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Title Survey of Social Science

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Survey of
SOCIAL SCIENCE

MARION B SMITH, *Louisiana State University*

WITH THE EDITORIAL COLLABORATION OF

CARROLL R DAUGHERTY, *Hunter College*

Revised Edition

BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · DALLAS · ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

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Preface to the Second Edition

HUMAN SOCIETY is continuously changing. During the past five years the rate of social change has been greatly accelerated. It is therefore desirable that textbooks dealing with social science be frequently revised.

When the first edition of *Survey of Social Science* was written, the data from the 1940 Census were not available and the United States had not become involved in the second World War. Now we have the figures from the 1940 Census, and in all parts of the textbook where the 1940 Census or later figures can be used, they are substituted for the earlier data; also information and conclusions drawn on the data are revised to conform to the more recent material. We have now relatively little interest in the government of the Third Reich, as that organization is of interest only as history; however, we are very much interested in the government of the Soviet Union, and every educated person in the United States should know something about its organization and operation. Also it is very desirable that our educated men and women should know something about international organization and relationship. The revision of *Survey of Social Science* devotes a new chapter to the government of the Soviet Union (the material on the Third Reich in the first edition is omitted) and a new chapter to international organization. The chapter on social change is rewritten and considerably expanded, with an added section treating social planning.

We believe that, with the changes made in this revision, *Survey of Social Science* now provides data which are the latest available on most of the subjects with which it deals, and in addition discusses some timely subjects on which all educated persons should be informed.

Preface to the First Edition

DURING the past generation new social problems have pushed themselves into the forefront of American life to such an extent that the schools and particularly the colleges of the nation have given more attention to the social sciences than formerly. During the past decade there has been a growing feeling on the part of many educators that a general knowledge of social organization, social principles, and social problems is an essential part of the education of all citizens. Many educators are no longer content to let students graduate from the colleges and universities of the nation with no other knowledge of the society into which they are expected to fit as contributing leaders than that which they gained from the study of military or political history or from any one of the specialized social sciences such as anthropology, economics, geography, government, or sociology. Many educators feel that a general course in the social sciences is needed for all college students.

In response to this feeling of a need for a general course on the social sciences the Louisiana State University established about ten years ago a full-year course called "General Social Science." From the work done among the freshmen in the Louisiana State University in General Social Science the present text has to a large extent developed.

This text does not attempt to introduce the students to the subjects of anthropology, economics, government, psychology, or sociology as separate fields of human life and activities. Rather it attempts to describe man's life with particular emphasis on life in America at the present time, contrasted, at times, with life in other cultures. In order to understand more clearly the present life of man and his activities the

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students are given a chance to understand the various factors which have influenced human development: the development of the social institutions from primitive and early historical periods is stressed as a background for an understanding and appreciation of existing culture. Thus although the separate fields of the social sciences are not emphasized each has its part just as each plays its part in the integrated pattern of human culture.

The text begins with a study of the various factors (biological, psychological, geographical, and cultural) which operate to influence human behavior. The distribution of human beings in physical and in social space is then discussed. In this section such subjects as density of population, reproduction and growth of population, migration, characteristics of populations, social classes in society, and movements of individuals and of groups in social space, that is, change in social status, are introduced for consideration. The greater portion of the text is thereafter devoted to a treatment of the social institutions just as the greater part of any person's life is bound up in social institutions. In this section the following institutions are studied: domestic: courtship, marriage, family, and divorce; religion; economic principles and practices; political organization; education; recreation; art and aesthetics; and health. The text concludes with a treatment of social change, the causes of social change and the results which often attend such change.

The text does not attempt to suggest solutions for the social problems of the present day. That very important subject is better treated after an understanding of the nature of society and the factors which are responsible for many of the problems has been presented to students. Naturally no course which attempts to describe the life of man would be complete without some mention of the social problems with which he is confronted. Problems are dealt with as characteristics of the life of man without any attempts to set up cure-alls for such conditions.

The text could not have been written without the assistance and critical suggestions of many persons, only a few of whom can be mentioned here. To Professors Benjamin F. Mitchell, formerly dean of the

Junior Division of Louisiana State University, Frank W. Girlinghouse, head of the Department of Social Science, L. B. Lucky, assistant-professor of social science, T. Lynn Smith, head of the Department of Sociology, Elmo H. Lott, associate-professor of sociology, Edgar A. Schuler, assistant-professor of sociology of the Louisiana State University, and the late Fritz Abegg of the Perth Amboy High School, New Jersey, the author is especially indebted. The author is also particularly obligated to his wife, Lucia Forsyth Smith, for her encouragement and advice through all periods of preparation of the manuscript. To John Coullard, Miss Louise Kemp, Mrs. Eileen Ratterree Armstrong and Miss Edna Strong, the writer owes a great deal for their secretarial and research assistance.

Professor Carroll R. Daugherty, chairman of the Economics Department at Hunter College, has edited the entire manuscript with respect to organization and with respect to modes of expression. His contributions have been considerable and amply justify the placing of his name on the title page. The editing with respect to content was greatly helped by the contributions of Professor Elsie V. Steedman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Hunter College, and Doctor Winchester Heicher, Department of Political Science at Hunter College.

MARION B. SMITH

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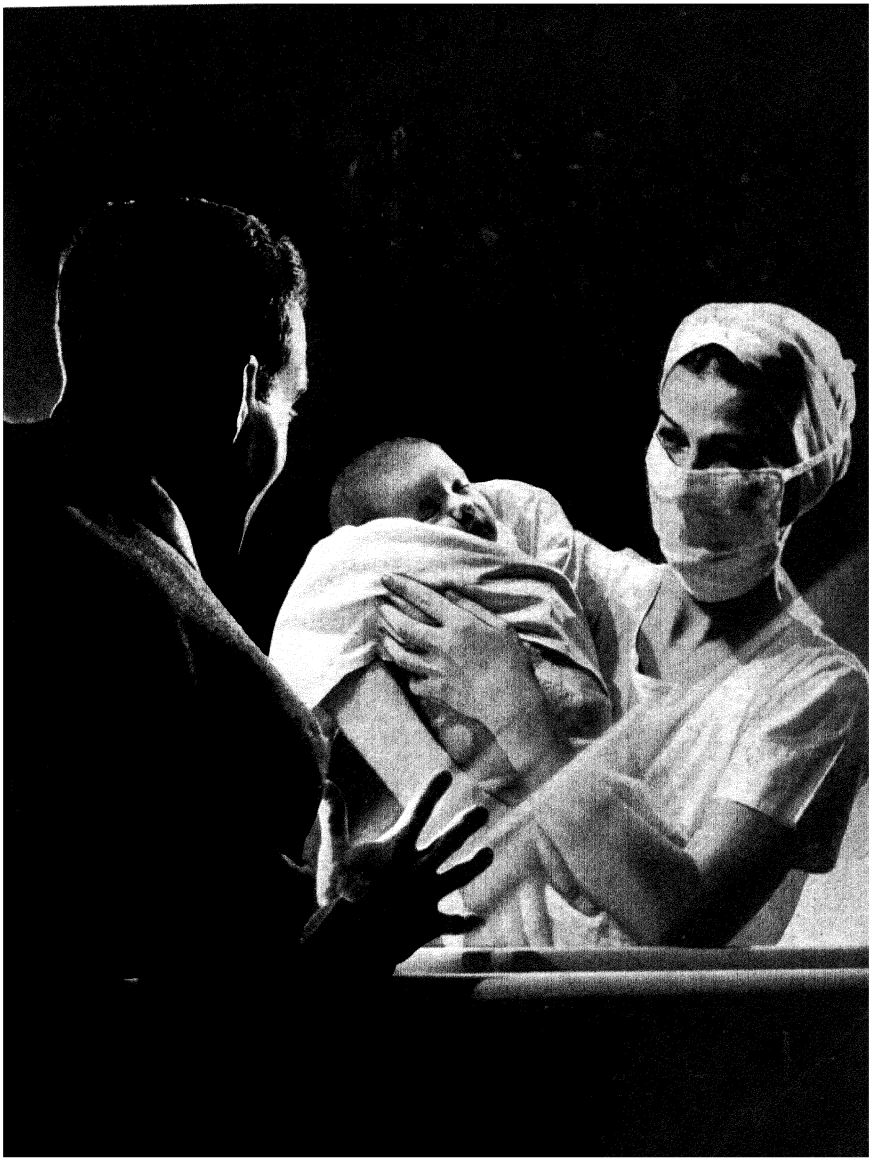
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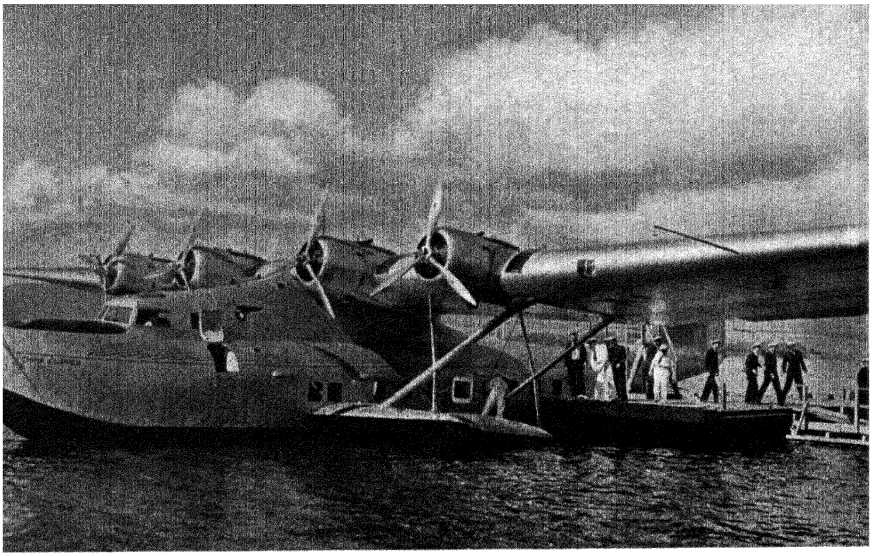
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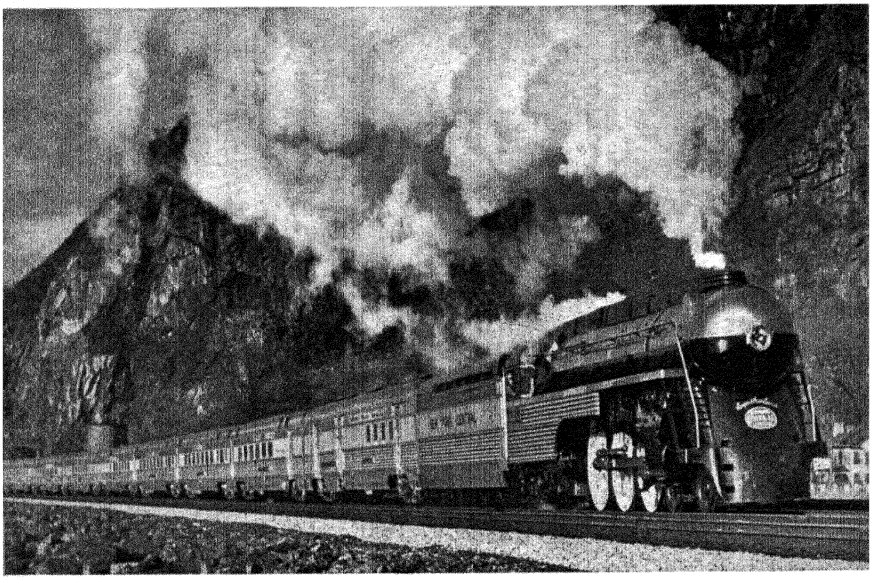
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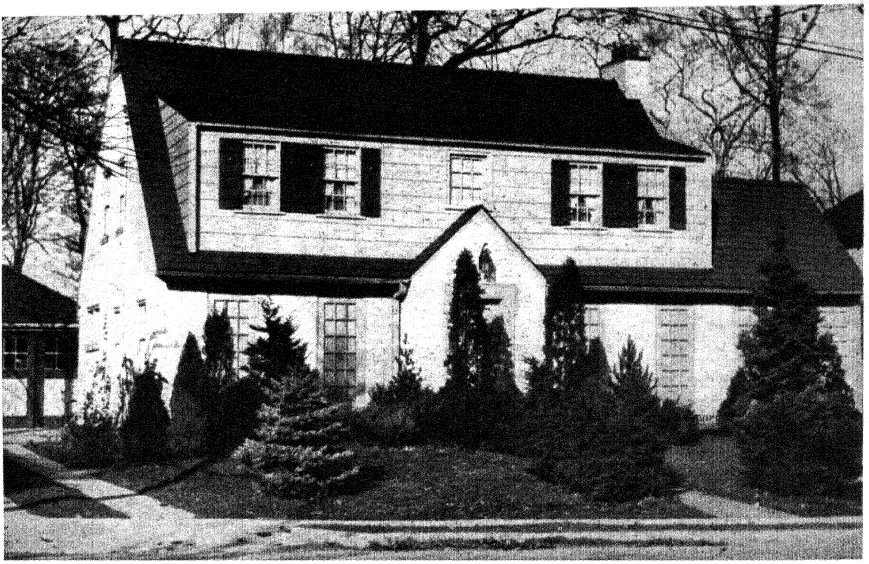
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PLATE 2

Human development cannot be easily defined. *As the preceding page suggests, it implies life and the biological evolution of modern man; also it includes psychological and geographic influences upon man; and it embraces that part of man's environment which he himself makes, or his* culture.



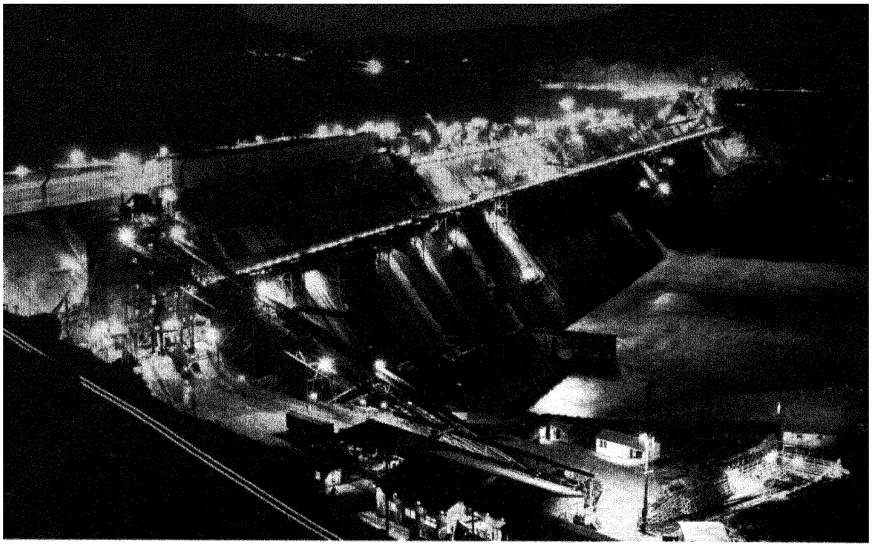
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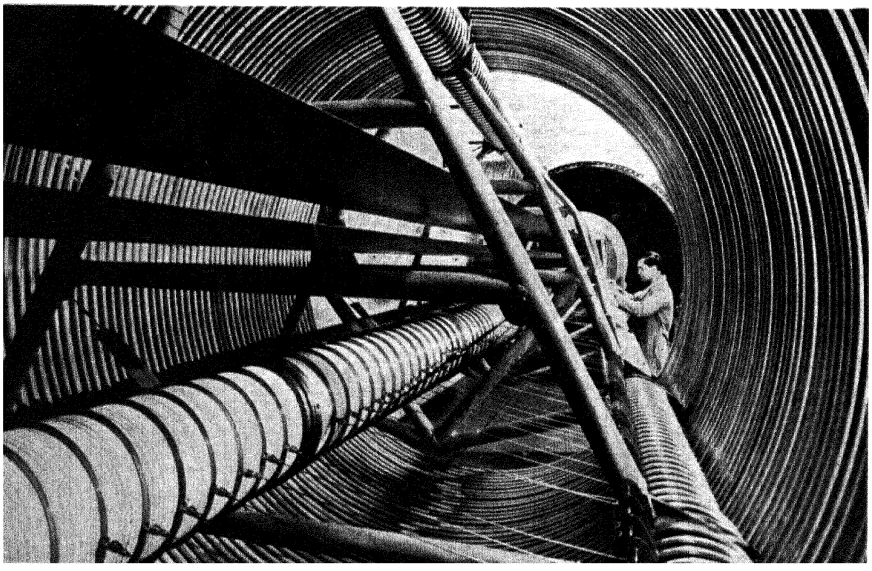
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PLATE 3

Man's technological knowledge and skills and his mental capacity lead him to invent a China Clipper and a streamlined train. His technological knowledge and skills and his geographic environment lead him to work in certain types of buildings, live in certain types of houses, eat certain foods, and wear certain clothes.



