax revenues, Dr. Long notes as an example, constitutes a de facto transportation subsidy, allowing corporate chains to socialize the costs of shipping and so enabling them to compete more successfully against local businesses. He says that the low prices we enjoy as consumers are made possible in part by our having already indirectly subsidized the corporation’s operating costs in our capacity as taxpayers.

And if assurances of tax-funded bailouts and convoluted tax-increment financing lead the local economic-development entity to make riskier deals than they otherwise would, then risks are being taken with money from unconsenting taxpayers, and malfeasance is abetted.

Dr. Long says that large, widely held corporations “keep costs low by paying low

salaries, but what makes those low salaries possible is the absence of more lucrative alternatives for its employees, and that fact in turn owes much to government intervention.”

Regulations, fees, licensure requirements, health-care laws, etc., do not affect all market participants equally, and corporate lobbyists oppose them with less vigor than they pursue monopoly advantage.

“It’s much easier for wealthy, well-established companies to jump through these hoops than it is for new firms just starting up,” Dr. Long says. “Hence such regulations both decrease the number of employers bidding for employees’ services (thus keeping salaries low) and make it harder for the less affluent to start enterprises of their own.”

Yes, we would wish the executives of the Indy Star well in any exodus to Governor Rauner’s more politically correct and socially sensitive Illinois. We just wouldn’t miss them all that much.

A Starbucks Range of Issues

A Procrustean bed: a scheme or pattern into which someone is arbitrarily forced by either stretching or cutting.

by CRAIG LADWIG

(March 24) — We have reached a point in Indiana’s public discussion in which a citizen who decides between the proffered options faces a dreadful ordeal.

The liberal gentry of Indianapolis, both Republican and Democrat, is fine with this. Its members can pose in the manner of a Starbucks CEO, in the most reasonable of clothing, to hover above it all wondering what the world would be like “if we all could just get along.”

Last week the voice of this political aristocracy, *the Indianapolis Star*, defined what it considers to be the field of acceptable discussion. It is detailed in a characteristically Procrustean editorial titled, “Can Political Left, Right Confess How They Failed our Children?”

On one side, *the Star* explains, there are well-meaning liberals who 50 years ago made an honest mistake and destroyed the American family. On the other side are hide-bound, harsh-toned Christians who won’t give up their full-court political advocacy — not even today “when we are surrounded by hurting children.”

From which side do you think *the Star* expected the confession, the compromise? That question was neatly answered a few days later by a solitary, intrepid letter writer:

(*The Star*’s) effort to construct a moral equivalency between the left-wing statists (I will not call them ‘liberals’), who have clearly won the culture wars,

and bloviating right-wing preachers is misguided. It is the left that has imposed a system that rewards and subsidizes family-destroying behaviors and then calls for more programs and subsidies to repair the damage.

The Star's narrow discussion of recent years has carefully excluded absolutes such as the nuclear family, absolutes that could not be ignored if our state's problem were to be solved. Try to introduce them now, and you will find that the gentry is not interested in a civil discussion. Rather, it is interested in lecturing you while protecting its exclusive right to ask the questions and set the topic.

You don't ask *the Star*, then, the cost of the Indiana Collective Bargaining Act any more than you ask a barista why there is no Starbucks in Ferguson, Mo. You will have touched on one of a dozen inconvenient issues (including backpack school funding, constricted charter schools, racial demagoguery, padded stadium deals, crony economic development, Common Core and Title I inequity) that have been ruled extreme, unrealistic and out of bounds.

We trust our response to the early 20th-century author G.K. Chesterton, one of those harsh-toned, hidebound Christians. He warned back in 1912 that allowing such a political aristocracy to control the discussion would create a democracy in which there is "less value in an election than in a Roman Saturnalia of slaves." And Chesterton was specific as to our current misery:

For the powerful class will choose two courses of action, both of them safe for itself, and then give the democracy the gratification of taking one course or the other. The lords will take two things so much alike that they would not mind choosing from them blindfold — and then for a great jest they will allow the slaves to choose.

So, Hoosiers, *grande* or *venti*, you're going to get plain old coffee.

J-School Embarrassment

All of us learn to write in the second grade. Most of us go on to greater things. — Robert Montgomery Knight

by CRAIG LADWIG

(March 18) — An officer of our foundation spoke at a local university recently on the topic of journalism. Afterward, talking with students, he was surprised that, although they hoped to work in newsrooms of one sort or another, they were not journalism majors. Rather, they were enrolled in something called a "professional writers program."

Journalism, it turns out, is no longer scholastically fashionable. Registrars may have figured out that nobody wants to take out

\$80,000 in student loans to be unemployed in a profession that the public currently ranks near the bottom.

The situation, to borrow from Mark Twain, is this: "A thunderstorm made Beranger a poet, a mother's kiss made Benjamin West a painter and a salary of \$15 a week makes us a journalist."

It hasn't always been so. Post-modern journalism burgeoned 40 years ago when Robert Redford stepped into the role of a dead-end reporter at a lowly bureau of *the Washington Post*. Newsrooms soon filled with the hyper-educated young, and salaries rose to sufferable levels. But the utility of journalism schools in any of that has always been suspect.

For newsrooms at the zenith of print circulation were not staffed with j-school graduates. Rather, you would find the compensating introvert, the aimlessly curious and the totally unremarkable, all backed up by alcoholics with photographic memories plus an occasional nephew of the publisher to sign the checks. And yes, when I first broke on the scene, there were spittoons at some desks and half-pint whiskey bottles in the bottom drawers.

Too effete for that, some journalism schools today are reinventing themselves accordingly, expanding their customer base into more respectable professions, trying to move up a notch or two on the Pew Ranking of Public Esteem.

Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism changed its name to Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism, Media, Integrated Marketing Communications.

And the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, pipeline to *the New York Times* and Mecca for Baby-Boomers seeking to change the world, has cut enrollment back to "historical norms." No faculty will be affected, the school assures us, the world apparently having been changed enough.

It serves no purpose to dwell on the hypocrisy of journalism schools that are embarrassed to be associated with journalism. It is important to say, though, that since the halcyon days of Watergate, those schools have been sending innocents to socio-political slaughter armed with nothing more than late-night dormitory opinions.

That, and not the Internet, has been the ruin of us. For there is no market for adolescent opinion. There is a demand, however, for the skills of prescience. And those skills, difficult to teach and tedious to master, are embedded in the century-old "Journalist's Creed" by Walter Williams of the University of Missouri. Here is his concluding paragraph (be warned that God is referenced):

"There is no market for adolescent opinion. There is a demand, however, for the skills of prescience. And those skills, difficult to teach and tedious to master, are embedded in the century-old 'Journalist's Creed' by Walter Williams of the University of Missouri."

— LADWIG

“It is implausible, and even bizarre, for the higher-ups at NBC News to become so unctuous when the whole industry is infested with myth-makers and tendentious partisans who, in their daily reporting, can often be assumed to be taking liberties with the truth whenever you see their lips move.”

— CONRAD BLACK.

I believe that the journalism which succeeds the best — and best deserves success — fears God and honors man; is stoutly independent, unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power; constructive, tolerant but never careless; self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid; is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of the privilege or the clamor of the mob; seeks to give every man a chance, and, as far as law, an honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance; is profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international good will and cementing world-comradeship, is a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world.

Heavy stuff. Yet, for today's struggling journalism schools, restoring those principles — and the practical skills required to further them — might be more effective, cheaper in the long run, than hiring a marketing firm.

My first job was with an outstate daily of 4,000 presumed readers, most of whom had the same last name. A yellowed copy of Williams' creed was posted on its bulletin board. My editor, upon receiving certain directions from corporate headquarters, would walk across the newsroom with purposeful steps to strike out the pertinent sentence in the creed.

I never found out what happened when that particular copy was fully expunged. Now, though, I can see the damage that the abandonment of Williams' ideals has done to journalism in general.

The repair, if it is attempted at all, will take more than a rebranding.

Brian, We Hardly Knew Ye

by CRAIG LADWIG

(Feb. 17) — A long time ago, even before Madonna was born, post-modern journalism began to take recognizable shape. It featured a spectacularly creative news matrix, one that put a premium on good looks, a dramatic television news set, graphic magic and emotional presentation.

The initial effect was encouraging. The newsrooms filled with good-looking and glib young people. Energy abounded. An attendant flippancy was ignored.

The best-looking and most glib found themselves able to negotiate shockingly favorable contracts, often quite wide-ranging. Hollywoodesque, someone called the terms. And that, too, seemed right.

But there were inklings of trouble. Contracts for post-modern personnel began to absorb news budgets. The hidebound old fogies, who scored low on good-lookingness, looked discouraged.

The consequent on-air flubs, plus a general misreading of events and history, the apparent

suspension of grammar and other minor embarrassments were judged temporary and unconnected to the puzzling but steady decline in viewership.

And yet, competition for a shrinking market share only increased an already obscene demand for good-looking, glib presenters. Contract negotiations became tense. There were concerns. The late post-modern novelist Donald Barthelme offered perspective:

Top management is discouraged and saddened, and middle management is drinking too much. Morale in the newsroom is fair, because of the recent raises, but the shining brows of the copy boys, traditional emblems of energy and hope, have begun to display odd, unattractive lines. At every level, people want management to stop what it is doing before it is too late.

Most destructive, it turned out, were those prerogatives wrested from ownership by the good-looking and glib, a large number of whom turned out to be woefully unprepared to guide a nationwide information system.

Missing with the hidebound fogies was a sifting, sorting and weighing of facts. In hindsight, one can see that a cavalier attitude had developed regarding the inability to predict events or explain their portent.

Gross misunderstandings of the nation's philosophical base marred story selection. A sophomoric approach to government policy, both domestic and foreign, was on display nightly. Viewers, internal polling showed, were frightened.

Even so, those on the set were admittedly, even proudly, ignorant of classical knowledge. Nor did they seem concerned about obtaining the depth or breadth of professional experience needed to support the personality-driven political agendas they imposed on viewers.

Hopes lifted when a network news leader, the National Broadcasting Company, commissioned the most advanced, demographically tailored screen tests available. Management was confident of finding the very model of a post-modern news anchor. The selectee, Brian Williams, failed — suffering hidden personality flaws, it was explained.

The stray critic was emboldened. “It is implausible, and even bizarre, for the higher-ups at NBC News to become so unctuous when the whole industry is infested with myth-makers and tendentious partisans who, in their daily reporting, can often be assumed to be taking liberties with the truth whenever you see their lips move,” wrote the defrocked newspaper publisher Conrad Black.

Nobody is depressed, a network spokesman stressed. The television news set has been redesigned. The digital graphics department is

excited. Even more advanced demographically tailored screen tests are in the works.

Resources: Donald Barthelme. "Pepperoni." The New Yorker, p. 43, Dec. 1, 1980; Conrad Black. "Tip of the Iceberg." National Review, Feb. 11, 2015.