U.S. Department of Interior



Gendreau

PLATE 4

Man uses his mental capacity to modify, control, and utilize nature. The Grand Coulée Dam in central Washington harnesses the Columbia River. The atom smasher, driving charged particles at enormous speeds, unfolds the hidden mysteries of the proton and electron.

CHAPTER 1

Development of Life and of Man

A. *What is Life?*

THAT MYSTERIOUS SOMETHING which is called life seems to have made its appearance on this planet in the very distant past. No one knows whence or how life came to be on this earth, nor is it known to exist on any other planet. No one knows what life is. Some have said, "Life is the state of living," others, "Life is the sum total of vital functions." The statements mean but little, and after reading them, one is as much in the dark as ever regarding the true meaning of life.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LIFE

Life cannot be defined in exact terms. It can, however, be described by explaining certain characteristics which are always found in living things. The unit of life is the cell, which is composed of a material called protoplasm. This protoplasm is a transparent semi-fluid substance made up of certain chemical elements such as carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, sulphur, phosphorus, potassium, calcium, sodium, iron, and magnesium. Within the protoplasm are found three classes of compounds of these elements: carbohydrates, fats, and proteins. The elements and even the compounds thereof found in living matter are also found in non-living (inorganic) matter. Therefore one must go beyond the chemical composition of the protoplasm which makes life to discover the characteristics of living objects which do distinguish them from the inorganic things. These characteristics are:

a. *The ability to take nourishment into the organism and to use it as stored-up energy for future need* — for example, animals produce and store up fat to supply the body needs at a later date. The body thus uses the substances of its own structure, such as fats, and by a process of oxidation releases them as energy in the form of motion, heat, or electricity. This quality or characteristic of living objects is called *metabolism.*

b. *The capacity to respond to stimuli.* This may be very slight in some plants, but it exists in all living forms to some degree. Response to

stimuli may take many forms: the adaptation of living matter to its environment; the contraction or motion either toward or away from the stimulating object; and so forth.

c. *The power to grow.* Growth is according to a specific pattern for a given species. The young oak tree grows into a tree of a definite type; the young animal becomes an adult of the same family.

d. *The ability to reproduce.* If there were no reproduction of the species, a specific organism would soon cease to exist.

Although all forms of life possess the characteristics mentioned, life forms are so varied that at first glance very little similarity or relationship seems to exist between an amoeba (a microscopic organism) and an elephant or a tree. An amoeba is a one-celled organism; an elephant and a tree are made up of a vast multitude of cells which function together to make the elephant or the tree. Yet biologists say that in so far as the essential characteristics of life are concerned, the differences are simply those of quantity (or amount) and not of kind. Thus it is life, whether it is the one-celled amoeba, or the multi-celled oak tree, or civilized man.

All living organisms are motivated by two basic forces — hunger and self-perpetuation through reproduction. As the poets and philosophers have said, love and hunger rule the world. Through satisfaction of the urge of hunger, the individual is nourished and his survival is made possible. Through satisfaction of the sex urge, reproduction is provided for, and survival of the group or species is facilitated.

B. *Man and His Origin*

Our interest in life in general arises chiefly out of concern with the development of man. No one knows exactly how long man has lived on this earth, nor just where he first made his appearance. From geological evidence it is certain that he has been here for many hundreds of thousands of years.

1. THEORIES OF MAN'S ORIGIN

There are two viewpoints about the origin of man. One holds that man appeared in much the same form in which he is found today and that such subsequent changes as have taken place have come about as a result of environmental and hereditary influences. This, the creationists' viewpoint, maintains that man, and indeed all organic

matter, was the creation of a supernatural power in a mysterious and supernatural way. The other point of view, the scientific or evolutionary, holds that man represents a stage in the evolution of life. The process of unfolding or evolving of a particular form of life into new and different forms, by which the present or existing order has arisen from a previous or an antecedent order, is known as *Organic Evolution.*

Since the evolutionary viewpoint is the one that is accepted by scientists generally, the rise and evolution of man will be explained from this point of view. This belief inevitably brings up the matter of the religious or the church view of the origin of life. However, as Linton says:

> The recently revived conflict between religion and science on the question of evolution seems to be based on misconceptions on both sides. A belief in evolution and in the existence of a Creative Intelligence are in no way incompatible. The study of evolution is merely a study of the mechanics of creation with a recognition of the continuity of the creative process. The evolutionist can determine the steps by which new forms of life have come into being, but he remains ignorant of the *force* responsible for these changes and for their direction. He can prove that life, whose source itself is unknown, has assumed more and more complex forms with the passage of time, but he cannot tell us why it has done so He cannot even forecast, with any degree of accuracy, what forms evolving life will assume. His researches to date make the existence of a Creative Intelligence more rather than less probable. If religion condemns the study of evolution it must also, in common logic, condemn all other studies of the nature of the world in which we live and all attempts to understand it. The Old Testament statements on the nature of the universe are quite as definite as its statements on the origin of man, both being somewhat vague and conflicting, yet the Church no longer condemns men for believing that the world is round or that it moves about the sun. Neither does it condemn them for studying the behavior of bacteria and the using of knowledge thus gained to combat disease or for those studies of materials which have made possible the suspension bridge and skyscraper. It is to be hoped that the enemies of evolutionary studies will sometime realize that there is no conflict between the recorded teachings of Christ, on which they claim to base their creeds and the attempt to understand nature. Christ came to show men how to live in the world, not to tell them what the universe was like. His message is as vital to the inhabitants of a spherical earth as of a flat one, to a race which evolved from some lower form of life as to one created instantaneously from the slime of the earth.[1]

[1] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1936, pp. 7-8 Reprinted by permission

2. BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF MAN

The individual man develops from the fertilized ovum or egg of the female by the process of growth, division, and multiplication of tiny cells. Before birth, in the mother's uterus or womb, he passes through various physical stages as an embryo. These embryonic stages are, at different levels in point of time and of evolution, so nearly identical to the stages in the development of the embryos of lower forms of animal life that at certain stages none but an expert can distinguish the embryo man from the embryo fish, the embryo calf, or the embryo ape. In such fashion, biologists explain, has the genus *homo* itself developed during the hundreds of thousands of years that living organisms have existed on the earth. The genus started as did all life with the one-cell organism, and slowly by the process of mutation and adaptation it has reached its present state. Accordingly, existing animals are not the direct ancestors of man, for each species is thought to have its own branch of the "tree of life." It is incorrect to say that the anthropoid ape is the grandparent of man. Rather at some distinct period in the development of the earth there existed an ape-like animal which was the forerunner of both man and existing apes.

3. SIMILARITIES OF MAN AND THE APE

If man and the ape have the same forefathers, then their relationship is rather close and may be tested from that viewpoint. What are the evidences of the close relationship of man and his simian cousin? We may class the evidences as (a) Anatomical, (b) Physiological, and (c) Paleontological.

a. *Anatomical similarities*

> ... the bodily structures of man and the higher apes are, bone for bone, muscle for muscle, nerve for nerve, and organ for organ, extraordinarily homologous, or similar in arrangement, except for an extra pair of ribs in certain of the apes and a few extra muscles (said to be three only) in man, due to his erect stature.... The teeth are the same in number and kinds, though in man the canines are reduced in size.[2]

Not only is there remarkable similarity in the anatomical structure of the higher apes and man, but this similarity so continues throughout the vertebrate group that through the study of the anatomy of lower

[2] Frank H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, p. 51. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

animals, discoveries have been made which have been applied advantageously to human beings. For example:

> A young woman was afflicted with frequent violent epileptic fits. The attacks, she said, always began in her left thumb; after spreading to the hand and then to the arm, they were followed by unconsciousness and violent convulsions all over the body. Observations in the hospital showed that the attacks did begin in the left thumb. The surgeon reasoned that if he could prevent the fit from starting there, he could stop the entire attack. Experiments on the brains of animals had shown that a certain little cube of gray matter dominates all the thumb muscles. Knowing the facts of comparative anatomy, the surgeon operated on the same spot in the girl's brain and cut out a small cube of gray matter. Her epileptic fits were a thing of the past.[8]

b. *Physiological similarities.* Physiology has for its subject matter the functioning or operation of the organs of the body, that is, the digestive tract, the respiratory organs, the circulatory system, and so forth. The various organs of the human body function in practically the same way as do the similar organs in the bodies of other animals. The body of man performs such operations as assimilation, respiration, circulation, and excretion in much the same way as the bodies of animals of a lower order. Furthermore, certain diseases which are referred to as human diseases, such as tuberculosis, cancer, syphilis, and others, may be contracted by the lower animals, especially the anthropoid ape. Diseases regarded as belonging to the lower animals, especially anthrax, glanders, and hydrophobia, may be contracted by man.

Blood tests of the anthropoid apes and of man reveal that the same four types of blood which exist in the human animal are found among the apes. These blood tests indicate that the anthropoid ape is of closer kinship to man than it is to either the Old World or the New World monkeys. In referring to the relationship, Thomson says:

> Very striking is the experimental proof of blood relationship, in a literal sense. Friedenthal points out that when the blood of a horse is transfused into an ass, that of a hare into a rabbit, that of an orang into a gibbon, or that of man into chimpanzee, there is harmonious mingling of the two. But when human blood is transfused into eel, pigeon, horse, dog, lemur or monkey (non-anthropoid), there is no harmonious mingling. On the contrary, the human blood serum behaves in a hostile way to the other

[8] Carroll R. Daugherty in J. H. S. Bossard (ed.), *Man and His World*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1932, pp. 146–147. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

> blood, causing great disturbance, marked, for instance, by the destruction of the red blood corpuscles. Why is there such marked difference between the two sets of cases? In the first set the organisms are closely related; in the second set they are not.[4]

Furthermore, certain glands of the apes function in the same way as those of man and are so similar that operations have been performed whereby the glands of the anthropoids have been substituted for those of man. On this subject Hankins says:

> Remarkable evidences of human descent are found also in the similar functioning of the ductless glands which are of primary importance in physiological processes and in personality traits. A thyroid gland transplanted from chimpanzee to human male is reported to have functioned perfectly; widespread publicity has been given for two decades to the transplantation of reproductive glands from apes and monkeys to man, but many medical men are still skeptical of the extravagant claims of rejuvenation said to result therefrom. There are also striking similarities in the menstrual cycle, especially of the chimpanzee, in the period of gestation, and in the whole physiology of reproduction.[5]

c. *Paleontological evidences.* Our information about the very early forms of man — the forms which were preliterate and which were in a lower state of development than the forms of modern man — has been gained by skeletal remains which have been dug up in various parts of the earth. Seldom are these remains complete, but students of anatomy are able through their knowledge of the anatomical structure of man and other animals to reconstruct the complete skeleton and get, from a few important bones, a rather accurate idea of the type of man or animal represented. For two reasons, the most important bone which the students of early man can find is the jaw bone: this bone gives the information necessary to determine the cranial development, and the state of human evolution is revealed by the shape, size, and capacity of the cranium.

4. EARLY FORMS OF MAN

a. *The Java ape-man.* One of the oldest forms of man which has yet been discovered is the Java ape man, *Pithecanthropus erectus.* This very early form of man-like animal was found by Eugene Dubois in Java, in

[4] J. Arthur Thomson, *What Is Man?* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1924, pp. 8–9. Courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

[5] Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

1891 and 1892. The findings consisted of a cranial cap, a thigh bone, and some teeth. These were deposited about forty feet below the surface of the earth. The cranial cap, which Dubois found, is low and narrow, allowing a relatively small brain of about 850 to 900 cubic centimeters. Such a brain would have a capacity midway between that of modern man, 1200 to 2000 cc., and that of the gorilla, 420 to 590 cc. The thigh bone indicated an erect posture. The skull cap indicated that the part of the brain which controls speech, was developed sufficiently for the Java ape man probably to possess speech of an essentially human character.

The ape man is estimated to be much closer than any of the apes in relationship to man, but even so, the ape man is not thought to lie in the direct line of descent which led to modern man. It rather represents an extinct variety of man-like ape or ape-like man which belonged to its own little branch on the tree of life.

b. *The Piltdown and the Peking man.* In Sussex, England, and near Peking, China, have been found fragments of human skeletons which appear to have been contemporaries. The specimen known as the Dawn or Piltdown man was found in a gravel pit near Sussex, England. The remains consisted of a skull, parts of a jaw, and some teeth. Found with the human skull were some very primitive stone tools and remains of extinct animals.

The fragments of the human skeletons found in China were laid down in the same geologic period as were the skeletal remains found in Sussex:

> In 1903 M. Schlosser of Munich received a collection of "dragon's bones" that had been purchased of a druggist in Peking, China. In it he found a "left upper third molar, either of a man or of a hitherto unknown anthropoid ape." The locality and the age of the deposit in which it was found are still unknown. Schlosser believed the tooth from Peking to be the oldest human tooth known at that time and one that showed a closer resemblance to the apes than any other known fossil. . . . Schlosser's pioneer work did not begin to bear fruit until 1921, when J. G. Andersson, the Swedish geologist, discovered the fossil bearing deposits in the cavern of Chou Kou Tien, near Peking. From 1923 to 1926 two human teeth were recovered from material which had been taken from this cavern. In 1927 another human tooth was found. The next find (1928) was the horizontal portion of the right half of an adult human lower jaw with three molar teeth in situ, also other teeth.
>
> In December, 1929, W. C. Pei, a Chinese scientist, discovered a human

> cranium, complete except for the face and a portion of the base. The skull is that of a young adult, probably male, and represents a primitive generalized type combining certain characters found in the Java man and in the Piltdown man.[6]

The evidence from the Piltdown and the Peking man seems to point to the existence of a man-like animal with a cranial capacity about equal to that of the average of existing races (about 1300 cc.) but less than that normally found in Europeans today. The jaw of these specimens is ape-like, chinless, and resembles somewhat the jaw of a chimpanzee. Their geologic ages are variously estimated as the latter part of the Pliocene or the early part of the Pleistocene Age, or from about 400,000 to 1,000,000 years ago.

There is no general agreement as to the age or even the specific physical characteristics of the Piltdown or the Peking man. It is usually agreed, however, that they represent a stage of development above that of the modern anthropoid and below that of modern man. Like the Pithecanthropus, they probably represent extinct offshoots from the primate branch of the tree of life.

c. *Heidelberg man.* Near the university town of Heidelberg, Germany, deposited in sands about eighty feet below the surface of the earth, a lower jaw bone complete with teeth was discovered during the year 1907. The jaw was massive in structure and had no chin. The jaw bone was even more powerful and heavier than those of modern gorillas or chimpanzees. The jaw alone might have belonged to some powerful ape-like animal, but the teeth were essentially human in character. It has been estimated that this ape-like man must have lived about 400,000 years ago. Little more has been learned of this type of man. Some anthropologists believe that he represents an extinct species; others, that he was an ancestor of the Neanderthal man, which is discussed next.

d. *Neanderthal man.* More material evidence from which to judge the character of early man has been found from the Neanderthal man than from any of the earlier forms. This may be because it is doubtful that the earlier ape-like men buried their dead. Obviously there is less likelihood of finding skeletal remains of beings which have not reached the stage where their dead are buried; decay would completely destroy the body, or wild animals would devour the flesh and

[6] George Grant MacCurdy, *The Coming of Man*, The University Society, New York, 1932, pp. 22–24. Reprinted by permission.

scatter the bones. Specimens of Neanderthal man have been discovered near Gibraltar; in Western Europe; in Central Europe; in northern Italy; in North Africa; in northeast Asia; in Russia; and in Palestine.