Affirming The Traditions Of Journalism

by TOM HUSTON

(Feb. 9) — In this country, people who read the news on television are called "anchors." In Great Britain, they are called "presenters." The latter term strikes me as more honestly descriptive. An assortment of editors and producers put together what they have concluded constitutes today's news, and key up the teleprompter. Dan Rather, Katie Couric or another in the longline of attractive personages reads the text, smiles broadly and, on cue, nods knowingly.

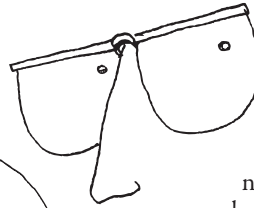
I gave up watching television news years ago. I had my fill of it at the White House, where I shared with Pat Buchanan and Mort Allin the chore of summarizing the network evening news coverage for the president's daily news summary. I prefer to read news on my own, in print or online. I don't need to have someone read it to me.

The dust-up over the whopper that Brian Williams told about his experience under fire in combat is being cited as a time of choosing for the journalism community: affirm its institutional commitment to objective — or at least truthful — reporting by reproving Williams, or live with the ignominy that the high-profit theatrics of television news is just a step above grand theft auto.

Journalism was once an undertaking for gentlemen and adventurers, and they were often, as in the case of Winston Churchill, one and the same. During World War II, Edward R. Murrow opened his CBS broadcasts for the American homefront: "This...is London." His recruits for the London bureau of the network included men of impeccable skill and talent — among them, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, Howard K. Smith, Richard Hottelet and William L. Shirer. When CBS executives complained that these men did not possess attractive radio voices, Murrow responded that he was "hiring reporters, not announcers." Murrow and his colleagues did their reporting in the bombed out streets of London and on the battlefields of France and Italy. Logging 25 flights over occupied Europe, Murrow reported about the

"The central dilemma in journalism is that you don't know what you don't know."

(Bob Woodward)



"orchestrated hell" the crews experienced, not the courage he displayed by flying with them.

Journalism of the Ernie Pyle variety, heavy on facts, flavored with striking scenes and focused on ordinary men doing extraordinary

things, once constituted a profession. War reporting has always had something both romantic and terrifying about it, but domestic reportage could be just as dangerous. The syndicated columnist Victor Riesel made his reputation reporting on corruption in the labor movement. As he was leaving a New York City restaurant in the spring of 1956, sulfuric acid was thrown in his face by a hit man for the Genovese crime family. Blinded, he continued his reporting for another two decades.

Ferreting out truth was not only risky business, but often poorly compensated as well. Journalistic respect — as contrasted with fame — didn't always translate into big dollars. In fact, no one thought of reporters as celebrities until the jihad against Richard Nixon needed to be dressed up as a triumph of investigative reporting by immortalizing the team of Woodward and Bernstein on the silver screen.

There are still working journalists who earn their keep by exposing wrongdoing, writing useful expository stories or providing an accurate account of a school board meeting. The hard times experienced by print journalism has taken its toll among reporters and editors of the old school. The high-profile journalists of the new media are those who express opinions rather than those who dig up the facts. This dumbing-down is not unique to journalism: there aren't many youngsters coming out of law school these days who can write a simple declarative sentence. It is the times that plague us.

The embarrassment of Brian Williams has no partisan significance. There is no reason to believe liberal journalists make up stories about themselves and conservative journalists don't. My take is that some men have an irresistible impulse to enhance their standing among their peers by willing into existence life events that they have not been fortunate enough to experience.

This is a defect of character, not an ideological failure. It is jarring when displayed so conspicuously, but it ought not to be as surprising as some seem to think. Lamentably, the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. Q

"No one thought of reporters as celebrities until the jihad against Richard Nixon needed to be dressed up as a triumph of investigative reporting by immortalizing the team of Woodward and Bernstein on the silver screen."

— HUSTON

In its first year, Lilly offered a ground-breaking product: gelatin-coated pills. Within five years, sales exceeded \$80,000. In 1881, the company incorporated and issued stock.



INDIANA AT 200
ANDREA NEAL

For the past 10 years, the foundation has distributed Andrea Neal's biweekly essays on Indiana public-policy issues. Twenty-five Indiana newspapers have routinely published her column, making her one of the most widely read opinion writers in the state. Beginning with the spring 2013 journal, her essays began focusing on another passion — Indiana history. Neal will produce 100 columns before December 2016 that describe Indiana's most significant historical events, generally in chronological order, tying each to a place or current event in Indiana that continues to tell the story of our state.



Eli Lilly Built State's Iconic Business

(April 20) — From the time he was a youngster, Eli Lilly was fascinated by pharmaceuticals.

At 16, he served as an apprentice at the Good Samaritan Drugstore in Lafayette. During the day, he stocked shelves, washed bottles and ran errands. At night, he pored over the United States Pharmacopoeia to learn everything he could about mixing drugs.

By age 20, Lilly had earned a certificate of proficiency in the field. Next, he opened a drug store on the Greencastle town square. It was the first of several career moves that prepared him to launch Eli Lilly and Company, today a multinational corporation with 39,000 employees and \$20 billion in annual sales.

Lilly could not have foreseen the life-saving medicines his firm would pioneer for diabetes, cancer, cardiovascular disease and depression. But he understood the recipe for success: develop products based on solid research; apply strict quality control to production; and limit distribution to doctors rather than door-to-door salesmen.

"He would be pleased the company still bears his name and is still very viable," says company archivist Michael C. Jarrell. "I think he'd be proud of his legacy and the work we have done."

Born in Maryland in 1838, Lilly moved as an infant with his family to Kentucky and

as a teenager to Greencastle, where his father enrolled him in Indiana Asbury College, now DePauw University.

His career had barely begun when the Civil War erupted in 1861. Lilly served with distinction in the Union Army. In 1862, he organized the 18th Indiana artillery battery that played critical roles in the Chattanooga-Chickamauga campaign. As captain, Lilly received commendation for the capture of the Confederate depot at Tullahoma. His battery "expended 350 rounds, disabled at least two Confederate cannons and suffered no loss of men or guns," according to one account.

After a brief stint with the 9th Indiana Cavalry that led to his detention as a prisoner of war, Lilly served out the war in the South. In June 1865, he was promoted to colonel, a title that became permanently attached to his surname.

Post-war, Lilly pursued entrepreneurial ventures with different partners and varying success. His personal life also had ups and downs. In 1866, wife Emily died from a brain condition, leaving him the single father of a 5-year-old boy, Josiah K. Lilly. He remarried in 1869 and the couple had a daughter, Eleanor. (She died of diphtheria at age 13.)

Encouragement from an Indianapolis businessman convinced Lilly to go into business for himself in 1876. At age 38, he opened a small manufacturing plant in downtown Indianapolis. The company outgrew the space and moved twice, settling in the southside industrial district, where it remains today.

In its first year, Lilly offered a ground-breaking product: gelatin-coated pills. "This was a huge advancement considering that the standard forms of medication of the day were foul-smelling putrid liquids and bitter powders eaten off squares of paper," says Robert L. Shook in the book *Miracle Medicines*.

Within five years, sales exceeded \$80,000. In 1881, the company incorporated and issued stock. In 1886, it hired a pharmaceutical chemist and a botanist to work on product quality.

Lilly died in 1898 at age 60, but the company thrived under the leadership of his son and grandsons, Eli and Josiah Jr. Within 25 years of its namesake's death, Lilly began mass production of insulin to treat diabetes. This development, more than any other, made the company globally famous — a life-saving

endeavor Colonel Lilly would have deemed the pinnacle of success.

Purdue and its Land Grant

(April 6) — Purdue Boilermakers can thank the Morrill Land Grant Act for their highly regarded college diploma.

The law, signed by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862, gave federal land to states if they agreed to use the land-sale proceeds to start colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts for the children of the working class.

With the Morrill Act's passage, one historian noted, "higher education in the United States was no longer confined to its earlier classical, elitist beginnings."

This was crucial for the 19th-century economy, which stood at a crossroads in the early days of the Civil War. North and South clashed on the battlefield and in their visions of the country's economic future — would it be plantation-based, built on the backs of slave labor, or a mix of farming and manufacturing based on the latest innovations in both?

In 1869, Indiana legislators chose Tippecanoe County for this new institution, a condition that came with a \$150,000 start-up gift from the school's namesake, John Purdue. Purdue was a Pennsylvania native who moved to the Lafayette area in the 1830s and made a fortune in dry goods, real estate, banking and railroads.

The first classes were held in 1874 with six instructors and 39 students. Over time, extension offices were set up in all 92 counties that offered ordinary Hoosiers educational opportunities in agriculture, family life and environmental sciences. Curricula expanded, too, encompassing aeronautics, veterinary science, business and technology. Today, Purdue enrolls close to 40,000 undergraduate and graduate students at its West Lafayette and regional campuses, and employs more than 3,000 faculty members.

"John Purdue would be amazed by the size and scope of Purdue today, especially by its global reach," says Mitch Daniels, Purdue president and former Indiana governor. "At the same time, he would recognize that the core mission remains the same: making education accessible and taking knowledge to the public as a way to better serve our state, nation and the lives of citizens."

Purdue was one of 48 colleges created by the original Morrill Act. A second Morrill Act passed in 1890 and targeted southern states whose economies had yet to recover from the Civil War. Thanks to both Morrill acts and subsequent legislation, 105 land-grant colleges operate today.

Even Purdue's mascot — the Boilermaker — can be tied to its land-grant roots. In the 1890s, Purdue had just begun to field athletic teams that could compete against the dominant private colleges of the day such as Wabash, Butler and DePauw. In the 1891 season football opener, Purdue scored a 44-0 victory over Wabash, prompting the Crawfordsville newspaper to declare that the men of Wabash had been "snowed completely under by the burly boilermakers from Purdue."

The reference underscored the working-class origins of so many Purdue students, some of them whose parents made actual boilers, the source of steam that powered the new industrial economy.

It's an image still relevant today, Daniels observes. "We continue to believe it is our role to open the gates of higher education to all, not just to the privileged, and to concentrate on the skills and discoveries that build a great country and a great economy."

The State Fair

(March 23) — Not much has changed since the first Indiana State Fair in October 1852. Farmers showed off their finest specimens of cows, hogs, horses and chickens. A "Mechanics Hall" displayed the newest reapers and plows. Corn growers competed for a silver cup for the heartiest ears. And right outside the main entrance, a vaudeville act performed under a big tent three times a day.

In 1851, the Indiana General Assembly established a State Board of Agriculture to encourage Indiana farming. The board promptly made a decision that has benefited Hoosiers ever since: An annual state fair would be held to demonstrate the latest farm equipment and to advance knowledge about soil, crops and livestock.

The Indiana Farmer, a weekly newspaper, reported on the inaugural fair in its Nov. 1, 1852, edition.

"Well reader, here we are at Indianapolis to witness one of the most interesting exhibitions ever made in the state," wrote a farmer/reporter identified as L. Bellman. "What a mass of people! And what a confusion of sound. The merry laugh is almost unheard in this neighing of horses, and braying of mules and Jacks, and lowing of cattle, and bleating of sheep and grunting of hogs."

From the get-go, the fair featured a lot more than farm animals. Although the term "freak" show is verboten today, it was a marketing ploy then. That very first fair advertised a "Giant" and "Giantess" and a two-headed calf.

Purdue's namesake was a Pennsylvania native who moved to the Lafayette area in the 1830s and made a fortune in dry goods, real estate, banking and railroads.

The 28th Regiment's most notorious assignment came July 30 at the Battle of the Crater, where Union troops dug a tunnel under a Confederate fort. Soldiers carrying 8,000 pounds of gunpowder entered the tunnel in an ill-fated effort to blow up the Confederate defense.

And the fair expanded. In 1853, farmers exhibited squash as big as sheep, the largest weighing 185 pounds. In 1854, organizers threw a grand agricultural ball. In 1916, fair attendees rode a 2,000-foot-high speed-roller coaster for the first time.

In the 1920s, the fair became the showplace for young Hoosiers enrolled in 4-H, an agricultural-education program. Harness racing, the high school marching band and "the world's largest boar" title were added along the way.

The fair's most momentous occasion ironically had nothing to do with agriculture but with a rock group that hailed from Liverpool, England. The Beatles performed two sold-out shows for 30,000 screaming fans on Sept. 3, 1964, generating global headlines. Indianapolis was the band's 10th stop in a 24-city tour, the only one at a state fair.

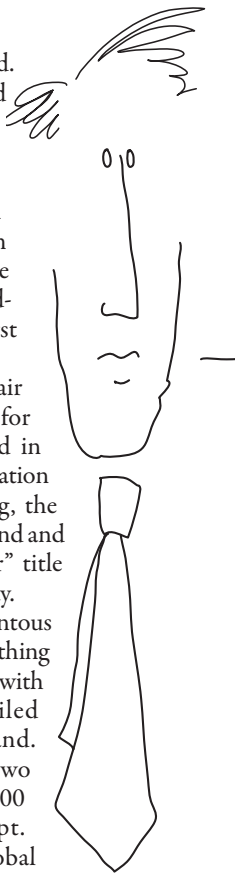
Indiana claims the sixth-oldest fair in the country. The first was in New York in 1841, but credit for the idea goes back to a Massachusetts farmer named Elkanah Watson, who staged a "cattle show" in 1810 to demonstrate new breeds of livestock. The idea evolved into county agricultural societies with annual fairs, which grew into the state fairs we know today.

Until 1892, the fair rotated from city to city — places easily accessible by road, canal or rail. Some of the earliest fairs took place in Lafayette, Madison, New Albany, Fort Wayne and Terre Haute.

When it became clear that only Indianapolis could draw large enough crowds to be profitable, the capital city was chosen as a permanent site and land was acquired at 38th Street and Fall Creek Parkway. In 1990, the fairgrounds became a year-round event venue that hosted conferences, concerts and exhibitions. The duration of the fair has grown, too, from five days in 1852 to 17 days since 2009.

Indiana's Colored Regiment

(March 9) — Even before Indiana began recruiting them, African-American Hoosiers volunteered to fight in the Civil War.



An 1862 act of Congress allowed President Abraham Lincoln "to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion."

"I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy."
(John Adams)

The Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863, expressly allowed use of African Americans as combat soldiers.

Racial prejudices initially kept Indiana from enlisting blacks, so the future soldiers went elsewhere.

About 150 black Hoosiers signed up for the Massachusetts 54th Infantry, memorialized in the Oscar-winning film "Glory." Others crossed into Ohio, which assembled a regiment in the summer of 1863.

Late that same year, Gov. Oliver P. Morton realized the impact of out-of-state enrollments on Indiana's quota obligations. Morton authorized a black battalion and warned that "recruitment of colored troops in this state for companies or regiments organizing in other states is henceforth positively prohibited."

The 28th Regiment, U. S. Colored Troops, organized at Indianapolis from Dec. 24, 1863, through March 31, 1864. More than 500 men trained at Camp Fremont near Fountain Square in Indianapolis on farmland loaned by abolitionist Calvin Fletcher.

Assigned to the 9th Army Corps under Major General Ambrose Burnside, the regiment headed east — destined for intense action.

They first saw combat that June near White House, Va. Next they accompanied Gen. Philip Sheridan's cavalry through the Chickahominy swamps to Prince George Courthouse and sustained "severe losses from frequent skirmishes with the enemy," as reported by Adjutant Gen. W. H. H. Terrell.

In the summer and fall of 1864, the regiment took part in the siege of Petersburg, Va. Its most notorious assignment came July 30 at the Battle of the Crater, where Union troops dug a tunnel under a Confederate fort. Soldiers carrying 8,000 pounds of gunpowder entered the tunnel in an ill-fated effort to blow up the Confederate defense.

"Instead of victory there was disastrous defeat," according to The Indiana Historian. "When the mine explosion created the 'crater,' there was great disorder, and many Union soldiers were killed or wounded." Burnside was relieved of command for his role in the disaster.

The victims included 88 members of Indiana's 28th. "The colored troops went as far as they were ordered to go and did just what they were told to do," observed the regiment's chaplain, Rev. Garland White, whose accounts of the war were published in a church newsletter.

Following that battle, Indiana raised four more companies to fill the regiment's depleted ranks. They joined the 25th Corps, Army of the James, and were among the first to enter the fallen Confederate capital of Richmond, Va. in April 1865. The men's final duty was in Texas where, even after the surrender at Appomattox, Confederate units resisted Union victory.

In all, 1,537 black Hoosiers joined the Union Army, counting those who enlisted from other states.

The 28th mustered out of service on Nov. 8, 1865, after proving its mettle and losing 212 men to battle or disease. The group was honored with a public ceremony in Indianapolis on Jan. 8, 1866. *The Indianapolis Daily Journal* reported, "The occasion was a very pleasant one and was a large nail in the great platform of equal justice."

We Responded to Lincoln's Call

(Feb. 23) — "Left camp at 9 o'clock. Rained all last night. Bad roads, slavish traveling today. Snowed all day, stalled several times... Traveled 10 miles."

Private Albert S. Underwood of Parke County wrote those words on Jan. 18, 1864, as he moved south toward Tennessee with the 9th battery, Indiana Light Artillery, during the final phase of the Civil War.

There were no skirmishes that day. Nothing remarkable to note in his diary. Just walking in the snow to an uncertain destination.

Underwood was among 208,348 Indiana men who fought for the Union, and one of about 27,000 who died in the cause. He was killed in early 1865 along with most of his unit when the boiler on the steamer *Eclipse* exploded on the Tennessee River in Kentucky.

His journal, available in the manuscript collection at the Indiana Historical Society, is an intimate reminder of the toll the war took on ordinary Hoosiers. It is a leather bound, 3×5-inch pocket diary with "1864" inscribed on the cover, its pages brittle and its handwriting barely legible in faded pencil.

Such diaries were common among Union soldiers, who wrote of weather, daily mileage and food rations — almost anything but the politics that plunged the nation into Civil War on April

12, 1861, with the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter.

On April 15, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, hoping to end the South's rebellion in 90 days. In Indiana, 22,000 men reported — three times the quota established by the War Department.

Historians attribute Indiana's high enlistments to patriotic instinct more than anything else. Hoosiers weren't interested in the divisive issues of the day, according to Richard Nation and Stephen Towne in their book *Indiana's War*:

"When Hoosiers marched to war, most did not do so to end slavery. They marched to preserve the Union."

With Gov. Oliver P. Morton at the helm, Indiana remained solidly pro-Union for the war's duration, and Indiana regiments played significant roles from Antietam to Vicksburg. The state ranked second to New York in the percentage of adult males who enlisted.

Far from the main theater, Indiana itself was the site of occasional border raids from the Kentucky side of the Ohio River. On July 8, 1863, Confederate Gen. John Hunt Morgan crossed the river at Brandenburg, Kentucky, and headed with 2,000 troops to the former Indiana capital at Corydon.

On July 9, a hastily gathered fighting force of 450 confronted Morgan's men outside of town but could not hold off the advancing cavalry. Union Col. Lewis Jordan, recognizing the odds, surrendered.

Morgan's men raided Salem, Dupont, Versailles and other small towns before crossing into Ohio where they were captured on July 26.

Today Hoosiers can follow their path by driving the 185-mile John Hunt Morgan Heritage Trail. The route runs through seven Indiana counties and is marked by directional signs and 27 roadside point-of-interest displays.

Although the Battle of Gettysburg in July 1863 represented a turning point for the North, the war dragged on for almost two more years before the South surrendered. Recruiting became difficult, even in patriotic Indiana. About 18,000 Hoosiers went to war as a result of three separate drafts, a much lower percentage than the national norm.

The story of Indiana's critical war role is told at the Colonel Eli Lilly Civil War Museum in the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Indianapolis. Exhibits illustrate the life of an ordinary soldier, from the mustering of troops to the soldiers' return home.

On April 15, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, hoping to end the South's rebellion in 90 days. In Indiana, 22,000 men reported — three times the quota established by the War Department.

BACKGROUNDS

Expert commentary on Indiana issues of moment

“The flat tax: Getting rid of expensive loopholes that largely benefit the wealthy, while lowering income-tax rates for everyone.”

— SCHANSBERG

Schansberg: Tax Day 2015

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(April 10) — We pay taxes every day. But for many people, April 15th represents “Tax Day” — the day when our income-tax forms are due. Many people file their 1040’s sooner, particularly when they’re receiving refunds. They have allowed the government to keep too much of their money all year. So why should they extend the interest-free loan to the government for a few more months?

In terms of taxes on income, payroll taxes (Federal Insurance Contribution Act or FICA) usually impose a far larger burden on most wage earners. But we rarely think about that tax on income, because it’s not nearly as obvious to us. The taxes are withheld each pay period before we see the money; we don’t file an income-tax return for FICA; and we never get a refund or pay more at the end of the year for FICA.

Beyond the two federal income taxes, most workers deal with state and local income taxes. And of course, we pay all sorts of taxes with our after-tax income — as we spend it on everything from doughnuts to slacks, cars to houses, gasoline to telephones.

The Tax Foundation has tallied all of these taxes and calculated “Tax Freedom Day” for the average person in each state. If we had to pay all of our taxes first, when would we be free from taxation?

Of course, this number would vary tremendously by individual; it varies by state as well. For example, Louisiana is the first state to “gain its freedom” on March 30, while Connecticut is the last state — on May 9. Indiana is in the middle of the pack with a Tax Freedom Day of April 16. Thanks to its low income and its light federal-tax burden, neighboring Kentucky is early in the pack with a Tax Freedom Day of April 8.

Some households reach Tax Freedom Day sooner because they have lower incomes. Our tax system is generally “progressive,” applying higher tax rates to those with higher incomes. Other households reach Tax Freedom Day sooner because of income-tax deductions.

All income is exposed to FICA taxes, but not all income is exposed to income taxes. Some income is excused through “exemptions” (mostly related to household size) and a variety of “deductions.” Taxpayers are offered

a “standard deduction,” but can benefit from “itemizing” their deductions (detailing the deductions allowed by law) if that amount is more than the “standard.”