One very interesting discovery was made at Krapina, in Croatia, 1899–1906. Keith describes it as follows:

> The deposits explored on the side of the valley, 24 feet in depth, represent the accumulations on the floor of a rock shelter which had been occupied by ancient man. On the original floor of the shelter lay a bed of gravel deposited when the Krapinica flowed flush with the floor of the cave — 80 feet above its present level. The superimposed strata, showing nine different horizons marked by human occupation — hearths, tools, and debris of meals — proved to be the richest treasury of the Neanderthal race ever opened by the explorer's spade. Over two hundred fragments of human skeletons were found, representing at least ten individuals of all ages and both sexes. One hundred upper and one hundred and twenty lower human teeth were collected, all of them showing, in a varying degree, the characteristic form we now associate with the Neanderthal race. Over two thousand fragments of bones of the animals of the period were found, including those of the woolly rhinoceros. The cave-bear occurred abundantly; it was evidently a favorite article of diet. The rhinoceros bones had been broken open to extract their marrow.... Some of the human bones were charred, and some had been apparently split open: on this slender basis the Krapina men have been suspected of cannibalism. The implements are not of the typical Mousterian forms, but experts ascribe them to the culture of that period. Some evidence was noted of bone having been shaped for use as a tool; perhaps wood was also worked.
>
> Krapina was the first site to provide an opportunity for studying the children and the youth of this strange species of man. As is well known, there is a close superficial resemblance between the skulls of man and anthropoid ape during infancy and childhood.... Hence it is not surprising to observe that the children at Krapina are, in the form of head and face, more like men of the modern type than is the case with their parents. The great simian eyebrow ridges do not assume their massive size and characteristic Neanderthal form until the later years of adolescence are reached. The skulls of the women retain the cranial features of the young to a greater degree than is the case with the male sex. Hence the Neanderthal women were less distinctly marked off from the modern type of mankind than was the case with the men.[7]

[7] Adapted from Arthur Keith, *The Antiquity of Man* (2d ed., vol. I), Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London, 1929, pp. 196–197. Reprinted by permission.



FIGURE 1. PITHECANTHROPUS ERECTUS, NEANDERTHAL MAN, CRO-MAGNON MAN

The individual on the left is the oldest form of "man" which has yet been discovered. His companions are examples of later types, also extinct.

The Neanderthal man seems to have been of a powerful physical build. His height was slightly over five feet, his posture slightly stooping. He had a brain capacity equal to that of modern man (1300 to 1650 cc.). His jaw was receding but had the rudiments of a chin.

At one time the Neanderthal man was regarded as an extinct forerunner of modern man, but it is now more generally agreed that he represents an extinct species of early man, a species disappearing from the earth only 20,000 to 40,000 years ago.

e. *Cro-Magnon* (*Homo sapiens*). One of the earliest species, considered a probable forerunner of modern man, is the Cro-Magnon man. The Cro-Magnon man was truly a magnificent type of physical animal. His brain capacity exceeded that of the modern human. He had a long head, a rather broad face and pointed chin. His posture was erect, and his limbs and features were human rather than ape-like. His height was greater than that of modern man, the average for Cro-Magnon men being six feet one and one-half inches and for women five feet five inches.

This type of man probably made his appearance in Western Europe before the disappearance of the Neanderthal man, and it may be that the Cro-Magnon man was responsible for the disappearance of the former type, either through annihilation or absorption.

The Cro-Magnon man evidently was religious and believed in life after death, for apparently he buried his dead carefully. Furthermore,

he had well-fashioned tools and had developed a stage of art which depicted, on the walls of caves in France and Spain, the wild life of his day.

Following or contemporary with the Cro-Magnon in Europe came the Grimaldi man. This type of man seems to have possessed certain Negroid features, and the theory has been advanced that he was a North African type which may have invaded Europe.

C. *Summary*

There is no certainty regarding the origin of life or even what life is. It can, however, be described by characteristics such as (a) Metabolism, (b) Response to a stimulus, (c) Growth, and (d) Reproduction.

Man, representing the form of life in which we are most interested, is thought by some to have been created by a supernatural power and by others to have been developed by the general process of evolution. This text takes the latter viewpoint and builds thereon its treatment of the activities of man. According to this theory, man originated as a one-celled animal and climbed the "tree of life" to his present state. The modern ape is not a direct ancestor of man but the two, man and ape, are cousins, so to speak. They both have as a common ancestor the same species.

There are striking similarities between man and the ape and likewise strong physical likenesses between man and the lower forms of animal life. These similarities are classified as (a) Anatomical, and (b) Physiological.

Early human specimens indicate that men existed in ancient times in forms having characteristics of the ape as well as of the human being. The most important of the early skeletal and fossil remains have been called the Java ape man (Pithecanthropus erectus), the Piltdown man, the Peking man, the Heidelberg, and the Neanderthal man. The Cro-Magnon and the Grimaldi men are regarded as probable forerunners of modern man and belong to the species known as *Homo sapiens*.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the essential characteristics of life?
2. Does Linton feel that the theory of organic evolution rules out the possibility of God?
3. Does the theory of evolution hold that man descended from the modern ape?
4. Why is comparative anatomy studied by students preparing to be doctors?
5. Is it possible to distinguish a member of the black race from a white man by a blood test?
6. How does one know that the Java ape man was not the same type of animal as the gorilla?
7. In what ways were the Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon man similar? In what ways were they different?
8. How could a person judge that an extinct people had religion?

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CHAPTER 2

Biological Factors

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER the theory of the evolution of man from the lower forms of animal life was discussed. The similarities of man and the other animals, especially the apes, were pointed out. Some specific ways in which man differs from the other forms of life have yet to be considered. Although the similarities which were mentioned were very striking, the distinctive features of man are no less significant. The unique physical and mental traits of humans are: erect stature; speech; greater power of adjustment; a hairless or nearly hairless body; more highly developed brain; and few inherited behavior patterns (instincts). The biological characteristics of man as distinct from the other forms of life serve as the text of this chapter, together with a consideration of heredity, variation, and selection for survival.

A. *Distinctive Human Traits*

1. ERECT STATURE

Were an observer from some distant planet allowed to view life on earth, the feature which would probably impress him first in comparing man with other animals is that man stands erect; that is, he stands on two feet and his body is carried in a position perpendicular to the earth. To a casual observer this might seem unimportant; nevertheless, man's erect stature is an evolutionary factor of great significance. Man cannot run so rapidly as the deer or many others of the four-footed species; however, he can make in different directions quicker and more agile movements than he could if he were walking on four feet or in the crouched position of the ape.

Furthermore, the erect position makes possible the development of that most remarkable instrument, the hand. With its long thumb, opposing the fingers as in no other animal, the human hand can be used to grasp objects with great strength, accuracy, and quickness. While the front feet of horses and of other four-footed animals are

specialized organs, used to aid in carrying the body, men's hands are generalized organs. The human hand may be used in a variety of ways: it carries food to the mouth; it may be the chief organ for defense; and it makes possible the construction of tools by which man has risen to his present state. How different would man's lot be were he endowed with a forepaw like that of a dog, or a hoof like that of a cow.

True, the apes have hands somewhat resembling those of man, but they do not have the well-developed thumb that is characteristic of man, nor is their hand released from the duty of carrying the body. With the exception of the gibbon they walk in a crouched position and commonly use four feet in locomotion.

Other human features are associated with the erect stature of man. (1) The human foot with its heel and arched instep gives a characteristic spring to the step and acts as a safeguard to prevent too great a jar to the brain. (2) The human pelvis is shaped like a basin. In four-footed animals and those walking in a crouched position the abdominal organs are supported by the ribs and by the abdominal muscles. When man acquired the erect posture, the bowels came to rest on the pelvis and it was necessary that the pelvis be shaped so as to support these organs properly. (3) The human spine is more curved, somewhat resembling the figure S. This shape affords another precaution to prevent jarring the brain as man moves along in his erect posture.

2. HAIRLESS BODY

Another distinguishing feature which the observer from another planet would notice in man is that he has a hairless or nearly hairless body. A protective covering, developed by man himself, is thus almost a necessity in certain regions of the world. One finds the man who lives in the Arctic regions and also in temperate areas wearing a covering of sealskin or the skin of other fur-bearing animals for protection against the cold and inclement weather.

3. HIGHLY DEVELOPED BRAIN

Still other unique characteristics, not so obvious to an outside observer, are no less important as factors in man's development.

Man has the most highly developed brain of any species of animal. Whereas the full-grown gorilla, which may attain a body weight of around 400 pounds, has an average cranial capacity of about 500 cc., man, whose body weight averages considerably less than half that of

the gorilla, has a brain with a capacity almost three times larger than that of the anthropoid. Not only is the brain of man larger, in comparison with his body, than the brain of the lower forms of life, but it is vastly more complex, with the centers of intellectual activity, the "gray matter" and the frontal lobes, much more highly developed.

4. SPEECH

Man is a being uniquely possessed of the power of speech. Animals have vocal organs but not the intellectual capacity to use them for complex communication. Imagine for a moment man without his power of vocal communication, except, as with the lower animals, to sound a warning signal to indicate danger or to emit mating cries. Would modern civilization be possible or would man be only another ordinary animal with more generalized abilities? It is through the power of speech that oral and written language has developed. Through language man is able to communicate his experiences and thoughts to his fellows. This ability has made human advancement possible. Man does not have to undergo every experience himself to learn its consequences. The contributions of some original thinker — a superior man — can become the property of everyone through the power of communication. Also, it is not certain that reflection would be possible without a language, for it is through speech that one is accustomed to think. Certainly no very high order of thought would be possible without a language to use as a medium of thinking. Thus it can be seen that the value to man of his unique vocal equipment is incalculable.

5. HUMAN POWERS OF ADJUSTMENT

Were an observer from another planet to watch the activities of a newborn baby and of a newborn chick over a period of a week, he would no doubt conclude that the chick was vastly more precocious and possessed greater mental and physical powers of adjustment than the child. The chick would be able to care for itself almost completely; it would eat, scratch, and find its own food. The child, on the other hand, would have no coordinated motions of its hands or feet, and would be completely helpless and utterly dependent on adults for everything it needed. Yet whereas the chick is largely guided through life by instincts and its life now differs but slightly from the life of chicks thousands of years ago, the baby possesses few if any instincts and has great capacity for future development. It may become a great poet, a

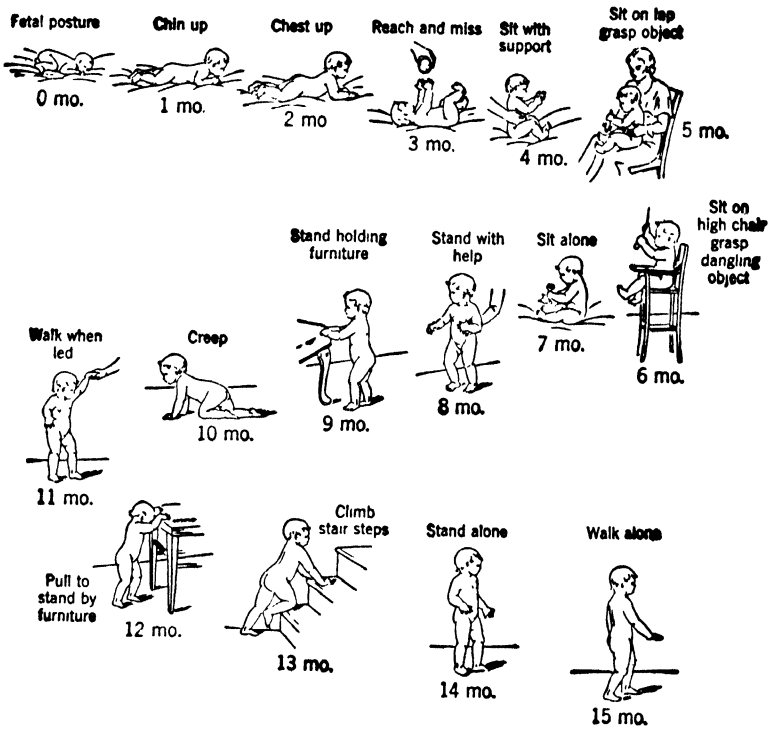


FIGURE 2. THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCE

Although a child's early development seems slow in comparison with that of many animals, his capacity for future development far exceeds that of the animals.

musician, an artist, a lawmaker, a warrior, a gangster, or a renegade according to the way its aptitudes and abilities are caused or permitted to develop in the society in which it grows. Whereas a chick may reach full growth and development in less than six months, a calf in from three to four years, and an ape in from six to nine years, the child remains immature in physical growth and more or less dependent upon its parents or upon adult members of society for protection and care for periods ranging from twelve to twenty or more years, depending on the society and geographic location into which it is born. The child thus profits by a much longer period for the formation of important habits and for receiving the training which is necessary for the higher development characteristic of his society.

B. *Human Variations and Similarities*

1. VARIATIONS DUE TO HEREDITY

Our visitor from another planet would probably notice that although they have certain similar traits, humans are individually different from one another. No two individuals are ever exactly alike. The child differs in certain characteristics from his parents and from his brothers and sisters. Yet, two brothers who may be remarkably unlike in physical stature, in disposition, and in their likes and dislikes, are more alike than two unrelated members of a social group. These two commonplace facts of variation and of similarity can be observed everywhere and are said to be the most important factors in the evolution of animal life.

If every individual were exactly like his ancestors, contemporaries, and children, this world would indeed be a very monotonous place. There could be no advancement or evolution, for evolution implies variation among the individuals of the species. If children were exactly like their parents, each generation would be essentially the same as the preceding generation.

But obviously many variations occur. Hereditary differences are, for instance, due to shuffling and redistribution of the hereditary qualities in the fertilized ovum. These characteristics are fixed at the time of conception. The very nature of these hereditary qualities carried by the sperm and the ovum and their assortment at the time of the fertilization of the egg make almost limitless variation possible within the confines established by the species. Thus although there is the tendency, known as heredity, of like to produce like, of every variety of plant and animal life to produce offspring after its own kind, there is another tendency, according to the rules of inheritance, for individuals to differ one from another, just as the leaves of a tree differ each from every other one.

2. SOMATIC VARIATION

Another type of variation is that due to environment. Environment includes geographic conditions (such as climate, topography, and so forth) and the conditions arising out of association with life of the same or other species. Variation may be seen even in trees growing in regions well adapted to them. Where there is no great competition for the essential elements for growth, a tree has spreading branches and

grows luxuriously; but a tree of the same species, growing in great competition with many other trees of the same or other species, probably is tall and straight, with but few, poorly developed branches.

The latter type of variation, which may be referred to as somatic variation — due to environment — is very common in man and in nature. An accident may cause the loss of a man's arm, leg, eye, or other organ of the body. Improper and inadequate food may retard the physical growth of an individual, or glandular deficiencies resulting from inadequate quantities of essential elements in one's diet may result in serious abnormalities. For example, people who are suffering from goiter — an enlargement of the thyroid gland — resulting from inadequate supply of iodine in their food, are common in certain sections of the world.

Most biologists agree that the somatic type of variation is not transmitted to succeeding generations. The seed from the branching tree and the seed from the tall straight tree of the same species if allowed to grow under similar environmental conditions would probably develop into similar trees without any reference to the shape which the parent tree assumed.[1]

C. *Natural Selection and Survival of the Fittest*

Everywhere, among all forms of life, the amount of reproduction is greater than is necessary to maintain the existing number of individuals at any time. The available elements, space and food, are always limited. A state of equilibrium is maintained wherein the life of a region is kept at the maximum number possible under the existing conditions. Therefore everything which lives is in a constant and continuous struggle for survival. Many cannot survive. Some selective process must operate to decide which ones will perish and which will live to reproduce their kind. Obviously, the strongest, the swiftest, the most cunning, the ones most favored by protective coloration — in short, the ones which are best adapted to live under existing conditions — will be at an advantage in the struggle for survival. *Natural selection is the process by which individuals best adapted to their particular environments tend to survive in the struggle for life.* Success in the struggle for existence by those possessed of these natural advantages is spoken of as

[1] Investigate the theories of inheritance by Lamarck, Darwin, Weismann and Mendel for a further treatment of this problem.

survival of the fittest. All living organisms — plants and animals — are subject to natural selection, unless the selective process is interfered with by man's efforts.

Primitive man and modern man of the lower economic levels are more subject to the operation of natural selection than are modern men of the higher social classes. The food, clothing, and shelter of the primitive people and the poor of our times are inferior in quality and inadequate in quantity. Medical care is limited in its efficiency by the beliefs and practices of the groups and by the inability of the peoples to secure adequate treatment. For these reasons, along with others, only the individuals with the strongest constitutions — best fitted to survive — tend to grow to maturity. Those who are unable to withstand the harsh life of privation, exposure, and inadequate care die.

Further, the origins of different races may have come about through the operation of natural selection. Assume, for instance, that in the chance shifting of hereditary traits two members of a "white" race are born in the tropics, one with light-colored hair and fair skin and the other with a darker complexion and darker hair. These variations are not impossible in a group of fair-skinned people. Under the tropical conditions, it is quite likely that the darker individual would grow and thrive much better than the fair-skinned person because the unfriendly rays of the sun can penetrate to a greater extent the skin which is not protected by pigment. Under natural conditions the dark-complexioned boy would thus have a much better chance of surviving than the fairer one; hence he would be in a better position to reproduce his kind. The offspring would be subjected to the same selective influences, and in the course of time the progeny of this boy would be characterized by a dark skin and would probably be much darker than his original parents. The same process would be operative, scientists argue, in the case of other characteristic traits beside skin color.

It is through the fortuitous variation of hereditary traits and through the selection of certain of these traits for survival that evolution has been possible. No different types of animals could develop if no animals were born possessing certain characteristics setting them apart from the others and making them better adapted to their environment than those which do not possess the variations.

D. *Artificial Selection*

Although the selective process appears to be everywhere in operation, it is not always nature which is doing the selecting. The development of man furnishes *artificial selection* or selection by man as opposed to, or supplementing, so-called natural selection. Through artificial selection and selective crossing, many significant alterations in plants have been attained. From the prickly cactus, man has developed a spineless cactus which is used for stock food. Many of the cereal grains have been made to produce greatly increased yields per acre. The weight of cattle for beef purposes has been increased from about 400 pounds, which was the average weight during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century in England, to more than 1000 pounds. The weight of the fleece of sheep has been increased more than four times, and many other changes in the plant and animal world have resulted from artificial selection.

1. EUGENICS AS ARTIFICIAL SELECTION

In the human world, artificial selection also operates. Attempts made by selective mating to improve the quality of offspring are referred to as eugenics. By this process an endeavor is made to prevent the marriage of those who are "unfit to reproduce their kind." Certain states refuse to grant marriage permits to couples until they have submitted to a physical examination. If they are found to have diseases which can be communicated to others or to their offspring, a course of medical treatment is required to correct the conditions before a permit to marry is issued. These laws have been of doubtful value because it is too easy to go from one state which has such laws to a state which does not, and the marriage certificate of any state is recognized in all other states. Then too, refusal to grant a marriage permit is no guarantee against intercourse which will transmit the disease. Finally, our mores have associated marriage with the emotions and have frowned on the idea that "love," the idealistic basis of marriage, should be bothered by such a sordid thing as the physical health of the individuals "in love" or that such an unromantic matter as the future of the offspring or of society should be considered.

2. STERILIZATION AS ARTIFICIAL SELECTION

In some states, as a measure in eugenics, laws have been passed which

provide for the sterilization of certain classes of individuals, such as epileptics, feebleminded, insane, and habitual and incurable felons, to prevent the reproduction of their kind. The trend has been gradually to increase the scope of sterilization laws, and the number of states which have provided for sterilization of certain "undesirable" types of individuals has increased. However, the provisions of the law vary in different states. In some the law is mandatory; that is, individuals are sterilized without their consent. In others the law is permissive; the consent of the person must be obtained.

3. SELECTIVE MATING AS ARTIFICIAL SELECTION

One form of selective mating which operates in modern society, is in a sense artificial selection. It is the mating of those who occupy similar economic, social, religious, and educational levels. For example, only rarely do college graduates marry those who are uneducated. The sons or daughters of the "business barons" do not usually mate with daughters or sons of the unskilled laborer. Jews seldom marry Gentiles. Native-born Americans tend to marry native Americans. Everywhere mates chosen in marriage are partially the result of social considerations — artificial selection.

4. BIRTH CONTROL AS ARTIFICIAL SELECTION

Another form of artificial selection now being widely practiced will be discussed more at length in a later chapter. It is the use of contraceptives for birth prevention. People who are in the upper sections of the "social and economic pyramid" tend to regulate and limit the size of their families to one, two, or three children. On the other hand, the numbers of children in the families of the unskilled laborer, the uneducated, and those on relief rolls tend to be limited only by the laws of nature.

5. WARFARE AND NATURAL SELECTION

Finally, a form of human selection which operates in a fashion to counteract the principles of the survival of the fittest is that resulting from modern warfare. Here is the phenomenon of the best, the strongest physical specimens which society can produce being selected and subjected to mass slaughter, while the more incompetent and the less able are retained at home to produce the future population.[2] Those

[2] For discussion of this read: Sorokin, *Contemporary Social Theories*, pp. 309-356.

young men who constitute the flower of the nation are taken during their period of greatest reproductive capacity, and, if they are not killed, they are often returned maimed in body and mind from the effects of the war. This leaves the old and the very young men who do not meet the physical requirements for military service to reproduce the population of the group.[3]

E. *Summary*

In the first chapter the similarities between man and other animals were noted. Not only are there similarities but there are significant differences as well. The most important of these differences are: erect stature, with its accompanying distinguishing traits such as the well-developed hand for generalized use; the peculiarly shaped foot; the basin-shaped pelvis; and the S-shaped spinal column; the hairless body; the highly developed brain; speech; and greater powers of adjustment or greater plasticity.

Among human beings themselves, although they have characteristic similarities, there are likewise variations from individual to individual and from group to group. One man may be tall whereas his brother may not be so tall. One person may be a brunette, another a blond, and so forth. It is through the variation among individuals of a species that development or change in the species is possible.

Variations due to environment are to be seen in defects of the body because of accidents, improper food, and other factors. This type of variation is not thought to be inherited.

Similarities and differences or variations are the products of inheritance and of environment. Natural selection operates so that the inherited traits of individuals which best adapt them to survive in their natural environment are transmitted to succeeding generations. This involves the principle of "survival of the fittest"; that is, those possessing traits which suit them to their peculiar environment will survive whereas those not possessing such characteristics will perish.

Natural selection is not the only selective process which operates in the case of man. Artificial selection or selection by man is also important. This artificial selection may be the selective crossing of plants or animals to secure certain desired characteristics or to eliminate

[3] *Losses of Life in Modern Wars*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Josh Bates Clark, Director, 1916, pp. 163–202.

undesirable traits. The selective process as applied to man himself is called eugenics. Eugenics may in some instances involve sterilization to prevent propagation of individuals possessing or likely to possess undesirable characteristics. Selective mating, the marriage of individuals of the same or similar social levels, is a form of artificial selection.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What physical characteristics of human beings may have developed as a result of erect stature?
2. Show how human powers of adjustment are greater than similar powers in other animals.
3. Give an example of variation in humans due to heredity; due to environment.
4. Does survival of the fittest mean the survival of those which most nearly meet man's ideas of best? Explain.
5. Can artificial selection be applied to human beings to improve the racial stock as it has been employed to produce desired traits in domestic animals and plants? Explain.
6. In what sense is sterilization artificial selection?
7. In what sense is the practice of birth control artificial selection?
8. How may war be considered a form of reversed selection?

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CHAPTER 3

Psychological Nature of Man

AS HAS BEEN POINTED OUT in a previous chapter, the brain of man is very much larger and more complex than that of the most highly developed anthropoid. Likewise man has a mind which is very much more capable of abstract thinking and reasoning than the minds of the most intelligent lower animals.

A. *Nature of Mind*

What, exactly, mind is no one knows. Anyone can see the product of mind in what it performs. When one sees a beautiful temple, hears a musical selection, watches a machine operate, reads a literary masterpiece, observes an engineering achievement, or learns of a treaty made by two nations so as to avert war and to promote cooperation for the benefit of the people of both nations, he must realize that these and innumerable other accomplishments of men are evidences of the operation of the mind of one or more individuals. The lower animals also have mind, although it was once a popular belief that man was distinct from all other forms of animal life in this respect. The fact that the animals can be taught to do tricks or can learn is an indication of mind on the part of the learner. A being completely devoid of mind could learn nothing.

1. ANIMAL MIND

The mind of lower animals differs from that of man quantitatively rather than qualitatively. That is, man has a mind which is capable of much greater development than the mind of any other species. The horse, the dog, the elephant, the chimpanzee can learn to perform useful tasks and to do tricks; but the extent of their learning does not reach to the point where they dominate the forces of nature to their own advantage, where they transmit the accomplishments of one individual or group to another generation, or where they design, construct, and use tools for increasing their power and efficiency.

2. RELATIONSHIP OF BODY AND MIND

The relationship of the mind to the body is a subject which "has made trouble for man ever since that distant date when he began to think about himself." [1] One viewpoint often expressed is that the mind is everything and the body merely the material house and tool for performing necessary functions of the mind. The mind controls the body according to this viewpoint, and a healthy mind means a healthy body.

> If you are ill, or think you are, do not use powerless, nonexistent drugs on your error-born nonentity of a body; use thoughts. Think well and be well.[2]

Another point of view, accepted by many men, is that the body is everything and the mind is nothing.

> For them, the body is a magnificent machine, self-running, and mind is simply so much "shadow," "echo," present but powerless — indeed, one might almost say it is the inevitable but utterly useless rattle of the material bodily machine which, if perfect, would run silently, mindlessly. Body, they think, controls mind fatefully, whereas mind has less power than a respectable ghost.[3]

A third explanation is that the mind and the body represent a pair of rather independent entities. The mind resides within the physical brain, but is almost independent of the physical structure, and the body is largely independent of the mind. Evidence of this is seen in insane people who have "lost their minds" yet they are physically in perfect health. "Body and mind run along together like trains on parallel tracks, or like two clocks which are independent but absolutely synchronous, ticking and striking together." [4]

A fourth explanation is that the individual is made up of the body and mind operating as a unit. This belief seems to be well supported by the fact that physical disorders cause mental changes. A case of indigestion is not conducive to a pleasant disposition. This truth has been so commonly recognized that the term dyspeptic is popularly used to designate a cross and irritable person, as well as a person suffering from indigestion. On the other hand, worry and mental strain have been given as the underlying cause for many physical breakdowns. Violent

[1] Daniel Wolford La Rue, *Mental Hygiene*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1927, p. 27 By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

[2] La Rue, *loc. cit.* [3] *Loc. cit* [4] *Loc. cit.*

fear is frequently followed by physical disturbances such as nausea. Doctors report that people involved in automobile accidents often vomit violently when brought to the hospital, although they may have received no physical injury whatever. Everyone is familiar with examples of loss of appetite or actual indigestion and nausea following in the wake of severe mental disturbances — worry, grief, and fear. Cases have been reported where death from a "broken heart" was an actuality. In other words, no basic cause could be found for death other than serious mental disturbance associated with the loss of a desire to live.

3. LEARNED AND UNLEARNED BEHAVIOR

So-called mental nature is made up of two broad types of behavior patterns, the unlearned and the learned. The unlearned refer to those classes of activities called reflexes and instincts (drives, innate urges, or motivations) — those peculiar patterns of action which are inherited or innate to the individual.[5] The learned behavior patterns include habits, attitudes, and all forms of behavior which are acquired through experience. Strictly speaking, it is almost impossible to completely separate the unlearned activities of an adult from those of the learned. As Woodworth points out,

> Breathing as it occurs in the infant at birth cannot have been learned; the necessary structures must have been prepared by maturation. The child does learn to *modify* his breathing in various ways, as in holding his breath at will, or in blowing out a match.[6]

Thus learned modifications of activities are often based on unlearned patterns of action.

An extended discussion of the characteristics of learned and unlearned actions is not necessary at this point. Briefly those activities are unlearned which are inborn in the individual, not acquired through experiences or activity, although they may be later modified by training or environment. The learned activities are those which result from previous experiences. A child attracted by the bright color of a red-

[5] Many, perhaps most, psychologists today deny that human beings are possessed of instincts. Rather they refer to innate behavior patterns as reflexes and drives. Drives are unlike instincts in that though they provide motivation for activity they do not set the direction the actions will take.

[6] Robert S. Woodworth, *Psychology*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 4th ed., 1940, p 291 Reprinted by permission.

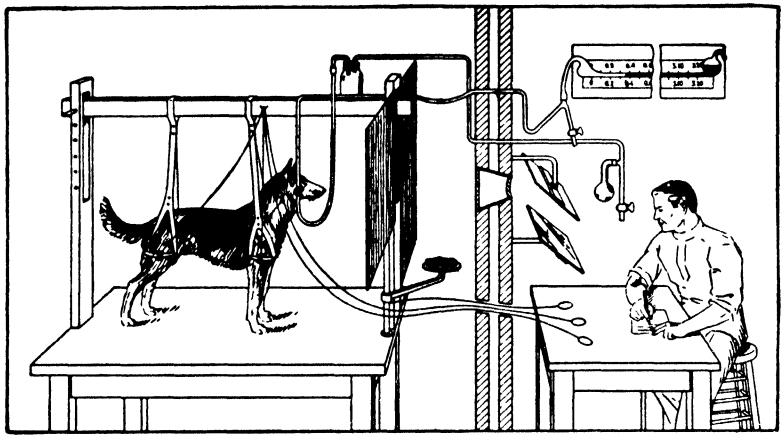


FIGURE 3. PAVLOV'S ARRANGEMENT FOR A SALIVARY-CONDITIONED REFLEX IN THE DOG

A large number of the responses of animals and men are learned through some such conditioning process as is suggested above. The dog was shown a plate of food and responded by copious flow of saliva. The ringing of a bell, when food was not presented at the same time, did not cause any flow of saliva. Then the bell was rung at the same time that food was presented to the dog. This was repeated a number of times. Later when the unconditioned stimulus, the food, was not presented, but the bell was rung, the conditioned stimulus, saliva flowed from the mouth of the dog. The figure shows the experimenter measuring and controlling the stimuli. *From* J. F. DASHIELL, *Fundamentals of General Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), p. 380.

hot object reaches out to grasp it and receives a burn. This experience results in an avoidance of such objects in the future. He has learned by experience that such objects produce unpleasant effects. This illustrates a very simple case of learned behavior.