For example, in 2014, the standard deduction for a married couple was \$12,400. If a couple had itemized deductions of \$13,400, their taxable income would be reduced by another \$1,000. If they were in the 15-percent tax bracket, this would reduce their taxes by 15 percent of the \$1,000, or \$150. If their itemized deductions were only \$12,000 (less than the “standard”), then their taxable income and their taxes would be unchanged.

So, larger deductions and larger tax rates lead to a greater advantage. Wealthier people face higher tax rates and tend to have larger deductions. Thus, they typically gain a lot more from deductions, reducing their taxable income more so and sheltering their income from higher tax rates. It also follows that wealthier states have much more to gain from deductions.

According to the Treasury Department’s budget for 2016, the five largest tax deductions are: 1) the subsidy for tax-free health insurance and health care; 2) retirement savings; 3) state and local taxes; 4) mortgage interest; and 5) charitable contributions.

Subsidies for retirement savings and charitable contributions face little controversy, so let’s focus on the other three. The subsidy for health insurance through the firm results in a loss of \$225 billion in revenue for the federal government. (The subsidy is also responsible for most of our problems in health insurance and health care, but that’s another article.) This works out to about \$2,900 from the average family of four. The state and local tax deduction leads to \$81 billion (more than \$1,000 per family). The mortgage-interest deduction leads to \$54 billion (about \$700 per family).

These three subsidies comprise about 20 percent of all income-tax revenues. If we got rid of these loopholes, we could lower income-tax rates substantially.

Eric Schansberg, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a professor of economics at Indiana University Southeast.



In the coming year, when you hear some politicians talk about a “flat tax,” this is what they’re discussing: Getting rid of expensive loopholes that largely benefit the wealthy, while lowering income-tax rates for everyone.

Which system would you prefer?

Where’s the Outrage?

by **STEPHEN M. KING**

(April 7) — Bill Clinton’s tawdry affair with Monica Lewinsky in 1998 spawned dozens of books, articles and essays. None was more stinging than William Bennett’s “The Death of Outrage.”

Therein, Bennett, former secretary of education under George H.W. Bush, excoriated Bill Clinton and largely the political Left for their utter disregard of political propriety and disregard for moral character.

More importantly, Bennett lamented the utter lack of outrage by the American public. He asked the question then, and I ask the question now: Where is the nation’s institutional and national moral compass?

Today in the U.S. there is political corruption and scandal, tortured partisan politics with abdication of congressional responsibility, unhinged regulatory and executive decision-making, abandonment of the rule of law, far left- and right-wing minority interests pushing radicalized agendas and disregard for constitutional rights and liberties (except where these radicalized agendas and interests find it appropriate).

Worst of all, there is a deterioration of the public moral standards that once made us different from the rest of the world.

The unprecedented political backlash of the radicalized pro-gay rights movement against Gov. Mike Pence over Indiana’s version of the national Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) brings the the nation to a tipping point.

Will a sense of moral character and judgment prevail in the public market place of political ideas and action? Or will this republic founded two centuries ago crumble under the onslaught of an ideologically biased mainstream media, a morally unaccountable social media and an unwillingness of elected politicians at all levels to engage in reasoned, controlled debate?

Stephen M. King, Ph.D., is a political scientist and adjunct scholar of the foundation who lives in north-central Indiana.



What, again, has happened to the public outcry? What has happened to the spiritual backbone of the nation? Has political pluralism, the genius of a modern liberalized society, morphed into an intolerant cesspool of minority interests trumping majority rule?

God and man are at loggerheads. The spiritual character of a truly tolerant society and a diverse society (which, I might add, is a myth propagated by political elites to squelch political uprising) are both effectively and de facto lost.

Our institutional character that monitors and promotes public civility, whether from the traditional family to international organizations, has been sabotaged by well-funded and resourced special interests that include the ACLU and LGBT on the Left and the NRA and anti-tax organizations on the Right.

Understand that character is not only about interpreting right and wrong or good and bad actions against a Natural Law or even a spiritual barometer such as the Golden Rule. It is about respecting the human and political freedoms and rights of those with whom you disagree.

When one side continually tries to out-shout or one-up the other side, whether for toleration of gays and lesbians or for respecting the religious freedoms of evangelical Christians, then the partisan battle may be won, but the war for our public soul is lost.

In that regard, America has spiraled out of control. Public outrage is silenced by the intolerant “tolerance” that permeates society’s institutions and organizations.

Public discontent is leveraged against the insistent demand for gaining and maintaining political power — and the former will lose every time.

Ancient societies with similar public disposition imploded, leaving a political and moral vacuum later to be filled by dispersed and spurious fringe elements — Rome, late 18th-century France, early 20th-century Russia and now early 21st-century United States.

Near the conclusion of the American Constitutional convention, a woman asked Benjamin Franklin, “What have we created, Dr. Franklin?” His answer contained a prescient warning: “A republic, madam, if you can keep it.”

Well, now we know.

The Arrogance of ‘History’

by **TOM HUSTON**

(April 1) — The renowned historian Kareem Abdul-Jabbar opines in *Time* magazine

“Will a sense of moral character and judgment prevail in the public market place of political ideas and action? Or will this republic founded two centuries ago crumble under the onslaught of an ideology biased mainstream media, a morally unaccountable social media and an unwillingness of elected politicians at all levels to engage in reasoned, controlled debate?”

— KING

**“Every petty dictator,
every crank philosopher
and every social reformer
thinks he is on the
right side of history.”**

— HUSTON

that, as a consequence of adopting its Religious Freedom Restoration Act, Indiana has put itself “on the wrong side of history.” Mr. Abdul-Jabbar must have studied off-season at the knee of James H. Madison at Indiana University.

When used in the context of predicting ultimate winners, “history” is a determinist term of art. Viewed through a 17th-century Whig lens, history is the inevitable advance of progress under the tutelage of human reason. In its Marxist version, it is the dialectical process by which the proletariat inevitably prevails over the forces of capitalism. To the extent that it is deployed as more than a rhetorical crutch, historicism today is a form of Gnosticism without religious pretensions.

All who surveyed the empire of Augustus Caesar were quite confident that he was on the right side of history. On the other hand, few people of substance thought Martin Luther was on the right side when he nailed his Ninety-Five Theses to the church door. The Southern sociologist George Fitzhugh and the Southern divine James Henley Thornwell arrived by different modes of thought at the shared conclusion that only some form of slavery could reconcile the conflict between labor and capital, and neither they nor most Southerners of their time lacked confidence that ultimately slavery would prevail in all capitalist societies. With the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition), Congressman Volstead did not doubt that he was on the right side of history.

Neither Lenin nor Stalin questioned whether dialectical materialism properly understood and applied would lead to the inevitable victory of Soviet Communism. Every petty dictator, every crank philosopher and every social reformer thinks he is on the right side of history.

One only identifies history’s “winners” by looking backward, and even then the claim of victory needs to be measured and cautious. There is a reason why we call the period following the collapse of the Roman Empire the Dark Ages. The most ambitious political force at work in the world today has as its purpose the restoration of a medieval caliphate that would wipe away 800 years of progress.

Most people want to be on the winning side. There is ease in swimming with the tide of

Tom Charles Huston, J.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, served as an officer in the United States Army assigned to the Defense Intelligence Agency and as associate counsel to the president of the United States.



the future. There is also a price, and some are unwilling to pay it. Whittaker Chambers was convinced he left the winning side for the losing side when he defected from the Communist Party. Fortunately for our sake, he was wrong.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of lofty moral vision but modest in his pretensions. He did not look to the march of history to clean up the messes made by men or to confirm by prearranged signals the political judgments he had made. The outcome of the great struggle in which the country was then engaged was, he said in his Second Inaugural Address, dependent on the will of God. Since “the Almighty has His own purposes,” all that may be expected of us, he said, is to act firmly “in the right as God gives us to see the right.”

History marches to the sound of a distant bugler. Whether what we hear is a signal for advance or retreat is annoyingly unclear.

Relying on Law to Mediate Indiana’s Social Differences

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(March 30) — Let’s start with a riddle: What federal legislation was popular 20 years ago but created a firestorm when Indiana passed a similar law last week? If you’ve been paying attention to any media, the answer is obvious: the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA).

Agitation and confusion over the law’s intent may lead lawmakers to tweak it. But for now, what can we say?

First, depending on the comparison, 19 or 30 other states have similar laws, including “liberal” states such as Rhode Island and Connecticut. So, why the furor here and now? On one hand, opponents look silly because the fervent concerns are new. Why would this law be discriminatory in Indiana but not in other states? Why did Barack Obama vote for legislation like this when he was in state government? Why would the mayor of Seattle and the governor of Connecticut want to boycott Indiana when their own states have the same sort of law?

Second, the state laws are based on a federal law passed by President Bill Clinton and a strongly Democratic Congress in 1993. Of our 538 legislators, only three senators voted against it. The law was introduced by Chuck Schumer (D-NY), probably the next senate minority leader. As Schumer, Obama, Clinton and other politicians are pressed by journalists, it will be interesting to hear them explain how the 1993 effort was glorious while the 2015 law is evil.

Third, it's not clear how much of this is political posturing. If you're posing, please stop. You're part of the problem. If you're responding to posers, you might want to take a deep breath. Stephen Warner argues that the bill "says nothing and means nothing," given its vagueness, and he notes that neither "discrimination" nor anything about sexuality appears in the RFRA.

Let's turn from observations to some basic questions:

First, what are the practical concerns with such laws? These are complex issues — and it is difficult to write laws in a way that deal with all contingencies. (The likely effort to revise the bill speaks to this reality.) Moreover, this law will not operate in a vacuum; there is a stable of relevant laws that strive to limit discrimination and balance competing interests.

Second, a more important question: Why is it ethical to force business owners to serve people? The strongest answer is that we don't want some people to impose direct and significant harm on others, especially when the harm is larger. But this remedy is problematic when the use of force itself causes direct and significant harm. If an owner refuses to produce T-shirts for a racist group, the group members are harmed, but forcing the owner to make the shirts will cause harm as well.

Third, why is it all right to force business owners to serve certain people but only in some, politically-correct contexts? Should an owner be forced to serve customers who are legally carrying guns? Should a homosexual store owner be forced to decorate a cake with Romans 1:26-27? Should a Catholic school be forced to hire non-Catholics or teach doctrine that contradicts their beliefs? Should the Affordable Care Act have tried to force Hobby Lobby and other companies to provide insurance for morally troubling abortifacients?

In this light, the larger issue is an over-reliance on law to mediate social differences. To put it another way: Can't we all just get along? My family and I visited Selma again last week. But today, we're not talking about systemic, massive abuses of civil rights by the majority population — as with racial problems 50 years ago in the South. The current complaints are centered on the occasional landlord, restaurant owner, photographer or baker.

This should be especially easy to understand for self-styled "liberals" who promote themselves as "pro-choice," tolerant and empathic. Christians should do well here, too: This is a call to high moral standards while practicing robust forms of tolerance and love.