Man differs from the lower forms of animal life in that human behavior is more largely the product of learned activities than of unlearned. There are indeed few examples of adult human behavior which are entirely unlearned. In lower forms of animal life, however, there are few examples of behavior which are entirely learned. Those people who are familiar with the behavior of a quail know that this bird has different calls during certain periods; for example, the "Bob-White" is the call of the mating season. The quail likewise has a call of danger or alarm. When the danger call is given, the quail squats and remains perfectly rigid to avoid being seen. One might think that the calls of the quail and their hiding to avoid discovery when danger

threatens are learned activities. However, on quail farms, where the birds are bred in captivity, an observer finds that the birds which are hatched in an incubator and then cared for in an artificial brooder in such a way that they never come in contact with adult birds, still issue the same calls and respond in the same manner to the danger signal as the wild birds which have grown to maturity in the family group. The calls and cries of quail, although they may be modified within limits by their environment, are apparently unlearned. Man, on the other hand, must learn to talk. Examples of feral men (individuals who have lived outside human society) indicate very clearly that human speech, unlike the calls of the quail, is learned through association with other humans.

Since the behavior of man is more largely the product of learning, modification, or development through activity, man lives in a realm of greater freedom, of more elasticity, and of greater possibilities of development. Man's actions, unlike those of the ants, the bees, birds, and other forms of animal life, are not rigidly bound by the fetters of inborn behavior patterns such as instincts. Man may alter his actions to suit the needs of his physical and social environment.

4. INTELLIGENCE

On visiting a circus, one often watches elephants perform many tricks of a complex nature. They may form a pyramid with the trainer at the top. They may sit down on specially designed stools. They may fire a cannon, and some one elephant may pretend it is wounded by the artillery fire. A Red Cross elephant will rush out to rescue the injured animal and to bind up the wounds. An observer may say, "How intelligent those elephants are." Often horses are trained to perform very complex tricks, and dogs are taught to do many useful services. All these animals are intelligent. In a similar way, observers meeting a man who charms them with his information may feel awe "That one small head could carry all he knew." This man of information is labeled a very intelligent person. What is meant by intelligence? People do not remark on the intelligence of the animal which has learned no tricks or the man who has no great fund of information. From this fact a student might judge that intelligence means a body of learned material, that the individual who has learned more is more intelligent than the one who has not learned so much.

There is no widely accepted agreement as to just what constitutes

intelligence. To some it means the mental capacity with which an individual is endowed at birth. To others it means more than that — not only capacity but actual training and information. Obviously an individual, even if he were greatly endowed by nature with mental capacity, would not appear intelligent at maturity if he were kept so completely isolated that his capacity had no chance to develop.

It appears best to regard intelligence as the product of mental capacity and of the opportunity to learn. The individual with low mental ability, however favorable his environment may be, can never attain a high degree of intelligence. This fact is demonstrated repeatedly in families where very intelligent parents place favorable educational advantages in the way of some of their children only to find that the children do not respond to the opportunities in the expected way. On the other hand, a child that possesses great natural ability may never be placed in an environment which could develop his inborn potentialities. He is like a fertile seed dropped on a cement pavement, an environment which makes impossible the realization of latent powers.

Intelligence varies from species to species. For example, man is more intelligent than any of the other forms of animal life. Likewise some of the "lower" animals appear more intelligent than others. The chimpanzee, the gorilla, the elephant, the dog, and the horse are considered more intelligent than the sheep, the hog, and many other forms of animal life. Also, within a species there are differences in intelligence among individuals. One man endowed with great natural ability and born into a favorable environment, develops far beyond another man less favorably gifted but born into the same environment. Hence there are those who are recognized by the other members of their group as superior in some way to their fellows.

5. INTELLIGENCE TESTING

Within recent years intelligence tests have been devised in an attempt to measure the innate capacity of individuals to become educated. Formerly these tests were presumed to indicate with a high degree of accuracy the ability with which a person is endowed by nature. It has been found, however, that measuring instruments intended to provide fair indices of various individuals' capacities must be based on similar backgrounds or environment. Obviously the innate ability of French children and American children could not be compared by giving each group a test written in French or in English. The children do not

have a background which makes them equally able to use those languages. Similarly a test constructed under urban influences will not provide a reliable measure of inborn ability of both urban and rural individuals because the individuals of the two groups do not have similar experiences. For example, in one of the widely used intelligence tests there was a page on which appeared a series of pictures of objects with some part omitted. Among the pictures was that of a trolley car with the trolley pole left out. The children taking the test were expected to place a cross at the point of the omission. Certainly no one can seriously think that the failure of rural children to recognize the omission, when perhaps they had never seen a trolley car, indicates a lack of natural ability. A car without such a pole rising from its top would seem to be the natural or regular type. Certainly children living in a city wherein trolley cars are common would recognize the omission, for they would have learned through their environment, not through their superior inborn powers, what a complete trolley car looks like.

6. LEVELS OF MENTAL ABILITY

Thus intelligence tests are instruments which measure intelligence as previously defined in this chapter, that is, as the product of natural ability and of education gained through the experiences of the individual. Since this definition of intelligence is the one considered to be most trustworthy, before individuals can be reliably compared on the basis of what they may accomplish under certain circumstances, and an index of their natural or inborn ability computed, an investigator must be sure that the experiences of the two individuals have been somewhat similar and that the test is based on these similar experiences. Obviously these considerations present difficulties, and seldom can an investigator be certain that the results of an intelligence test are accurate indices of the inborn capacity of an individual.

However, all authorities agree that individuals differ in their intellectual abilities. Some people are very superior and are designated as geniuses. The great mass of our population are of "average" intelligence and are referred to as "normal" individuals. Others are of an intelligence so limited that they are spoken of as dull or below normal in their mental ability. Still farther down the intellectual scale are those unfortunate people who have failed to receive even this much mental capacity. Their capacity for mental development goes little

beyond that of the child. In many instances they must be cared for in some institution. People of this lowest degree of intelligence are designated as "feebleminded."

7. FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

There are three degrees of feebleminded ness. The moron stands highest among those classed as feebleminded. A person in this class may attain the mental level of the average twelve-year-old child. Such persons may progress through the lower grades of school, but they never attain any proficiency in activities which involve abstract or concentrated thought.

> Constructive imagination, inventiveness, originality, cannot be expected They manifest the basic emotions and also some of the higher, but in the higher or derived forms their limitations again become evident. The finer esthetic and moral feelings are not for them. They are sometimes religious, but it is obviously in a childish manner. They are amused by the baldly ridiculous but lack appreciation for the subtle in humor. Some are well behaved and in their dull simple fashion are good children, good citizens, often beloved for their kindly ways. Others are difficult to control, because of their own lack of control. They are impulsive and give unrestrained expression to sudden desires.[7]

The moron's training and supervision are of great importance, for he is an individual who may be guided by unscrupulous persons in ways that will make him a public menace. On the other hand, morons may become successful in performing certain manual activities, and if trained in trades, they may become productive members of society.

Somewhat below the moron in mental endowment is the imbecile who never reaches a stage of intellectual growth beyond that of a seven-year-old child.

> The imbecile can learn a few things of a simple nature, especially of a manual nature. But anything which requires sustained or continued attention of the voluntary type is impossible. The attention is rather easily attracted by what others are doing and may be so held for a time, but that which requires individual initiative is lacking. Memory, as might thus be expected, appears somewhat better than in idiocy but is still quite limited in range. Some of the abler imbeciles can be sent on simple errands with a fair degree of certainty that they will be accomplished.

[7] Edmund S. Conklin, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1935, p. 250.

> They are, however, easily fatigued and confused by anything calling for attention and mental effort. While they acquire some language it is limited to spoken language and that to simple sentences. The vocabulary is very limited and the pronunciation often defective.[8]

Still farther down the mental scale, at the very bottom in mental endowments, stands the idiot. Such an individual will not develop beyond the mental stage of a normal three-year-old child. It must always be cared for as an infant and has no chance for mental growth since it has little "mind" to develop. People of this class never learn to speak intelligibly — at best they learn to utter only a few one-syllable words. "Motor control is inadequate. The gait in walking, if able to walk at all, is clumsy, uncertain and tottering."[9]

8. SUPERIOR INDIVIDUALS

Psychologists have given much attention to the problems of the feebleminded members of society; schools have been organized in a manner to care for the education of the "normal" child — but both psychologists and schools have largely ignored the activities of those children who are classed as "superior." But the great benefits which society has received from individuals have been largely the contributions made by "superior" men and women. The great works of art, of literature, and of music are the products of individuals above "normal." It is the "genius" who makes the great scientific discoveries which may revolutionize the life of a people. Their number in comparison with that of normal or even sub-normal individuals is very small, but the contribution of one Edison, one Marconi, one Shakespeare, one Einstein, or one Gandhi to the welfare of his fellows may exceed that of all the other millions of his time.

That the superior individual did not need attention was at one time the common belief, but psychologists and school administrators are now recognizing that their attention and efforts should be directed toward those individuals who offer the greatest promise for future accomplishments as well as toward less-gifted individuals.

9. DEMENTIA

Within human society there are individuals who were endowed with normal or even superior mental gifts but who, through various causes, have lost the mind with which they were born. Such people are re-

[8] Conklin, *op. cit.*, p. 395. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 247.

ferred to as insane. Their minds do not function as the normal human mind is expected to, and the individuals themselves may become unable to fulfill the usual requirements of life or may even become dangerous. When such is true, they are usually confined in hospitals for the insane. The condition known as insanity is now regarded by psychologists as an abnormality which may or may not be due to some physical defect. Some forms of insanity, or psychosis, are caused by infection of the nervous system by disease germs. For example, paresis results from syphilitic infection. Other forms of insanity may have no causal basis in physical structure. Many psychologists maintain that such forms of psychosis are purely functional. That is, the mind becomes disorganized, deranged, although there is no physical cause which can be discovered. Under proper care in a hospital many cases of insanity which were once regarded as incurable are now cured, and the recovered individuals sent back to normal life as producing members of society.

10. THE PROBLEMS OF THE FEEBLEMINDED AND THE INSANE

One of the great problems of life in our modern age is that of providing for the unfortunate individuals who did not receive their shares in the distribution of human mentality or who for any cause have lost their mental endowments. Little can be done for the former group except to care for them and to train them to utilize to the utmost their limited capacities. Many can never be self-supporting and must be institutional subjects throughout their lives. Others, under proper training and supervision, may be productive members of the community of which they are a part. Since it is generally agreed that feeblemindedness is usually inherited and that feebleminded parents are likely to give birth to feebleminded offspring, there are many who hold that all feebleminded people should be sterilized so that they cannot reproduce their kind.

The problem of insanity is even greater than that of feeblemindedness for the reason that for many years there has been a continuous increase in the number of individuals suffering from insanity (see Table 1). Some authorities question whether man can stand the highly complex civilization he has developed. It is certain that insanity increases most under the complex conditions of urban life.

Most psychologists view the great increase in the number of patients in insane hospitals with alarm, and in order to prevent such human

wreckage mental health associations have been formed in many states and local areas. The aims of mental hygiene as a social movement are: to prevent mental disorders, and to conserve mental health. The program of mental hygiene is in the main preventative, and its services are becoming accepted resources in the technique of social work for both individuals and groups.

TABLE 1. INCREASE OF MENTAL PATIENTS IN STATE HOSPITALS *

Years	Rate per 100,000 Population
1880	63.7
1890	107.6
1904	158.0
1910	173.0
1922	203.7
1923	207.3
1927	217.9
1928	222.2
1929	225.6
1930	229.0
1931	236.4
1932	245.0
1933	257.1
1934	263.6

* Harold A Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems* (rev. ed.), Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1938, p 241

B. *Personality Traits*

1. ATTITUDES

Attitudes are tendencies to react in a pre-established way to a stimulus (a situation in which the individual finds himself). A child who burns his hand on a hot object develops an attitude of avoidance when he is confronted with such an object. This form of attitude is therefore developed through the experience of the individual. It is a negative attitude because there is set up within the individual the tendency to withdraw or to avoid the object or situation with which he is confronted. On the other hand, a child may have been in association with a dog with which he plays and which is a source of pleasure to him. The child will have no fear of such an animal, and will regard any dog as a friendly object. Such a child has developed through his experiences

a positive attitude toward dogs. He tends to approach all dogs with a feeling of confidence.

Most of the attitudes which are held by individuals are not the result of individual experiences. Instead, they are acquired by individuals as members of a group. A person born and reared in the Southern states will have a very different attitude toward Negroes from the person who grows to maturity in a section of the nation wherein there are few occasions to come in contact with Negroes. A child reared in a Catholic family will have an attitude friendly toward the Catholic religion but possibly not so friendly toward some other religion. In the United States there are certain prevailing stereotyped attitudes toward Italians, Germans, Japanese, Chinese, school teachers, preachers, farmers, policemen, politicians, and others. An individual reflects stereotyped attitudes toward each of these, not through individual experiences with Italians, Germans, Japanese, but through association with his own group. Thus many attitudes are the product of the environmental associations of individuals.

Attitudes are definitely acquired, not inherited. They are very powerful influences in molding the life habits and behavior of individuals and of groups. The Germans and the French in Europe, because of their negative attitudes toward each other, have always been in an almost constant state of readiness to open armed conflict, whereas if their attitudes were such that the citizens of each nation regarded the individuals of the other nationality as friends (as "Americans" do Canadians), such a condition would not exist, and there would be less likelihood of war between the two nations.

Attitudes often control the use of one's intelligence. The gifted man may direct his mental endowment to very unworthy ends, or he may devote his life's work and accomplishments to the welfare of his fellow men.[10]

[10] It is related that in 1920 from 60 to 80 per cent of the children in the northern latitudes of the United States, especially those living in cities, suffered from rickets. In 1925, Dr. Harry Steenboch discovered a process whereby vitamin D, an element which prevented and cured rickets, could be put into food. He knew that this discovery would make millions for him if he would sell it to commercial food manufacturers, but he also realized that his discovery in the exclusive control of commercial concerns would deprive needy individuals of the benefits to be derived from the discovery. Dr. Steenboch was instrumental in having the *Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation* established. In the beginning the Foundation had little other capital resources than enough to secure patents on Dr. Steenboch's discoveries. The process of irradiation was then made available to commercial institutions on terms which protected the people from high prices for the products. In the year 1930 the Foundation received $354,490 in royalties from the discovery and in 1931 the royalties reached the half-

It is through the superior mental capacity of man that he has been able to utilize his physical environment to his welfare and advancement, but it is through the development of various attitudes in his physical and social environment that life assumes the meaning for him that it does.

Attitudes are subject to modification and complete change. A person who has a trusted friend in whom he has complete confidence, may find when an occasion presents itself that the friend shows himself to be unworthy. Under an experience like that, the person's friendly trusting attitude (positive attitude) changes to one of distrust and dislike (negative attitude). On the other hand, who has not met individuals who make an unfavorable impression at meeting? Some unimportant incident sets up an unfavorable attitude toward the person. Later when one becomes better acquainted with this person, the attitude may change completely.

As has been pointed out, many of our attitudes are stereotypes which we hold for no other reason than that the group of which we are a part has given them to us. For example, the average North American stereotype of the Mexican is that he is treacherous and is always ready to stick a knife in the back of an "American." Yet a person may become acquainted with some one Mexican who will cause him completely to revise his attitude toward persons of that nationality, and to realize that no race or nationality can be categorized on the basis of a stereotyped attitude which a group may hold.

As a further example of how group attitudes are taken on unquestioningly, a child may be reared by parents who regard wealthy people as their enemies and who favor government ownership of capital and wealth. This same person may later by his own labor or by other means become possessed of a considerable amount of wealth, or he may become the manager of some private industry. It is most likely then that his attitude toward government control and ownership of capital will be very different from that which he held at an earlier period.

2. HABITS

The typical American adult of the present day has learned to drive

million-dollar mark. The work of the Foundation is devoted to encouraging scientific discoveries for the benefit of mankind. Since Dr. Steenboch made his discovery available to the world, nine other professors of the University of Wisconsin have offered their discoveries and experiments to the Foundation.

an automobile at a high rate of speed on the highway; he weaves in and out of traffic; he stops; he turns to the right or to the left, as the occasion demands. He is practically unconscious of much of the mechanical manipulation which he is constantly required to perform. It is only when something unusual or unexpected happens to the car that his attention is focused on his driving. After that, he again goes on as before in a manner almost automatic. To a person just learning to drive, every movement connected with the steering wheel, the clutch, the brake, the gear shift, requires concentrated attention. The new driver finds it difficult to push his feet down simultaneously on the clutch and the brake, and at the same time with one hand to throw the car out of gear. He finds it difficult to start the car off by working the clutch and the gear shift harmoniously together. Every action calls for his attention and conscious effort. Even with his closest concentration, he is likely to start the car with a jump, perhaps even to "kill" the engine. He is likely to run too close to the curb of the street and too close to other cars. To the new driver, there are innumerable operations which must be watched and performed at the same time. He doubts that he can ever learn to drive with any degree of ease.

The experienced driver has a number of habits so well formed that it is unnecessary for him to keep his attention fixed on the activities associated with driving, whereas the new driver is in the process of habit formation. Until the new habits become so well developed that conscious attention can be released from a number of the operations, he will feel awkward and ill at ease.

Habits are formed through the repetition of actions. Often habits are acquired unconsciously. One sees individuals with peculiar mannerisms of which they themselves are wholly unconscious For example, while carrying on a conversation they may require a pencil in their hand with which to scribble on paper, and unless the movements are called to their attention, such individuals will be entirely unconscious of their "doodling" activities.

Most of man's behavior in life is governed by the habits and the attitudes which he has formed. He writes with his right or left hand because he formed that habit.[11] Persons attend church or do not attend

[11] On this point there is considerable disagreement. Some psychologists and physicians maintain that handedness is innate in the individual and that the person will suffer serious consequences who tries to change from left to right handedness and vice versa. Others hold that the use of the right or left hand by preference is a learned behavior trait. *Cf.* E. George Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1936, pp. 86-91

church on Sunday largely because of the habits or the attitudes which they have. The individual speaks correct English or not according to his habits of speech. Man very shortly becomes habituated to particular ways of doing things, and from then on activities are largely automatic.

3. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON

Each individual begins life unguided — or at most but slightly directed — by instincts, and entirely devoid of habits and attitudes. He has no culture. He is unsocialized, and he is not civilized. The infant at birth is not possessed of human nature (as distinguished from "original" nature). He has, however, certain potentialities for the development of habits, attitudes, and skills which are characteristic of human nature. The capacities, if given an opportunity, will grow. The individual is born into a society. He depends upon others — adults — for his very existence. From the beginning he is molded into conformity with the customs of the group of which he becomes a part. He takes on the common speech. He adopts the customs, the beliefs, the religion, and the attitudes of his fellows. In time he acquires a rôle in his social world and behaves according to that rôle. In short, he acquires human nature.

It has often been said, "I can tell a school teacher wherever I meet one." This detection may be possible because such a teacher has adapted herself to her particular rôle in society. The banker, the physician, the politician, the farmer, and the policeman, each has his special rôle in society and adapts himself to it.

> He plays his part as farmer. . . .This he accepts as his rôle in life's drama. And the more consistently he acts, the more does he endeavor, deliberately and of set purpose, to sustain worthily his rôle as representative farmer. . . .He has a sense of responsibility in playing up to the part that is "intrusted to him" by the "management" which he speaks of as "Society." [12]

The individual is simply born; the person is the individual when he has acquired social status.

> Every person possesses some kind of status in every group or social world in which he participates. That status is a clue to his habits, his attitudes, his ideals, in short, to him.[13]

[12] C. Lloyd Morgan, "Individual and Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 34, pp. 623–631.

[13] Daniel H. Kulp, II, *Educational Sociology*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1932, p 145.

Few men live in only one social group. They live in their families, in their occupational groups, in their political groups, in their religious organizations, and in a number of other social spheres. The rôle or status which is occupied in one group may be very different from that in some other. A man may be an absolute ruler in his home, but in his occupational world he may hold a very different status. People are all more or less Dr. Jekylls and Mr. Hydes. They are different persons depending upon the different rôles they are filling. Each person attempts to live the rôle as it is interpreted to him (and as he understands it). This point is significant to parents and teachers who are dealing with children. If the teacher places the child in the rôle of juvenile "outlaw" — a troublemaker in and out of the classroom — the child will attempt to live up to that part. On the other hand, the child who finds himself in the rôle of "cooperative citizen" will work just as hard to maintain that place.

Every person is required to make a variety of adjustments according to the rôles he assumes in his various social groups. *The personality of an individual may be defined as his persistent tendencies to make certain kinds of adjustment.* Personality is the product of innate nature and capacities and of physical and social environment.

C. *Summary*

There is no commonly accepted definition of mind. One can see the products of mind but to tell just what mind is at the present time is extremely difficult.

The relationship of the mind to the body is a subject which has caused much attention and speculation. Four different viewpoints of that relationship have been expressed: 1. The mind is everything and the body only its material dwelling. 2. The body is everything and controls the so-called mind. Any mental disorder, therefore, can be traced to a physical basis. 3. The mind and the body represent a pair of rather independent entities. 4. The individual is made up of the mind and the body which function as a unit.

Our mental nature is made up of two types of behavior patterns, the learned and the unlearned. Man is guided almost entirely by learned ways of behaving — habits, attitudes, and all the forms of behavior which come as a result of experience. That man is directed by learned rather than by unlearned behavior patterns makes it possible for human

beings to have greater freedom of action and greater possibility of advancement.

Intelligence has been defined in various ways. To some it means inborn ability. To others it means the original capacity plus training. A child becomes more intelligent by attending school and encountering experiences which develop the inborn capacities.

With a view to measuring the intelligence of individuals, mental tests have been devised. It has been found, however, that the environment and previous training of individuals greatly modify both the nature of the tests constructed and the results of the tests as taken. The tests mainly measure intelligence as a product of both inborn ability and training.

Mental testing has demonstrated that there is great variation in intelligence. Human beings range from the superior mental level of genius to the lowest level of mental development. There are three grades of feeblemindedness or mental ability below that which is referred to as "dull" or "sub-normal" — the moron, the imbecile, and the idiot. The morons compose the group which has greatest possibility of development and also greatest possibility of becoming a menace to society. The moron must be educated properly if he is to be safeguarded against corrupt exploitation. The imbecile and the idiot offer little possibility in the way of training, and a great many of them must be kept in institutions provided for their care.

The superior individuals have received the least attention from educators and psychologists; however, their contributions to society have no doubt surpassed those of the other intellectual levels.

In our society there are a great many people who were endowed with normal or even above-normal ability but who have become mentally deranged — insane — and are no longer able to carry on their usual activities of life. These unfortunate individuals are treated in mental hospitals. Some are cured and can return to society as capable members.

The burden on society in caring for the feebleminded and the insane is tremendous and is increasing in modern times. Since feeblemindedness is regarded as largely hereditary, sterilization has been advocated as a means of preventing the reproduction of mental deficients, and is now practiced in some states.

Persons all have attitudes. An individual's behavior is greatly influenced by these tendencies to react to a stimulus in a pre-established

way. Most attitudes are formed through the experiences of the individual as a member of a particular group. It is of the utmost importance to a social group that the attitudes of the members are such as to benefit the group members as a whole.

In addition to forming attitudes, everyone forms habits. Most of the activities in which an individual engages regularly and which require but little conscious direction, are habits. Formation of habits may greatly benefit an individual if the habits make for successful adaptation to his environment. On the other hand, habits may serve as handicaps if they are such as to detract from a man's efficiency and utility.

The individual is born without personality. When he acquires a social status, he becomes a person. Each individual may assume a number of social rôles. In each, he will play a somewhat different part and so be a somewhat different person. Personality is a term which is related to the person and indicates the product of individual nature and social influences within the individual's various social worlds.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare the different viewpoints of mind in relation to the body.
2. Does a bird learn to build its nest? Compare the bird's building of its shelter with the human process of home building.
3. Can one accurately judge the innate mental ability of a Negro reared in the South in comparison with that of a white man reared in the North by an intelligence test of the traditional type? Explain.
4. Has more time been spent in the public schools on education of the superior or the inferior mentally endowed children?
5. Differentiate feeblemindedness from dementia.
6. Does the rate of increase in the number of mental patients in state hospitals indicate that insanity is increasing at a similar rate?
7. Of what importance to a nation is the formation of desirable attitudes by the younger generations?
8. Differentiate between the terms *individual* and *person*.

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CHAPTER 4

Geographic Factors in Human Development

MAN IS BORN, grows, and dies in geographic space. His life and development are greatly modified by physical factors such as climate and weather, by topography of the land, and by the abundance or scarcity of natural resources. The mode of living, the type of shelter erected, the clothing worn, and the food eaten differ according to differences in geographic regions. According to the climate and the character of the region in which he dwells, an individual may grow oranges, bananas, wheat, or spruce trees, or may engage in occupations related to these fruits of the soil.

According to the variety of natural resources within the land, a man may pump oil, cut lumber, mine coal or gold, or farm. People favorably located on a good harbor may be navigators, or if they live close to a body of water well stocked with fish, they may be fishermen.

Because the life of man is so dependent on his physical environment and the development of man in society has been so greatly influenced by his geographical location, it is important that the geographical factor be considered in any survey of the development of human society.

By the geographic environment is meant the surface features of a region: its climate and rainfall; the fertility of its soil; its mineral and other natural resources; its rivers, lakes and seas, winds and tides; and its natural flora and fauna (plant and animal life).

A. *The Earth and the Solar System*

1. THE EARTH IN RELATION TO THE SUN

By most people, until the modern era, the world was regarded as the center of the universe, with the sun, moon, and all other heavenly bodies following a regular course around it. This belief is sometimes called the Geocentric Theory. It assumed that the earth was by far

the largest and most important of all the heavenly bodies and, consequently, that it occupied the center of the universe. This theory was accepted without question until 1543 when Copernicus announced his belief that the earth revolves on its own axis and with other planets forms a part of the solar system of which the sun is the center. Copernicus had spent the greater part of his life in study and observations which led him to his conclusions, but because they were so revolutionary he hesitated to set them forth. He was finally persuaded by a friend to publish his ideas. Before any reactions could take place, he died. Later Galileo, after observing the motion of the heavenly bodies through a telescope of his own making, announced his approval of the theory of Copernicus (the Heliocentric Theory). For this approval Galileo was tried for heresy, found guilty, forced to recant his statements, and sentenced to serve a term in prison.

Today it is accepted among all educated people that the sun is the center of the solar system, around which revolve nine planets (together with their satellites) in elliptical orbits. Of the nine planets, the earth has no special claim to distinction. It is neither the largest nor the smallest, the farthest from nor the closest to the sun, nor is it even in the middle of the group in so far as distance from the sun is concerned.

Not only is the sun the center of the solar system in the sense that all the planets revolve around it, but it is the source of energy. Were it not for the sun, all forms of life as they now exist on the earth would be impossible.

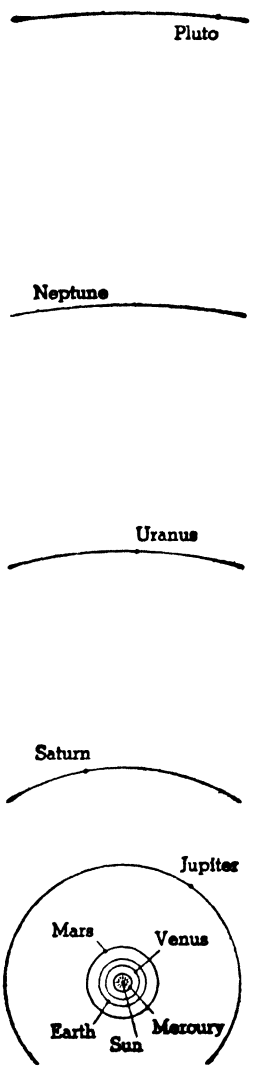


FIGURE 4. THE SOLAR SYSTEM
The figure shows the planets as they circle around the sun.

2. THE EARTH

The earth, a sphere with a diameter of about 8000 miles, spins around on its axis at such a rate that it makes one complete turn about every 24 hours. At the same time that it is spinning on its axis, it is traveling at the terrific rate of 66,000 miles per hour around the sun, so that it makes one complete revolution in 365¼ days. Because of the rotations on its axis, the earth has periods of night and day.

The earth's axis inclines about 23½ degrees from the perpendicular to the plane of its orbit. The inclination of the earth results in unequal distribution of sunshine over the world at different periods of the year — variations in the length of night and day — and brings about the change of climate between summer and winter. If the earth were not inclined, the direct rays of the sun would always fall on the equator and the slanting rays would extend to both poles. Under that condition there would be very slight seasonal variation, depending upon the distance of the sun from the earth, and there would be no variations in the length of day and night. Such a condition actually occurs but twice each year, during the periods of the spring and autumn equinoxes, March 21 and September 23 respectively.

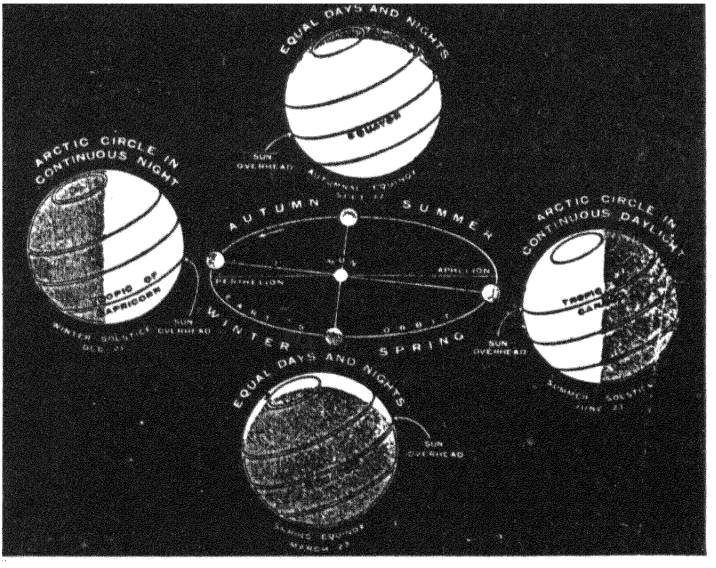


FIGURE 5. THE SEASONS

The figure indicates the earth's position in relation to the sun at the time of the fall and spring equinoxes and of the summer and winter solstices.

Since the earth, as it passes on its orbit around the sun, is always inclined at an angle, the direct rays of the sun gradually move north and south between the Tropic of Cancer, the northernmost point where the direct rays strike the earth, and the Tropic of Capricorn, the southernmost point where the direct rays strike the earth. The sun's direct rays reach the Tropic of Cancer on June 21, the summer solstice, and reach the farthest point to the south, the Tropic of Capricorn, on December 21, the winter solstice. During the period from the spring equinox to the fall equinox, March 21 to September 23, the northern hemisphere receives the more direct rays of the sun, and the North Pole has sunlight continuously while the South Pole is enduring six months' night. During the long night, the sun's rays fail by 23½ degrees to reach the South Pole, and the light from the sun shines 23½ degrees beyond the North Pole. The area lying between the North Pole and a circle 23½ degrees from the pole is called the north polar region, or the Arctic Circle; the area lying between the South Pole and a circle 23½ degrees from the pole is called the south polar region or the Antarctic Circle. The area between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn — 23½ degrees on each side of the equator — is the area of the tropics or the equatorial region. Between the tropics and the polar areas lie the north and south temperate zones.