What do we have now? Partisan television viewers, "Facebook lawyers" cheering for their team and a bunch of children playing "gotcha." A same-sex couple wants to bully a conservative Christian into decorating their cake. A shallow Christian wants to sue a gay man who doesn't want to make an offensive T-shirt.

Instead of relying on the law to address these things, how about we just grow up a little bit? Recognize that people won't always agree with us — sometimes on profound matters — and some will even try to hurt us. When we encounter those people, fight back if you must. But more often than not, try to empathize, practice a robust form of tolerance, pity them if it's vital to you, and just move along with your life.

A Critical Look At Higher Education

by CECIL BOHANON

(March 30) — Gallons of ink have been spilled over the problems of higher education — and rightfully so. Colleges and universities have been given the task of remedying all kinds of problems from income inequality to cancer. Too often collegiate administrators and their in-house publicists have encouraged the view that higher education is a cure-all for social ills. Nothing is as dangerous as an oversold product.

My cynical side says that university education, originally meant to provide young adults with a broad liberal education, has degenerated into vocational training with political correctness. In any case, higher-ed costs have been rising and academic standards have been falling, and the value of a college degree is being called into question.

There are numerous experiments in alternatives to expensive residential brick-and-mortar colleges. Eventually some will provide low-cost and credible "certificates of fitness" for white-collar jobs. So what will become of residential undergraduate colleges and universities?

I am convinced that the four-year college is not destined to go the way of the dodo — if we can rediscover and embrace a very old and noble goal of education: the development of personal character.

Cecil Bohanon, Ph.D., an adjunct scholar of the foundation, is a professor of economics at Ball State University.



“Why is it all right to force business owners to serve certain people but only in some, politically-correct contexts? Should an owner be forced to serve customers who are legally carrying guns? Should a homosexual store owner be forced to decorate a cake with Romans 1:26-27?”

— SCHANSBERG

“The reports of the Missouri Attorney General’s Office do not control for a number of critical factors that influence stops, arrests or citations, such as income, age, sex or presence of outstanding warrants.”

— TATOM

Character education conjures up the image of pompous professors spouting dull and moralizing lectures. This is not what I have in mind. Rather it seems to me that personal success in any aspect of life requires a combination of knowledge, sociability and trustworthiness. How is this accomplished? By acquiring knowledge and practicing sociability and trustworthiness.

A business student should understand basis points on a loan and own-price elasticity of demand for a product. Acquisition of this knowledge may well be effectively achieved in an impersonal setting.

However, a student should also know how to apply this knowledge to real-world problems. She should be able to explain the relevant use of this knowledge to others with whom she is working. This requires that she is working with others on a common project of mutual importance long before her first job. Such interaction requires a degree of sociability. If the common project has a life beyond a single class period, then the student must also demonstrate trustworthiness.

The virtues of sociability and trustworthiness are best developed by practice, not rote learning, exactly what the residential undergraduate experience can provide. If all those involved in undergraduate education — students, faculty, advisers and administrators — are mindful that a major component of education includes meaningful team efforts, then education and character development become seamlessly integrated in classroom, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. This is exactly what the newly found emphasis on experiential learning hopes to accomplish.

Here is a modest example. Over the last decade, I have been fortunate to work with a group of outstanding students in the Economic Club. We have sponsored speakers on campus, held social events and offered a two-day field trip to the financial district in Chicago. None of this has been for academic credit, although I am convinced our activities have been as valuable as formal coursework. Recently an alumnus of the club offered to support our current effort, noting that “the Econ Club helped me mature, and I would like to pass on the legacy.” I don’t think this can be accomplished in distance education. Four-year college can be worth the price — if we let it.

Ferguson by the Numbers

by JOHN TATOM

(March 20) — Two separate reports dated March 4, 2015, by the U.S. Justice Department

(DOJ) on the Michael Brown killing and on the Ferguson, Mo., police and courts set new, but mixed, benchmarks for what happened. While the DOJ could find no reason to question Officer Darren Wilson’s account of the shooting of Michael Brown, it launched a secondary investigation of the police and courts for potential civil-rights violations.

The DOJ points out that the popular version of the shooting, “Hands Up, Don’t Shoot,” was a gross misrepresentation. Attorney General Eric Holder in his public statement, however, did not comment on the equally supported evidence that Mr. Brown assaulted the officer and fought to take control of his gun.

Nor did Mr. Holder note that just before the fatal shot was fired, a wounded Michael Brown came at the officer bent over and reaching out to take the officer down. Mr. Brown gave every indication throughout the episode that he believed he could take the officer down, take possession of his weapon and use it on him.

Mr. Holder’s focus, again, was elsewhere: “It is not difficult to imagine how a single tragic incident set off the city of Ferguson like a powder keg,” he said in declaring that there was a pattern of violation of minority civil rights.

The DOJ’s evidence is largely based on data routinely required by the Missouri Attorney General’s Office. The office has been collecting this data and publishing a report on it for 14 years. These reports are careful to indicate that the data do not provide evidence of racial discrimination; they only provide a starting point for a dialogue on the subject. Nonetheless, the DOJ used this data to assert a conclusion.

The reports do not control for a number of critical factors that influence stops, arrests or citations, such as income, age, sex or presence of outstanding warrants. Nevertheless, many protesters and other critics argue that the Ferguson Police Department should be shut down, allowing the St. Louis County Police Department to take over.

But St. Louis County’s performance on the metrics used by the Missouri Attorney General’s office is much worse. For example, the share of blacks stopped by the county police in 2013 was

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1.5 times larger than the share of their local black population, well above the 1.37 ratio registered in Ferguson. The average performance of all departments in Missouri is even worse (1.59 times the share of the state's black population) as is that in numerous municipalities in the St. Louis area.

The DOJ report documents seven race-based jokes written by members of the Ferguson Police Department and the municipal court. These are seven too many, but the number comprises a minuscule fraction of the tens of thousands of emails over the four-year period examined.

In summary, Ferguson deserves a break. Small groups of protesters looted and burned more than 25 of the city's businesses and burned more than 12 automobiles. There now is established a relatively permanent group of protesters who have moved to the St. Louis area to protest in Ferguson on an almost daily basis.

The DOJ indicates the prime motivation for excessive stops by the Ferguson police is to raise revenue, but it provides no evidence of racial animus in stops or in the pursuit of revenue. Indeed, there is no inherent reason to believe that revenue-based policing should be related to racial bias or racial outcomes.

Revenue-based policing has been a serious concern in some municipalities in the St. Louis region for many years, though not in Ferguson. In 1995, Missouri capped the share of city revenue from fines at 30 percent. Missouri recently filed suit against 11 St. Louis-area municipalities for violating this limit.

In the meantime, the legislature is considering proposed reductions of the limit to 10 or 20 percent of city income. Ferguson, unlike many of its neighbors, has not exceeded the limit. A recent *St. Louis Post Dispatch* article found that, in 2014, Ferguson ranked 33 of 78 local municipalities for per-capita municipal court collections and 40 for per-capita traffic cases.

The Missouri Supreme Court transferred control of the Ferguson municipal court to the circuit court within days of the report, and within a week the municipal court judge, city manager and police chief resigned, removing the management leadership behind revenue-based policing. But the problem, again, is not inherently racist, and Ferguson is not among the more blatant offenders in the St. Louis region.

Despite the DOJ's rebutting the false narrative of "Arms Up, Don't Shoot," its subsequent actions and statements have led many observers to mistakenly conclude that there is evidence of racist policing. Political and

community leaders will have to work harder to demonstrate that this is a continuing false narrative if they want to defuse the divisive and destructive protests.

Indy's Soccer Boondoggle

by TOM HUSTON

(Feb. 25) — Insofar as the proposed soccer stadium for the Indy Eleven is concerned, don't believe a thing you are told by its proponents or their mouthpieces at *the Indianapolis Star*. They are in a Putin frame of mind, and if you are inclined to believe that the legislature has the slightest interest in protecting taxpayers from the rapacious grip of Ersal Ozdemir and his fellow schemers, you have lost contact with reality.

The House of Representatives on Tuesday adopted an amendment to the stadium-authorizing legislation offered by Democrat Ed DeLaney that requires a limited guarantee of public indebtedness incurred to finance the stadium. His stated intention is that the public not be "left to foot the bill for an underused or empty stadium." Actually, his proposal won't do any such thing because it incorporates no requirement that the guarantor possess assets of a minimum amount. Unfortunately, DeLaney has spent his legal career as a litigator, and he doesn't understand the fine art of theft through public-private deal-making.

As to these statements, I simply blanch in embarrassment for my friend and former law partner: DeLaney said he didn't ask for a 100 percent guarantee because he wanted a "fair and measured approach . . . I'm trying to be realistic and make sure there's a substantial commitment without saying one party to the transaction — be it the state, the owner or the league or the city — is stuck with all the responsibility."

Studiously avoiding any argument why the state or the city should be stuck with any responsibility for a stadium designed solely to benefit private interests, DeLaney is oblivious to the reality that the only obligor-guarantor who is going to be of interest to buyers of bonds issued to finance the stadium is the deep-pocketed Capital Improvements Board. Any guaranty from others will be simply window-dressing for boobs.

The assurance by the bill's sponsor of transparency in financing the proposed soccer stadium rings hollow to anyone who hasn't been asleep or on the take for the past seven years. Mayor Greg Ballard has refused to turn over documentation relating to either the special-operations center lease or the financing

"The assurance by the bill's sponsor of transparency in financing the proposed soccer stadium rings hollow to anyone who hasn't been asleep or on the take for the past seven years."

— HUSTON

BACKGROUNDEERS

structure for the proposed criminal-justice center (both multi-million dollar deals) and has conducted as much of the public business in secret as his handlers thought he could get away with.

I gather from *the Indianapolis Star* report that taxpayers are expected to sleep better knowing that the legislators orchestrating this hand-out to special interests are committed to “making sure state taxpayers are at mitigated risk.” This is typical no-doze for idiots, but why taxpayers should be at any risk or who profits from this assumption of risk are not questions that interest a *Star* reporter.

I am undecided whether those pushing this scheme are in on the action or are simply reading from a script prepared by the lobbyists (which, incidentally, include every major lobbying outfit in Indianapolis).

Take, for example, the amendment that prohibits stadium money from going toward Ozdemir’s hotel. Since no one has ever suggested the diversion of money for this purpose, the amendment makes as much sense as one providing that no stadium skybox tickets may be given gratis to Tom Huston, his heirs or devisees.

The hotel in question is that planned by Ozdemir for the to-be-rehabilitated Illinois Building, which is located a half block west of the Circle (and is far removed from the site of the proposed soccer stadium). It fits into the stadium picture because the authorizing legislation provides that the hotel will be included in a special taxing district, which will be one of the sources of repayment of the bonds. Under this legislation, property-tax revenues from the hotel otherwise available for public safety and education purposes will be diverted to finance Ozdemir’s stadium, and the amendment does absolutely nothing to change this.

Sophony is this amendment that it gets the flow of cash ass-backward: The problem isn’t money going from the stadium to the hotel; it is tax revenue going from the hotel to the stadium.