Since the sun is the source of energy, it is to be expected that those areas which receive the most sunlight would be the most productive of plant life, for plants are the only living objects as yet capable of converting the sun's energy directly into the elements necessary for life. Thus it is that one finds tropical jungles characteristic of the equatorial regions — great expanses of wilderness where plant life is so rank and luxuriant that only with the greatest difficulty can a man cut his way through. In regions where man has temporarily beaten back the jungles, a constant struggle is necessary to maintain the advantage gained. On the other hand, in the polar regions where for six months each year there is darkness and twilight, the vegetable growth consists of tundra and only the most hardy plants. As is to be expected, the animal life varies in the different regions, as does vegetation.

a. *Materials of the earth.* The materials of the earth fall into three main divisions: (1) the atmosphere or air, (2) the hydrosphere or water, (3) the lithosphere or rock. Air is a mixture of gases encircling the earth like a blanket for a distance of about fifty miles but becoming thinner and less dense very rapidly with increasing altitude, so that

more than one-half of the supply of air lies within four miles of the earth's surface at sea level. At sea level, air has a weight (the amount of pressure it exerts) of nearly fifteen pounds to the square inch. The principal gaseous constituents of air are nitrogen, 78 per cent, and oxygen, 21 per cent. In air there are minor gaseous substances of which argon is the most abundant; carbon dioxide and water vapor are the most important. In addition to the gases there is dust, an important ingredient of air.[1]

If the solid portions of the earth were smooth and level over all portions of the globe, the water would cover it to a depth of almost two miles, but owing to the topographical unevenness, the water is gathered into great oceans, seas and inland lakes, which occupy nearly three-fourths of the earth's surface. These bodies of water are the source of the moisture in the air. A constant circulation of water takes place in the form of: (1) evaporation of water into the air where it is carried as water vapor and as clouds in the air currents, (2) condensation of the moisture, (3) precipitation in the form of rain, snow, hail, or sleet, (4) return of water once more to the ocean from which it started. Pure water is a compound of two atoms of hydrogen to one atom of oxygen (H_2O). Most water, however, is not pure but contains various chemicals which have been picked up from the rock over which it flowed.

The third division of the earth, the lithosphere, or rock,[2] forms the solid mass of the earth. Its irregularities in surface provide the islands of the sea and the continents with their plains, valleys, and mountains.

Man is dependent for his existence upon all of the constituents of the earth: atmosphere, hydrosphere, and lithosphere. All three in their various forms make up man's natural physical environment.

b. *The importance of air.* The air is not only necessary for life because living things breathe air, but air regulates the temperature of the earth. Were it not for the modifying, insulating influences of the air with its water vapor, the earth would be so hot during the day that life

[1] John E. Pomfret, *The Geographic Pattern of Mankind*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1935, p. 36.

[2] Popularly the solid portions of the earth's surface are not regarded as rock, but geologists class that group of materials under the general term lithosphere — rock sphere. The greater portion is probably solid rock, but the solid rock is usually covered by a layer of loose material consisting of soil, clay, sand, gravel, and broken rock, known collectively as mantle rock. Thomas C. Chamberlain and Rollin D. Salisbury, *A College Text-Book of Geology* Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1910, p. 11.

as it is now known would be impossible, and during the night there would be a degree of cold far greater than that now known to any part of the earth.

The temperature of the earth varies from place to place and from one time to another. With the temperature variations come differences in air pressure: hot air is light and rises, cool air is heavier. Thus one will find regions of low atmospheric pressure and regions of high pressure. Air continually flows from the regions of high pressure to those of low pressure. This flow of air, called wind, may be very slight or it may be very rapid, depending upon the differences in the air pressure. A light flow is called a breeze; a rapid flow is called a gale. Through its flow, the air has acted as a servant of man. Wind has been the motive force which propelled ships through the seas to make discoveries of distant islands and continents. For centuries the wind drove the vessels of traders from one port to another with cargoes of goods from distant lands. Trade depended upon wind, the movement of the air. Today, new forms of trade and communication dependent on the air are to be seen. Great international and transcontinental air liners have drawn together as near neighbors the distant centers of population. In modern transportation, not the movement of air but the density of air, its ability to support objects, makes it of service to man. Not only have air and wind been of service to man in traveling from place to place, but the wind is used as power to generate electricity and to operate pumps by means of windmills. The people of the western plains of the United States are very dependent on the wind as a power for the operation of various kinds of farm implements. During the modern era, air has been compressed and used as power in many ways. For example, air brakes have been used to stop rapidly moving vehicles. Operating drills of various kinds have been used in mining, in construction work, and in many other ways. Through the use of compressed air, man is able to explore the depths of the sea. Today a great deal of the world's trade, as well as much of man's travel by land, is carried on compressed air in the rubber tires of automobiles and trucks.

Man has always been dependent upon the weather and climate. In speaking of climate and weather, the long-run, year-to-year trends as well as seasonal, within-the-year changes in temperature, rainfall, and humidity are included. Not only does climate affect man's industries, that is, his ways of making a living, but it has in addition a bearing upon his health, physical energy, and bodily comfort. Fur-

thermore, climate and especially seasonal weather may make the difference between abundant food and starvation. This dependence on weather and climate was especially true among preliterate people, who had no system of established trade, but it is also true today among backward people who have failed to develop systems of transportation by which exchange can be carried on. A failure of the monsoon winds with an attendant drought would formerly have brought about a famine in India whereby thousands would have perished of starvation. Likewise, in present-day China a failure of crops through lack of seasonal rains brings dire results. Our own country also proves man's dependence on the weather. A few years ago certain mid-western states received no rain through the crop-growing season. While it is true that such drought did not produce actual starvation, it is also true that great suffering was prevented only by modern devices for transporting food from other sections of the country.

c. *The importance of water.* The quality and quantity of water and the constancy of its supply have always very greatly conditioned the development of human groups. Egypt depended for its very existence upon the River Nile's water and its annual overflows which irrigated and added to the fertile valley lands. The early civilizations of Asia Minor rose in the fertile valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. There irrigation projects were developed by which arid soils were watered. In China and India, river valleys and regions amply supplied with water were the areas in which populous settlements and higher forms of civilization developed. The same is true of any country. Adequate rainfall or water available for irrigation is indispensable to a densely populated country or to a land wherein the inhabitants enjoy a relatively high standard of living.

Waterways, rivers, lakes, and bays have always been influential in man's development. The Phoenicians were so located that they naturally became the first great maritime people. London, The Hague, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, Singapore, and Shanghai are modern cities situated in locations favored by nature for commerce by water.

d. *The solid portion of the earth.* The lithosphere is more than the firm abode upon which man lives. It is the source from which he derives the essentials of life in the form of food, clothing, and shelter. The natural resources — soil, animal life, mineral deposits, and forests — are all supplied by the solid surface of the earth.

(1) *Natural resources.* Natural resources are available in and on the solid surface of the earth, and man can obtain and utilize them by hunting the wild animals, cultivating the soil, mining the minerals, and cutting the forests. Yet nothing but the cultural advancement of mankind guarantees that natural resources will be utilized. For example, the American Indian made little or no use of the vast deposits of coal, iron, copper, and oil in the regions they occupied. As man reaches a certain stage of advancement, not only does he develop a demand for certain natural or fabricated products; he also works out or discovers certain techniques for obtaining the products.

At first those regions provided with abundant and easily available supplies are utilized. Thus many regions were first exploited by civilized man because of the rich, accessible natural resources they possessed, and because of the needs of people in other parts of the earth. For example, among the first to voyage from one region to another to supply needed metals were the Phoenicians who sailed to Spain to secure the prized tin. These trips in time led to colonization of Spain.

Later it was in quest of needed supplies not readily available in his part of the world that Columbus sailed into the setting sun with the hope of reaching India. Today, ships ply the seven seas, bringing the resources of one region where there is relative abundance to regions where there is need.

As a result of the demand to satisfy human wants, our modern international system of commerce has arisen. Today Americans eat bananas from Central America, cereal from the plains of the Middle-West, and western meat packed in Chicago or Kansas City. Americans drink tea from China, India or Japan, coffee from Brazil, Central America, or the East Indies. Americans wear clothing made in metropolitan centers from fibers imported from abroad or grown in the cotton fields of the South. Americans ride in automobiles made in Michigan from iron mined in the Great Lakes region, propelled by gasoline refined from the oil of Texas or perhaps Mexico, lubricated by oil pumped from the wells of Pennsylvania, and equipped with tires made from the juice of Sumatra rubber trees and from cotton grown in the South or Southwest. So it is that modern men in all parts of the earth are bound together through the medium of international commerce, supplying the products available in one region to meet the demands of another.

But the natural resources of the earth's solid portions are not the only factor which has influenced the development of man. Hilly and mountainous regions are ill adapted to agricultural pursuits except for small areas in the valleys, whereas level regions, where rainfall is sufficient, are admirably adapted to agricultural production. The influence of this factor can be attested by the early growth of Asia Minor. In the fertile river valleys, where agriculture was the main activity, the cities developed; in the hilly regions, on the other hand, there were only nomadic tribes who lived by tending their herds and by occasionally raiding and plundering the wealthy cities of the valleys.

(2) *Topography.* Migration of people from one region to another and the growth of commerce have both been directly related to the natural resources available within the regions. Movements of people and development of trade routes have also been closely related to another element in the physical environment of man, the topography of the land, its general surface features. There has always been the tendency for man to move along the lines of least resistance. High mountain chains, barren deserts, fever-ridden swamps, dense jungles inhabited by dangerous animals — any surface features which make travel difficult and dangerous for man — all tend to restrict migration of people to or through such regions and to prevent the establishment of trade routes there. On the other hand, rivers and river valleys, plains, and passes through the mountains have provided man with natural travel channels which offer the least possible resistance. In such easily accessible lands the people first settle by migration, the cities grow, trade and trade routes are established. The settlement of the United States provides an excellent illustration of the truth of the statement just made. The first settlements were along the seacoast and on the banks of navigable rivers. As the pioneers pushed west, they crossed the Appalachian Mountains through the natural passes, along the rivers and river valleys as far as these could be of use. Across the mountains, the first settlements were along rivers or streams which offered easy means of travel and of trade. In crossing the Western Plains, the trails used by migrants and traders swung to the south of Colorado, through New Mexico and Arizona or north through Wyoming, thence into Utah and west. All trails avoided Colorado for the reason that the highest mountains of the Rockies are generally found in that area. The railways which were established followed the same general line of the earlier trade routes. Although the city of Denver, Colorado, is the

center of one of the largest trade areas in the United States, a person traveling through Denver by rail from Chicago, Kansas City, or from any of the other eastern cities would, in going to Los Angeles or San Francisco, have to travel from 100 to 150 miles out of his way. The railroads, like the earlier overland trails, avoided the high mountains of Colorado.[3]

Mountains and other barriers to human migration and trade have an influence on the development of isolated peoples. Such regions as Tibet and certain districts of the Appalachian Mountains are inaccessible and are seldom reached by travelers or traders. As a consequence, the people living there are backward. They have made much slower change than have people in closer contact with the inhabitants of other lands. Trade and communication with other lands bring about social change at a much faster rate than is true where there is but little exchange of ideas and of goods with other people.

B. *The Importance of the Geographical Factor in Man's Development*

1. GEOGRAPHICAL DETERMINISM

The importance of man's geographical environment has long been recognized and sometimes overemphasized. The Greek writer, Hippocrates, attributed the great vigor and fierceness of the Europeans to the geographic conditions under which they lived. The historian, Herodotus, "The Father of History," expressed the same idea. In every era, certain philosophers and historians have explained the various characteristics of man in terms of geographical environment. Climate, fertility of the soil and other geographical features have been held responsible for food habits, dress, types of shelter, forms of government, family relationships, health and temperament, and rates of suicide, insanity, and crime. Those persons who thus explain life and behavior are called *geographical determinists*, and their philosophy is known as *geographical determinism*. Briefly, according to geographical determinism, man's physical environment has the power to determine the type of life the inhabitants of a region will follow.

Although one must recognize the importance of geographic en-

[3] More recently a tunnel has been put through the continental divide to the west of Denver so that now trains can go on a direct line from the eastern cities to the west coast through Denver. Thus man overcomes some of the disadvantages of topography.

vironment in the development of man, it is probably more correct to take the point of view expressed by Hankins that

> . . . it sets limits, serves as a source of suggestions, and canalizes human activities, but it is in no way endowed with originating and creative power itself.[4]

Climatic conditions set limits to man's activities. One cannot profitably grow bananas in Alaska, or wheat in Panama. A fertile soil well adapted to agriculture suggests the growing of food crops by farming, but to the Indians who inhabited the great plains of the United States, which now produce a nation's supply of wheat, the suggestion was meaningless. The abundance of salmon in the Columbia River and their utilization by the Indians living in that region resulted in a manner of living appropriate to catching and preparing the fish for food. The natural environment around the Columbia River thus canalized — fixed as a characteristic pattern — the activities of the people dwelling there. Also the abundance of bison on the plains of the West and their use for food, for clothing, and for shelter, developed a pattern of life characteristic of the Indians of that section of the continent. The distribution of population, the activities and achievements of society, cannot be explained on the basis of natural environment alone. It is more correct to say that man has developed, and his ways of living have grown, through the interaction of a number of factors of which geography is but one.

2. CIVILIZED MAN LESS DEPENDENT ON NATURE

With each step in the material development of man, the strength of the natural environment as a determiner of human habits and conduct is weakened. Primitive man was completely dependent on his natural environment for food, clothing, shelter, and other wants. His food consisted of the natural products of the region. The same was true of his clothing and his shelter. In modern civilized society, man modifies, controls, and utilizes nature. He may dam a river or stream to supply power or water for irrigation. He may drain swamps and turn them into fertile fields. He may cut down forests, use the lumber for buildings, and cultivate the land on which the trees stood. He may even, within limits, level hills. He may live in the tropics in "air-cooled" houses, or in the arctic regions in dwellings heated by steam.

[4] Frank Hamilton Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, p. 179.

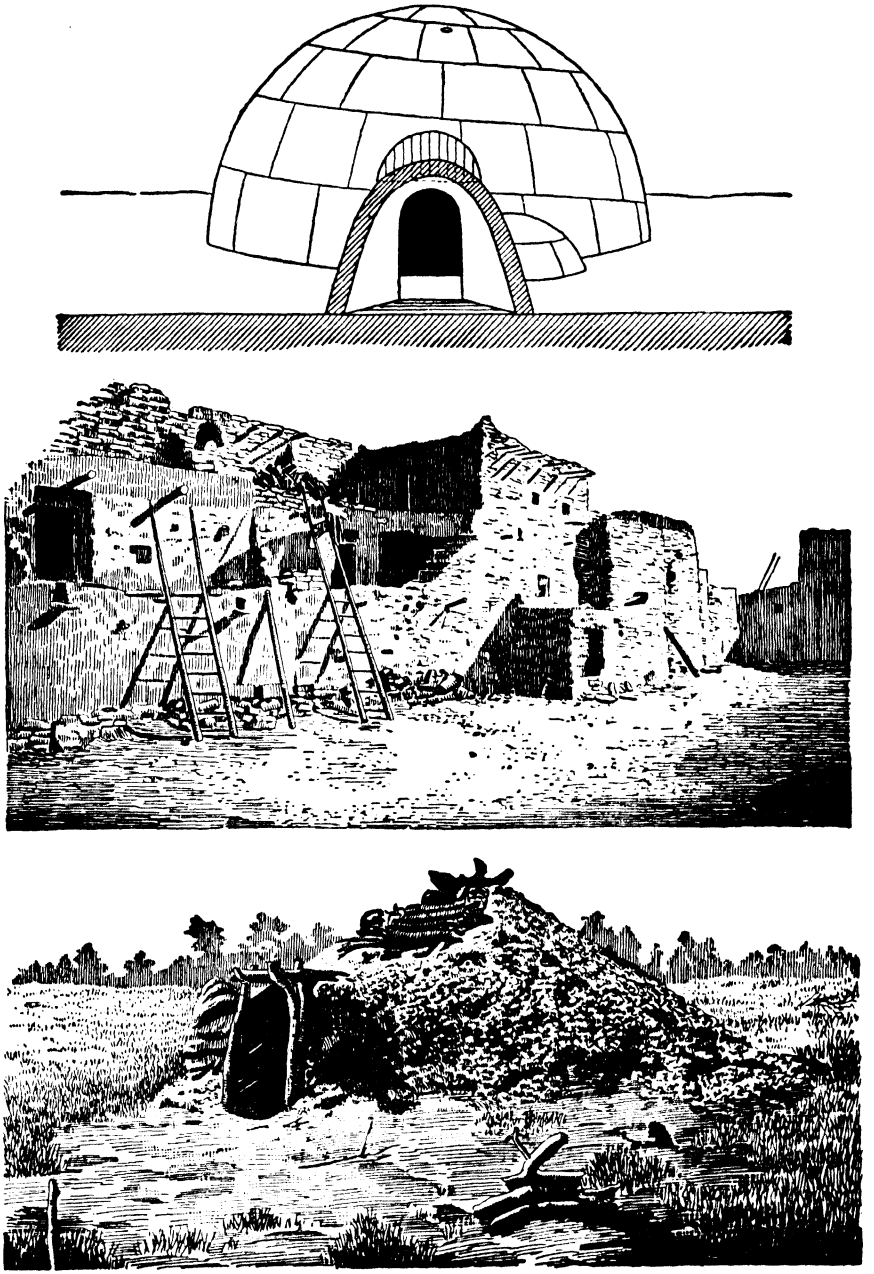


FIGURE 6. ESKIMO HOPI, AND NAVAHO DWELLINGS
Geographical environment has an important influence on the type of dwellings used for shelter.