The scope of the conspiracy to hoodwink the public is much broader than merely the plan to finance a soccer stadium for private benefit. The creation of the new White River Revitalization District, which would encompass the land west of the river currently occupied by the former GM Stamping Plant (and the proposed site of the Criminal Justice Center and a Dave Lucas concert venue), and the expansion of the Downtown TIF District to include a large area surrounding Lucas Stadium, will effectively transfer millions of dollars in property taxes to a slush fund controlled by the mayor. Taxes from new development in this vast area will not be available for customary uses such as paying for police and fire protection or for the education of children, but for further payoffs to the special interests that currently control and profit from downtown development.

It is certainly true that the measure before the House is merely “enabling” legislation: It will enable Ozdemir and his cronies to continue the rape of taxpayers that Mayor Ballard has enabled over the past seven years and that, apparently, the new Democratic administration of Joe Hogsett intends to also facilitate. Millions of dollars in fees and commissions will continue to flow to favored law firms and their engineering and construction company clients. In the meantime, the legislators who expedite this fraud upon the public will continue to profess their commitment to free-market principles.

Lady Liberty weeps.

Trying to Legislate Prosperity

by ERIC SCHANSBERG

(Feb. 18) — Indiana’s Common Construction Wage Law is typically referred to as a “prevailing-wage” law. Such laws are a state’s version of the federal Davis-Bacon laws dating back to the 1930s that provided minimum wages on public-sector construction. In Indiana this year, there are measures seeking to repeal or weaken the state’s prevailing-wage law.

As always, the choice is whether to allow markets to do their thing or to use government to regulate and restrict. This choice raises ethical questions: Is it ethical to use law to increase the cost of public-works projects to taxpayers? Is it ethical to allow markets to determine wages for workers on these projects?

The choice raises practical questions as well. One claim by proponents of prevailing-wage laws is that artificially high wages serve to increase tax revenue and consumer spending. They even provide estimates of the impact, i.e., that communities receive \$1.50 in benefits for every \$1 in costs.

If we simply focus on the benefits of the policy — the higher wages — then this is quite reasonable. These workers will have more money in their paychecks and will pay more in taxes and spend more money. (They’ll also give and save more.)

But what about the costs? Where did the money come from and how would that have helped the community?

At best, it’s obviously a shell game, moving money from one person’s pocket to another — with no net gain in economic activity. At worst, it’s an inefficient regulation that restricts competition and drives up administrative costs.

What is the net cost of prevailing-wage laws? As with any “economic-development” issue, it is notoriously difficult to measure such things. There are many variables and dynamics that are difficult to assess. Let’s focus instead on some thought experiments to see why this can’t work as advertised by proponents:

First, if prevailing-wage laws enhance the economy and prosperity, then we should increase those wages a lot more — to increase the benefits.

Second, the government should pass “minimum material-price” laws for public-works projects. If artificially high prices for labor are good for the economy, then higher prices for concrete and steel will help, too.

Third, if legislators want prevailing-wage laws for the state, they should encourage their home counties to have their own prevailing-wage laws.

Fourth, I would recommend a prevailing wage for economics professors at public universities. Tax revenues from me would increase; my consumption at groceries, malls and restaurants would go up; and so on. It’s obviously a win-win for me and the economy.

Finally, we should have minimum-price laws at groceries, restaurants and malls. Higher prices will yield greater tax revenues and higher wages for employees, increasing revenues and consumption. Again, prosperity for all.

Each of these proposals has benefits, but they have larger costs. Unfortunately, the benefits are easy to see while the costs are far more subtle. Keep in mind a key lesson from Econ 101: What are the alternative uses and impact of the money?

Prevailing-wage laws might be a good idea if we want to help certain workers, but don't imagine that they will increase net economic activity.

So what difference would it make to repeal prevailing-wage laws? Nobody knows for sure. As with the passage of "Right to Work" legislation a few years ago, it's difficult to quantify. We do know that it would make economic activity in Indiana more attractive at the margin.

To summarize, this problem is more political than economic. Concentrated benefits always attract passionate efforts to preserve the status quo — while subtle costs rarely get voters excited.

Our politicians, then, have to decide if they will fight a special-interest group in order to help the economy and the general public — quite a dilemma for those who want to get reelected.

Setting Your Wage

by RYAN CUMMINS

(Feb. 18) — A decade ago, I wrote an editorial titled "A Fair Field with no Favors" to point out the tremendous costs that are shifted to taxpayers when a city engages in what we commonly know as corporate welfare. It struck me as I prepared to testify before a legislative committee this week that the very same argument exists regarding the Common Wage.

Both are interventions in the market by government, both allow government to pick winners (thus ensuring there are also losers), and both are ultimately destructive to the wealth and prosperity of the community — including, eventually, the supposed winners.

Such results are the opposite of what we in local government were seeking. Corporate welfare has never made economic sense and neither does the Common Wage law.

When property-tax caps were implemented, there were only a few of us in local government who applauded. Spending has always been a problem at the council level, and, without the discipline imposed by the caps, the hard decisions are just put off for another day.

That day is now here. And it is hard enough to make choices regarding spending without also dealing with an intervention like the Common

Wage that forces capital-project costs higher than they otherwise would be.

Property-tax caps are protection for the financial condition of the taxpayer; eliminating the Common Wage is protection for the financial condition of local government.

As a business owner, everything I sell is also sold by everyone from giant national retailers to other local businesses to half the people on Craigslist. Every time I turn around I have a new competitor — and on top of that, both my local and state government seem to fall all over themselves to force me to subsidize some portion of my competitors' operations.

I understand as well as anyone how difficult it is to be successful in the face of tough competition. But in business, there are two ways to deal with that competition:

Focus on yourself and your company, constantly striving for ways to make yourself better, smarter, more efficient, have lower prices, higher quality, faster service, a bigger selection or provide more convenience.

Enlist the power of government to hinder or eliminate your competition.

The first represents the economic means to success. The second represents the political means. The economic means is the only way to long-term prosperity and opportunity for everyone in my city, my state and my country. It is the only way in which everyone has an equal shot at sharing in that success.

The political means, well represented by the Common Wage law, is based on force and coercion. It may have winners in the short term, but there always is a much larger group of losers. It is the path to decline.

As the owner of a small family business and as a member of a financially strapped city council, I have had to learn a fair amount about markets. Lew Rockwell of the Mises Institute, writing in "Speaking of Liberty," sums it up well:

"Free-market economics asserts that every government intervention in the market generates consequences that are deleterious for prosperity and human liberty. However much such interventions may assist one group in the short run, everyone is made worse off in the long run. Government intervention destabilizes economic life in artificial ways, and ultimately does not work to bring about the results that its proponents claim to desire."

I have always strived to determine what works and what doesn't — both in business and in politics. Using that guideline, it is clear to me that markets work and intervention by force does not. In respect to the Common Wage, I urge the Indiana Legislature to vote for markets.

"When property-tax caps were implemented, there were only a few of us in local government who applauded. Spending has always been a problem at the council level, and, without the discipline imposed by the caps, the hard decisions are just put off for another day."

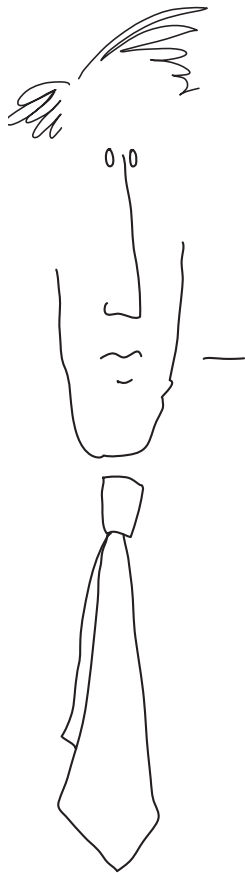
— CUMMINS

Ryan Cummins, an adjunct scholar and owner of a family business, served two terms on the Terre Haute Council, including a year as chairman of its appropriations committee.



“The Founders were not soothsayers, but they understood the measure and depth of human nature. They understood that the foundational institutions of traditional marriage and family were critical to the development and continuation of society itself.”

— KING



The Court Slides Towards Gomorrah

by STEPHEN M. KING

(Feb. 16) — A dismal future for traditional marriage was predicted by two events in 1996. That future has arrived.

First, Robert Bork, a federal judge and former Solicitor General, wrote “Slouching Towards Gomorrah.” Therein he all but predicted that American culture and society would continue to slide into moral oblivion, causing the collapse of American institutions and structures of authority and morality. Nothing short of a moral revolution would stem the tide, he warned.

Second, the popular journal of religion and political life, First Things, published a symposium, attended by some of the Right’s leading intellectuals, prophesying the “end of democracy.” It cited the diminution of moral values, ethical clarity and sustained constitutionalism, the latter coming as a result of what the authors decried as the super-

imposition of federal judicial writ vis-à-vis the U.S. Supreme Court.

“Avarice, ambition, revenge, or gallantry, would break the strongest cords of our Constitution as a whale goes through a net.”
(John Adams)

The Court was declared a judicial apostate, having abandoned and renounced any legal connection to upholding the principles of the Constitution. Instead,

the judges were accused of replacing objective and rule-bound interpretation and understanding of the Constitution with unfettered judicial ideology, effectively becoming an oligarchy. The liberal justices were declared nothing less than usurpers of the original intent of the Constitution. The symposium held them up as the harbingers of a societal decay to come.

Fast forward to February 2015: Alabama becomes the latest state to be forced to recognize gay marriage. It takes a judicial merry-go-round to pull it off — one federal judicial order followed by a reverse state order followed in turn by one more federal order — but, in the end, most counties in Alabama begin issuing marriage licenses to homosexual couples.

In a dissenting opinion prior to the Court’s hearing on a forthcoming case involving four

states’ bans on gay marriage, justices Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia roundly criticize their liberal brethren and the lack of judicial objectivity. Thomas writes: “This acquiescence may well be a signal of the Court’s intended resolution of that question.” Scalia argues against denying states their sovereign authority to govern their citizens’ affairs. And Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg implies in a related interview that, because of the shift in public opinion on the question of the legality of same-sex marriage, the Court must shift, *carte* too.

So, what does this tell us?

The Supreme Court has made up its mind. It will rule against the continuation of state bans on gay marriage. The Court will likely argue that denying same-sex couples the right to marry effectively denies a minority group its 14th Amendment’s constitutional right to equal protection of the laws. The result will provide *carte blanche* in regard to overturning the remaining 14 states’ bans on same-sex marriages and the institution of full legal recognition of same-sex marriages in all states.

The contending responses are predictable. Same-sex marriage advocates will declare this the greatest victory since the height of the civil-rights era, perhaps even arguing that this victory supersedes that of Selma and Montgomery, that this is a victory for the emancipation of the human body as well as soul.

Proponents of traditional marriage will decry the ruling as the culmination of the moral depravity of mankind himself. They will cite this ruling as the Court caving to the prurient interests of a minority population and majority public opinion that favors same-sex marriages.

And legal originalists will cite the decision in favor of solidifying ideology and political values over objective constitutional interpretation. Ultimately, they will argue the Court ceases to retain its image of fidelity and objectivity, and that ultimately the public’s confidence and trust in the Court itself will greatly deteriorate.

The Founders were not soothsayers, but they understood the measure and depth of human nature. They understood that the foundational institutions of traditional marriage and family were critical to the development and continuation of society itself. Without these institutions remaining intact as the natural order of law and society dictated, the unraveling of humankind will continue unabated.

We are no longer slouching towards Gomorrah; we have slid into its abyss. Q

THE OUTSTATER

What Indianapolis Doesn't Want You to Know

Your Life 'Matters'

(April 21) — Black families in Indianapolis might want to keep their sons close in coming months. The gentry there is coming to help them.

One hundred executives of groups with missions as impossibly diverse as the Indiana Bureau of Motor Vehicles and the Girl Scouts of Central Indiana are organizing to save young black men. They march under the banner "Your Life Matters."

Nobody can argue with that, certainly, but the campaign and a companion study include nothing that hasn't been tried recurrently for five decades. An *Indianapolis Star* editorial described an approach familiar in its tired old "root-cause" explication that omits individual choice, self-control or societal absolutes. The editors succumbed to what the novelist Tom Wolfe once labeled "radical chic."

The initiative has now evolved into a plan of action — and an aggressive one at that, the editors enthuse. "Over the next 18 months, Indianapolis will tackle a broad range of problems, from reducing the number of out-of-school suspensions and changing related policies, to building a larger network of mentors to creating a private-sector youth-employment program."

The omissions are convenient because they are the hard part. Without that, it is mere posing and a dismaying waste of a community's most heartfelt concerns. And the poseurs in their shallowness risk reinforcing a corrosive excuse — and envy-driven bitterness among the young of any poor neighborhood.

It is telling that this week's public-relations rollout contains no hint of three of the freshest thinkers on this seemingly intractable subject. Their work, in different ways and from varied perspectives, defines the social plight of today's young men, black and white. It does so in realistic terms, making it possible to draw solutions that are actual rather than ersatz.

"Please Stop Helping Us" by Jason L. Riley — This book is a blend of empirical evidence and personal memoir from a prize-winning journalist whose older sister was a single mother and whose niece died of a drug overdose. Riley, an intellectual in the mold of Thomas Sowell, argues that liberal initiatives intended to assist blacks have hurt them more than they have helped. Among his points: Social-welfare

programs of the 1960s helped ruin the black nuclear family and degraded self-independence; minimum-wage laws priced young blacks out of entry-level jobs; weak law enforcement endangered crime-ridden neighborhoods; and affirmative action either benefited blacks already academically qualified or put unqualified blacks in rigorous schools where they struggled.

"Shame" by Shelby Steele — The author, whose parents met working for the Congress of Racial Equality, believes that America has been "flummoxed" by those who would stigmatize it with past hypocrisies. For the last 50 years, government intervention has been the means of redemption. Now there is an opportunity to change directions, Steele argues, because the government is guaranteed failure: "Only human initiative is transformative, and it is an eternal arrogance to assume that government can somehow engineer or inspire or manipulate transformation. You cannot help people who have not already taken initiative — meaning total responsibility for their future. And it takes very little to help those who have actually taken such responsibility."

"Coming Apart" by Charles Murray — The former Peace Corps volunteer turned eminent social scientist throws aside the failed policies of his generation to start anew. His advice to those of us who want to help troubled youth is to begin with what has worked for us personally. In most cases that will not involve applying political leverage to petition authorities for a more lenient school-suspension policy. Bradford Wilcox underlines the point in his review for *the Wall Street Journal*:

Members of the upper class must abandon the modern horror of being thought 'judgmental.' Instead, Murray says, they should 'preach what they practice.' This does not mean turning the clock back to the 1950s or the Victorian age. It just means that the elites who control the heights of government, education, business and the popular culture could do a lot more to encourage the core American values that they themselves now live by.

That would involve accepting that blacks are capable of fending for themselves. Riley reminds us that in 1880, at a time when it was debatable whether American society thought black lives "mattered," 75 percent of black families in Philadelphia had two parents and children. In the mid-1930s, with a "New Deal" ambivalent about the fate of young black men,

It is telling that the public-relations rollout of "Your Life Matters" contains no hint of three of the freshest thinkers on this seemingly intractable subject.

THE OUTSTATER

black unemployment was lower than white unemployment. In 1964, with the “Great Society” in its planning stages, black poverty had already been falling steadily for decades — 40 percent from 1940 to 1960.

Finally, it means taking a look at data comparing the nuclear family — its obvious failings acknowledged — with other human social arrangements. Could it be that the path out of poverty in a nation as economically blessed as the United States is to: a) find a job and keep it until you find a better one; and b) get married and stay married to the same person?

That doesn’t make for sparkling dinner-party conversation or mortified Erika Smith columns. Nor does it yield the kind of results that can be presented at the next board meeting. But it seems to be the only thing that works — a plan around which sincere persons of all races can rally, not just this fiscal year but for the long haul.

A GOP Moratorium On Indiana Enterprise

“Bipartisan’ usually means that a larger-than-usual deception is being carried out.” — George Carlin

(March 13) — Passage in the Indiana House of a moratorium on enterprise, in this case nursing-home construction, is cause to wonder why the supermajority is such a big deal. Democrats could have done that by themselves and saved GOP donors tens of thousands in campaign contributions.

We asked a friend involved in the backroom discussions how nominally conservative Republicans could vote for such statist folly. “Easy,” he answered, “just leave philosophy, reason and accountability at the curb.”

And Matt Bell, lobbying on behalf of the Northeast Indiana Regional Partnership, had a facetious suggestion for *the Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*: Maybe there should be a moratorium on new restaurants that can’t guarantee a 90-percent occupancy rate, thereby saving governments inspection costs.

He made exactly the right point. Indiana government, regardless of the market distortions of Medicaid on the nursing-home industry, must keep out of the business of determining the economic future of its communities.

The House, in defiance of both actuarial science and economics, sent a message to all investors that our state is not where they want to invest. Such players — unless they happen to have political connections in Indianapolis — prefer those states in which government stays off the field.

They won’t need to wait for the measure to take effect to make their judgment. For there are predictable but largely ignored effects of such government intrusion, well-intended though it may be. The economists file them away as “unintended consequences.”

Opponents of this particular moratorium hold compelling research showing the state would lose \$463 million in economic impact over the next two years and \$22.1 million in state and local tax revenue through 2017.

But let the wonks argue about whether those figures are high or low. Simply ask yourself how much you think the House GOP leadership knows about the nursing-home industry. Enough to micromanage your grandmother’s care for the next decade?

More important than your grandmother, the moratorium denies Hoosiers something presumed to be basic across the generations — the right to sell one’s labor. This would be the labor of low- and middle-class workers in a wide range of trades who, after a Great Recession, don’t have much else left to sell.

The moratorium will have the effect that its opponents predict: of decreasing choice; of removing the incentive for existing facilities to improve their physical environments or quality of care; and of dampening the transformative economic developments that new transitional healthcare centers could bring to the state.

So why, again, was it so important that we voted Republican?

A Preschool Mirage

(Feb. 22) — Perhaps it’s just the tone, but the Indiana Chamber of Commerce’s approach seems the same regardless of the issue. There is the assumption that if Hoosiers knew what the Chamber knew — if we weren’t so dumb or lazy — then we would get out of the way and let progress progress.

And so it is with government-sponsored preschool. It doesn’t cost, it pays — or so says Caryl Auslander, the Chamber’s vice president of education and workforce development. Indeed, it would yield over time nearly \$200,000 per student, she asserts before admonishing, “What are we waiting for?”

Compelling if it were true. It isn’t, but first let her make the Chamber’s case:

The Perry Preschool Study in Michigan chronicled the effect preschool had on more than 100 at-risk youngsters in Michigan from the early 1960s until they reached age 40. Half the group attended preschool; half did not. Those with preschool graduated high school more frequently, earned more money (\$5,000-plus in median annual income) and were arrested less. The most eye-popping number: The \$15,000 preschool investment per child yielded a savings to the public of nearly \$200,000 (over the years of the study) thanks to money not spent on welfare, incarceration and other costs. That’s an average savings of \$185,000 for each child in the study who went to preschool versus those who didn’t. And those savings will continue to mount over the lives of those individuals.

The Chamber assumes that the per-student savings are the result of government-directed classroom learning and moral training. But that assumption is not supported by the study Ms. Auslander cites.

James Heckman, a Nobel prize-winning economist, recently took a fresh look at the Perry data. He concluded that the key factor in difference in outcomes between non-preschool and preschool groups was “externalized behavior.”

“Reducing externalizing behaviors is fancy social-science jargon for increasing self-control,” explains Dr. Cecil Bohanon of this foundation. “In other words, evidence from the most valid and reliable study shows that the primary benefit of preschool lies in its ability to increase a child’s skills in interacting with peers and teachers. Learning to control one’s resentments, constrain one’s anger and follow the rules at age four seem to be a key to keeping a job, not committing a crime and staying off addictive substances at age 40.”

Important stuff, but it raises doubts about the Chamber’s cost-benefit projections, because government is an unlikely teacher of the hard-earned virtues of self-control, especially in a politically correct culture in which almost every absolute is challenged. More likely, a government-directed preschool

system would struggle to produce independent, self-reliant children if indeed it were given the authority to do so.

Bohanon continues: "Self-control may be one of the virtues necessary for a free society. Nevertheless, it seems ironic to use the coercive mechanism of government — yes, taxes are coercion — to set up programs to teach self-control to groups that social scientists tell us lack self-control. We are left with this question: Public schooling may re-enforce habits of a free society, but should we rely on it to be the fount of those habits?"

Most recently, another foundation scholar surveyed the preschool research for our quarterly journal. Her conclusion: "The government-driven models reviewed tended to be carelessly and confusingly conceptualized. They often were only poor-quality reproductions of smaller, more-controlled experiments and could not guarantee significant returns on a child's education. More importantly, the very nature of these programs predisposes them to politicization, thereby stymieing meaningful reform and wasting precious resources — not the least being the hopes of low-income children and their families."

The Chamber's \$200,000-per-student savings, then, may be a mirage; its policy recommendation, so dependent on a government role, could work out to a net zero. If so, are we wasting not only tax money but also the precious time of the children in whose name the money is spent?

An answer to that question, Ms. Auslander, is what we are waiting for. — *tcl*

Resources: Caryl Auslander. "An Investment that Pays Handsome Dividends." The Fort Wayne Journal Gazette, Feb. 20, 2015; James Heckman, Rodrigo Pinto and Peter Savelyev. "Understanding the Mechanisms through Which an Influential Early Childhood Program Boosted Adult Outcomes." The American Economic Review, p. 18, October 2013; Cecil Bohanon, Ph.D. "Adam Smith and the Rationale of Preschool." The Indiana Policy Review, Nov. 11, 2013; Hang La. "Character Begins Here — Or Not." The Indiana Policy Review, fall 2014.

Charlie Rice

Charles Edward Rice, Aug. 7, 1931 – Feb. 25, 2015

(March 4) — The officers of the foundation pause to praise Charlie Rice, professor of law at Notre Dame, who died last week in South Bend. We do so because we greatly admired Charlie, a founding scholar here, but also because Indiana is in need of being reminded what endurance, character and hope look like in a man.

Charlie's resume is full of achievements requiring those attributes — lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps; champion boxer; legal scholar who argued before the Supreme Court of the United States; teacher who instilled the fire of justice in his students; fierce defender of the unborn and all innocents; and beloved head of a huge Irish household that included natural and adopted children plus a long line of rescued dogs and cats.

Once, one of our writers mistakenly identified Charlie as a former dean of a law school. "I've never been the dean of a law school," he wrote us in mock rage, "and I'll fight any man who says otherwise."

Twenty-six years ago, the officers of our nascent foundation were sent to petition Charlie in his Notre Dame office. He asked a few pointed questions as to what we were about, listened to the answers and made a characteristic on-the-spot decision to help us with all of the strength he could muster, and to do so whenever we called — forever.

His was the first paper that the foundation commissioned, a carefully reasoned legal brief against public-sector collective bargaining. It predated by more than two decades Gov. Scott Walker's political triumph in Wisconsin. It was flatly dismissed as politically impossible by Indiana's GOP leadership — as it continues to be ignored today.

Charlie was our attorney in *Indiana Policy Review vs. the State of Indiana*. Therein he challenged the Indiana Supreme Court to explain how the state Constitution could specifically prohibit multi-issue legislation but the legislature could pass multi-issue bills as a matter of course. The court declined to hear his argument.

Charlie also represented us in a free-press matter before the board of Fort Wayne Community Schools, a statist outfit and proxy of the Indiana State Teachers Association. Members of the board majority, not knowing with whom they were dealing, challenged his credentials before he could even begin his testimony. Charlie's response reduced them to a muttering claque.

Later that day, as we walked him to the car, he thanked us. "For what?" one of us asked, "The assassination of your character by public servants?"

"No, for this guerrilla theater," he said.

Charlie Rice loved a fight and didn't care what people thought of him. He was born to meet resistance of all kinds and from whatever direction. He was that rare man — strong in mind and body, unyielding on his principles, combative when necessary but never a bully, and always ready to embrace a reformed enemy as a true friend.

Mostly, he was a Christian man — the kind who has become all but invisible in our uber-feminized, politicized and secularized culture.

Only a few days after Charlie died, the leader of a foreign government addressed a joint session of Congress on the U.S. stake in the Middle East. It had been left to someone holding only diplomatic credentials to defend U.S. interests and values against our lawless executive branch. No American was up to the challenge.

Charlie would have been up to it. — *tcl*

Q. Of these potential GOP candidates for president, which one would you least like to see nominated?

Jeb Bush 32%
Chris Christie 26%
Ted Cruz 16%
Mike Huckabee 12%
Scott Walker 4%
Rick Perry 2%
Carly Fiorina 2%
Marco Rubio 2%
Rand Paul 2%
Bobby Jindal 2%
Ben Carson 0%

Comments

- Huckabee? Really? Why doesn't the GOP simply endorse Hillary Clinton? At least it will save itself the cost of a doomed campaign.

- Ted Cruz seems too self-serving to me, more interested in posturing than policy. Might be true of many others in the field as well, but he stands out in that way.

- Not Jeb Bush; we need a new face and name.

- I think Chris Christie's abrasive personality would not be the image I would like persons to see when they think of America. Any of these would present a better image than what we presently have.

- We need the Republicans to nominate the most electable candidate. Even "untrue" conservatives are better than another Democratic administration. Conservatives need to focus on the possible and not on the theoretical but impossible best world.

- Ted Cruz is a smart and interesting guy but shows no sign of the capacity to lead policy change that wins public and congressional support. His inflammatory style wouldn't wear well.

- Jeb has the wrong last name. If the GOP doesn't lead on immigration with an Hispanic-friendly plank,

the party will continue to struggle. We need them, and they fit into the GOP naturally.

- In addition to Christie, who is a blowhard and has little if anything productive to say, my next set of "least like to see nominated candidates" are in no particular order: Ted Cruz (extremely unqualified); Mike Huckabee (can't make up his mind between being a liberal on economic and job policy issues and a conservative on social issues); Rick Perry, Ben Carson (likable, affable, but not political); Rand Paul (too extreme for the middle-of-the road voter); Carly Fiorina (she was fired as CEO of Hewlett-Packard, do I need to say more); and Bobby Jindal. The only candidates who have a snowball's chance of beating Hillary Clinton are Rubio, Bush and Walker.

- I refuse to vote for another one of the Bushes. The last two, especially George W. Bush, was able to get Congressional Republicans to vote for statist programs they never would have voted for under a democratic president — No Child Left Behind, Medicare Part D, etc. These programs made it easier for Barack Obama to pass Obamacare, etc.

- Carly Fiorina does not seem to have the moxie to take on Hillary Clinton.

- Not much chance for Perry; the best are Carson, Walker and Rubio.

- Two embarrassingly failed Bush presidencies are enough.

- Scott Walker is divisive, abrupt. We don't need an Obama from the right — nor is it likely such a person could get elected. Several good candidates exist who would use rhetoric that is less polarizing, pulling independents and folks from the center.

- Make the mistake of nominating Jeb and Republicans squander the no-dynasty advantage. Besides, like every other president named Bush, he's weak.

(Media members selected Cruz, Perry and Huckabee as their least favorite nominees.)

Fifty-three of the 128 members contacted completed this quarter's opinion survey for a response rate of 41 percent. The survey was conducted May 8-9.

People who know about opinion surveys don't think much of ours. The sample is inherently biased and so small as to be little more than a focus group. The questions, sometimes confusing, are casually worded and transparently drive at one point or another. That said, we have learned to trust our members and eagerly await their thoughts on this and that.

THE DESTINIES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED

*From an essay on the signers of the Declaration of Independence
by Rush H. Limbaugh Jr., distributed by the Federalist Magazine*

• **Francis Lewis** — A New York delegate saw his home plundered and his estates, in what is now Harlem, completely destroyed by British soldiers. Mrs. Lewis was captured and treated with great brutality. She died from the effects of her abuse. • **William Floyd** — Another New York delegate, he was able to escape with his wife and children across Long Island Sound to Connecticut, where they lived as refugees without income for seven years. When they came home, they found a devastated ruin. • **Phillips Livingstone** — Had all his great holdings in New York confiscated and his family driven out of their home. Livingstone died in 1778 still working in Congress for the cause. • **Louis Morris** — The fourth New York delegate saw all his timber, crops and livestock taken. For seven years he was barred from his home and family. • **John Hart** — From New Jersey, he risked his life to return home to see his dying wife. Hessian soldiers rode after him, and he escaped in the woods. While his wife lay on her deathbed, the soldiers ruined his farm and wrecked his homestead. Hart, 65, slept in caves and woods as he was hunted across the countryside. • **Dr. John Witherspoon** — He was president of the College of New Jersey, later called Princeton. The British occupied the town of Princeton, and billeted troops in the college. They trampled and burned the finest college library in the country. • **Judge Richard Stockton** — Another New Jersey delegate signer, he had rushed back to his estate in an effort to evacuate his wife and children. The family found refuge with friends, but a sympathizer betrayed them. Judge Stockton was pulled from bed in the night and brutally beaten by the arresting soldiers. Thrown into a common jail, he was deliberately starved. • **Robert Morris** — A merchant prince of Philadelphia, delegate and signer, raised arms and provisions which made it possible for Washington to cross the Delaware at Trenton. In the process he lost 150 ships at sea, bleeding his own fortune and credit dry. • **George Clymer** — A Pennsylvania signer, he escaped with his family from their home, but their property was completely destroyed by the British in the Germantown and Brandywine campaigns. • **Dr. Benjamin Rush** — Also from Pennsylvania, he was forced to flee to Maryland. As a heroic surgeon with the army, Rush had several narrow escapes. • **William Ellery** — A Rhode Island delegate, he saw his property and home burned to the ground. • **Edward Rutledge** • **Arthur Middleton** • **Thomas Heyward Jr.** — These three South Carolina signers were taken by the British in the siege of Charleston and carried as prisoners of war to St. Augustine, Fla. • **Thomas Nelson** — A signer of Virginia, he was at the front in command of the Virginia military forces. With British General Charles Cornwallis in Yorktown, fire from 70 heavy American guns began to destroy Yorktown piece by piece. Lord Cornwallis and his staff moved their headquarters into Nelson's palatial home. While American cannonballs were making a shambles of the town, the house of Governor Nelson remained untouched. Nelson turned in rage to the American gunners and asked, "Why do you spare my home?" They replied, "Sir, out of respect to you." Nelson cried, "Give me the cannon," and fired on his magnificent home himself, smashing it to bits. But Nelson's sacrifice was not quite over. He had raised \$2 million for the Revolutionary cause by pledging his own estates. When the loans came due, a newer peacetime Congress refused to honor them, and Nelson's property was forfeited. He was never reimbursed. He died, impoverished, a few years later at the age of 50. • **Abraham Clark** — He gave two sons to the officer corps in the Revolutionary Army. They were captured and sent to the infamous British prison hulk afloat in New York harbor known as the hell ship "Jersey," where 11,000 American captives were to die. The younger Clarks were treated with a special brutality because of their father. One was put in solitary and given no food. With the end almost in sight, with the war almost won, no one could have blamed Abraham Clark for acceding to the British request when they offered him his sons' lives if he would recant and come out for the king and parliament. The utter despair in this man's heart, the anguish in his soul, must reach out to each one of us down through 200 years with his answer: "No."



Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze, oil on canvas, 1851



Thomas Hoepker, photograph, Sept. 11, 2001

Please Join Us

IN THESE TRYING TIMES those states with local governments in command of the broadest range of policy options will be the states that prosper. We owe it to coming generations to make sure that Indiana is one of them. Because the foundation does not employ professional fundraisers, we need your help in these ways:

• **ANNUAL DONATIONS** are fully tax deductible: individuals (\$50) or corporations (\$250) or the amount you consider appropriate to the mission and the immediate tasks ahead. Our mailing address is PO Box 5166, Fort Wayne, IN 46895 (your envelope and stamp are appreciated). You also can join at the website, <http://www.inpolicy.org>, using your credit card or the PayPal system. Be sure to include your e-mail address as the journal and newsletters are delivered in digital format.

• **BEQUESTS** are free of estate tax and can substantially reduce the amount of your assets claimed by the government. You can give future support by including the following words in your will: "I give, devise and bequeath to the Indiana Policy Review Foundation (*insert our address and amount being given here*) to be used to support its mission." A bequest can be a specific dollar amount, a specific piece of property, a percentage of an estate or all or part of the residue of an estate. You also can name the foundation as a contingency beneficiary in the event someone named in your will no longer is living.



"The Battle of Cowpens," painted by William Ranney in 1845, shows an unnamed patriot (far left) firing his pistol and saving the life of Col. William Washington.

INDIANAPOLICY

Review

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