He cannot control the wind, rain, or seasonal changes, but he can make use of the wind to pump his water or propel vessels on the sea. He can store the rain for use when it is needed. He can plant crops suitable to the seasons of the year and to the character of the region.

There are limits to man's control of nature. He cannot mine gold or pump oil where nature placed no gold or oil. He cannot farm desert regions where no water is available. He cannot overcome the effects of climate except to a very limited extent. Nature sets the bounds within which man may modify his natural environment. Beyond these limits man must adapt himself to the geographical conditions.

C. *Summary*

Man's life is dependent upon, and his manner of living is greatly influenced by, his geographical environment, which includes climate, natural resources, topography, rivers and other bodies of water, wind, and the natural flora and fauna.

The earth in ancient times, under the Geocentric Theory, was regarded as the center of the universe. It is now, under the Heliocentric Theory, known to be one of nine planets which revolve about the sun as the center of the solar system.

The earth, a sphere with a diameter of about 8000 miles, rotates on its axis once in 24 hours and revolves around the sun in 365¼ days. It lies on its axis on an inclined plane of 23½ degrees. This inclination together with the revolution of the earth around the sun provides the temperature variations between the seasons of the year.

The earth is composed of air, water, and rock or solid surface. The air surrounds the earth as a blanket. Not only does the air provide oxygen necessary for life but it acts to diffuse the heat rays from the sun and to carry water vapor which provides moisture to the solid portions of the earth. Air serves man in many ways: the winds propel ships through the water, serve as power to operate pumps, generate electricity, and operate machines of various kinds; air supports the great planes of the present; compressed air is used in many ways by modern man.

The water of the earth exists in oceans, lakes, rivers, in vapor carried in the air, and in streams within the earth's surface. Almost three-fourths of the earth's surface is water. Water has been indispensable to human settlements. The early civilizations were situated along

rivers. Densely populated regions today are those which have adequate rainfall or water available for irrigation. Bodies of water have always had great influence on the development of the people living near-by. The solid portion of the earth not only provides an abode for man, but within it or upon it are found the natural products or resources which play and have played such an important part in the development of modern civilization. The regions which provided wealth of natural resources were the first to be sought by man. The availability of natural resources in a land resulted in migration to the region and in the establishment of trade routes there. The topography of the earth has had important effects on the migration of man and on the establishment of trade routes. The roads followed by migrants and by traders have always been those which offered the least resistance in the way of natural barriers. Regions cut off by mountains and by other bars to travel and communication tend to be backward and rather static.

The importance of the geographic environment in the life and development of human society has been recognized for ages. Often the importance of natural environment has been overemphasized. The importance of man's geographic environment must be recognized, but it is significant in that "it sets limits, serves as a source of suggestions, and canalizes human activities" rather than determining man's way of living.

Primitive man is largely a child of nature and is very dependent on his physical surroundings. Civilized man modifies and controls nature to his own advantage to a much greater extent, and so is less dependent on his geographical environment.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain how the inclination of the earth on its axis is related to the variations in the length of night and day from one season to another.
2. Is man's natural physical environment composed of the same constituents wherever he lives?
3. What services does air render man? How does man control or modify air to his needs?
4. How does water modify and affect the life of man?

5. Is the presence of natural resources in a region a guarantee that man will make use of them? Give examples to explain your answer.
6. Explain how topography of the land influences man's behavior. How does man overcome the influence of topography?
7. What is *geographical determinism*? What factors do geographical determinists fail to consider?
8. List the ways in which modern civilized man touches nature more frequently than primitive man. Explain in what ways modern civilized man is less dependent on nature than primitive man.

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CHAPTER 5

Culture

THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS dealt with the development of life and of man, and the biological, psychological, and geographic influences which have affected that development. The present chapter deals with that distinctly human part of man's environment known as culture.

A. *Culture of the Plains Indians*

The flesh of the Buffalo was the great staple of the Plains Indians, though elk, antelope, bear and smaller game were not infrequently used On the other hand, vegetable foods were always a considerable portion of their diet, many of the eastern groups cultivating corn (maize) and gathering wild rice, the others making extensive use of wild roots, seeds, and fruits. All the tribes living on the edges of the buffalo area, even those on the western border of the Woodlands, seem to have made regular hunting excursions out into the open country . . . All Plains tribes seem to have practiced cooperative hunting in an organized military-like manner This usually took the form of a surround in which a large body of Indians on swift horses and under the direction of skilled leaders rode round and round a herd bunching them up and shooting down the animals one by one. . . .

As buffalo could not be killed every day, some method of preserving their flesh in an eatable condition was necessary to the well-being of the Plains Indians. The usual method was by drying in the sun. Steaks were cut broad and thin, and slashed by short cuts which gaped open when the pieces were suspended, giving the appearance of holes. These steaks were often placed in boiling water for a few moments and then hung upon poles or racks out of reach of dogs. In the course of a few days, if kept free from moisture, the meat became hard and dry. It could then be stored in bags for future use. Fat, also, could be dried if slightly boiled.

Dried meat of the buffalo and sometimes of the elk was often pounded fine, making what was known as pemmican. While some form of pemmican was used in many parts of North America, the most characteristic kind among the Plains Indians was the berry pemmican. To make this,

the best cuts of the buffalo were dried in the usual manner. During the berry season wild cherries were gathered and crushed with stones, pulverizing the pits, and reducing the whole to a thick paste which was partially dried in the sun. Then the dried meat was softened by holding over a fire, after which it was pounded fine with a stone or stone-headed maul. . . . This pulverized meat was mixed with melted fat and marrow, to which was added the dried but sticky cherry paste. The whole mass was then packed in a long, flat raw-hide bag, called a parfleche. With proper care, such pemmican would keep for years. In pioneer days, it was greatly prized by white trappers and soldiers. . . .

Before the introduction of the horse, the Plains Indians traveled on foot. The tribes living along the Mississippi made some use of canoes, according to early accounts, while those of the Missouri and inland used only crude tub-like affairs for ferry purpose. . . . When on the march, baggage was carried on the human back and also by dogs, the only aboriginal domestic animals. Most tribes used a peculiar A-shaped contrivance, known as a dog travois, upon which packs were placed. All the northern tribes are credited with the dog travois. . . . With the introduction of the horse, a larger but similar travois was used.

One of the most characteristic features of Plains Indians culture was the tipi. All the tribes of the area, almost without exception, used it for a part of the year at least. Primarily, the tipi was a conical tent covered with dressed buffalo skins. . . . Everywhere the tipi was made, cared for, and set up by the women . . . the tipi was not the only type of shelter used by these Indians. The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara lived in more or less permanent villages of curious earth-covered lodges. . . . Houses of approximately the same type were used by the Pawnee, Omaha, Ponca, Kansas, Missouri, and Oto. The Osage, on the other hand, are credited with the use of dome-shaped houses covered with mats and bark, like the Ojibway and other Woodland tribes . . . A unique and exceptional type of shelter was used by the Wichita and the related Caddoan tribes of the Southeastern culture area. This is known as a grass lodge. It consists of a dome-shaped structure of poles thatched with grass and given an ornamental appearance by the regular spacing of extra bunches of thatch. . . .

The men of the Plains were not elaborately clothed. At home, they usually went about in breech-cloth and moccasins. The former was a broad strip of cloth drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. . . . At all seasons a man kept at hand a soft tanned buffalo robe in which he tastefully swathed his person when appearing in public. This was universally true of all, with the possible exception of some southern tribes. In the Plateau area, the most common

for winter were robes of antelope, elk, and mountain sheep, while in summer elkskins without the hair were worn. . . .

There seems to be nothing distinctive in the marriage customs of the Plains, even in the matter of exogamy. A man was permitted to marry as many women as he desired, yet relatively few men had more than three wives. Everywhere the rule was to marry sisters, if possible, since it is said they were less likely to quarrel amongst themselves. As no slaves were kept and servants were unknown, the aristocratic family could only meet the situation by increasing the number of wives. Further, it was usual to regard the first wife as the head of the family, the others as subordinate. . . .

When an Indian is ill a doctor is called in. He is supposed to have received power from some supernatural source and sings songs and prays at the bedside. Sometimes vegetable substances are given as medicine, but these are usually harmless, the faith being placed entirely in the religious formula.

At death the body was dressed and painted, then wrapped in a robe and placed upon a scaffold, in a tree or upon a hill. None of the Plains tribes seem to have practiced cremation and but a few of them placed the bodies underground. . . .

The political organization was rather loose and in general quite democratic. Each band, gens, or clan informally recognized an indefinite number of men as head men, one or more of whom were formally vested with representative powers in the tribal council . . . Though there were in the Plains some groups spoken of as confederacies by pioneers, . . . there was nothing like the celebrated League of the Iroquois in the Woodland area.

There being no such thing as individual ownership of land, property consisted of horses, food, utensils, etc. These were possessed in varying degrees by the individual members of a tribe, but in no case was the amount of such property given much weight in the determination of social position. Anyone in need of food, horses, or anything whatsoever, was certain to receive some material assistance from those who had an abundance. Among most tribes, the lavish giving away of property was a sure road to social distinction. Yet, the real aristocrats seem to have been those with great and good deeds to their credit.[1]

From this description of the life of the Plains Indians, it will be seen that they had certain characteristic ways of living and of performing necessary activities in their society. They all ate buffalo meat. They

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series No. 1, New York, 1927. Reprinted by permission.

all had rather characteristic types of shelter. They all provided a type of clothing. They all had certain customs. They married. They had a form of government. They had certain beliefs and ceremonies which were characteristic of their religion. They had certain regulations in the matter of personal possessions, and in many other ways the life of each Indian was influenced and controlled by the other individuals with whom he was in direct contact, and also by those who lived before his time.

B. *The Nature of Culture*

The pattern of behavior together with the material objects such as tools, weapons, types of clothing, and shelter, which arise among people living together, is called culture. It consists of the part of man's environment which he makes or has made. It is man-created environment.

1. CULTURE TRAIT

As one examines the culture of any people, he finds that it is made up of a multitude of items. Thus, American culture includes the automobile, the radio, the newspaper, the wedding ceremony, the Fourth of July, language and speech, religious ceremonies, and a host of other possessions and practices. These units of culture are called *culture traits. A culture trait is the smallest subdivision of culture.* It is the great accumulation of these culture traits, woven together and integrated, which makes the culture of a group or of an area.

2. UNIVERSALITY OF CULTURE

All human beings have a culture, whether they are the inhabitants of a Western metropolis or live in China, the Arctics, Australia, or elsewhere. They receive that culture largely as a heritage. It is a "group way" into which they are born. Few individuals ever contribute very much to the culture of their groups, and few groups, if any, have ever developed all parts of their culture independently of other groups.

3. IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE

It is through culture that man has been able to rise to his present high standing in the world of living beings. Students of ant life say that ants have division of labor. Some species of ants have organizations resembling armies. They have slave ants to do their work.

They have a species of insect which they protect and care for in order to obtain a body secretion, which the ants consume. This resembles, in a manner, man's domestication and care of the cow for its milk. These ants are very interesting beings, but they do not have a culture. Ants have been living and acting as they now do for thousands of years and, unless geographical conditions require a change, they will no doubt continue to act in the same way for thousands of years to come. Each generation of ants lives practically the same life as the preceding generation. Ants' activities are mainly instinctive and result almost wholly from the inborn nature of the species.

Similarly, each generation of all lower animals begins life as its parents began and, except for such changes as may take place through the geographic environment or through the actions of other animals, lives in practically the same manner as its parents. Nothing in the life and experience of the parent generation aids the present generation in meeting the problems it faces.

On the other hand, each generation of man stands on the shoulders of the preceding generation. That is, man patterns his experiences into his culture. Each generation starts with the culture which its forefathers have constructed. No individual in human society begins life in a culture which is identical to that of his father or his grandfathers. In this way the discoveries and inventions made during one generation are passed on to succeeding generations, and it is not necessary for each generation to solve the same problems as its ancestors. Nor is it necessary that man be largely guided by an unknown, mysterious, inborn force such as instinct.

4. CULTURAL VARIATIONS

Were men like ants, each group of human beings would have essentially the same way of living. But instead, human culture groups vary. The Eskimo has his culture which fits his peculiar circumstances; the Pygmy has his way of living; the inhabitant of New York City has his. Whereas the New Yorker rides in automobiles, streetcars, or airplanes, the Eskimo rides in the kayak or dog sleigh, and the Pygmy walks or runs. The Eskimo eats walrus blubber; the New Yorker eats beef, pork, and vegetables; and the Pygmy eats fruit, white ants, bee grubs, honey, wild beans, and the flesh of birds, deer, and other animals shot with bow and arrow. The Eskimo lives in an igloo; the New Yorker in an apartment house, a tenement, a house, or hotel; and the

Pygmy in a crude arbor constructed of bent, interlaced branches and plantain leaves. But it may be objected that these differences, like the differences of ants in tropical regions from those in temperate climates, are the results of geographic environment. That objection, however, is only partially true; for the New Yorker, living among Eskimos or among Central Africans, continues with certain modifications, the characteristic way of life with which he is familiar. Furthermore, people who live in similar geographic regions often have very different culture patterns. For example, the Indians who lived in the area now occupied by New York City had a culture which was widely different from that of the white metropolitan inhabitants.

5. CLASSES OF CULTURE

a. *Material culture.* There are two main classes of culture. The kind of culture of which one most commonly thinks, in modern society at least, is known as material culture. The term "material culture" includes all the tools which man uses in accomplishing his tasks, and in supplying himself with the essential needs of life, namely food, shelter, and clothing. For primitive man, material culture includes his bow and arrows, his spear, his stone hammer, his moccasins, his buffalo robe, his canoe or his dog travois, his tepee or other characteristic shelter. For modern man, material culture includes plow and tractor, steam shovel and derrick, automobile, airplane, steamship, as well as a multitude of other objects making up tools and goods.

b. *Non-material culture.* In addition to the material culture of man, there is the non-material or immaterial culture. This includes the group habits (folkways and mores), the beliefs, and the practices which develop among human beings as they live and work together. Language, forms of marriage, governments, exchange of goods, religion, play, music, ceremonies, weddings and festivals, customs, and a multitude of other conventionalized behavior traits which grow in societies of people, are parts of man's immaterial culture.

(1) *Folkways and mores.* Groups living together develop what are to observers many curious and interesting customs. In America, a man meets a woman on the street and greets her by removing, or tipping, his hat. When a man and a woman enter church, the man removes his hat but the woman does not. A man removes his hat on entering a home, but not on entering a store. When a man in Japan or Holland enters his home, however, he removes his shoes instead of his hat. An

individual does not notice the practices of his own group. They are a part of the *folkways* of the society. He has learned to do as others of his group do, and he does not ask why. *Folkways are group habits of action.*

When the folkways have become so strong that they are regarded as the only right way and are looked upon as necessary for the welfare of the group, they are then spoken of as *mores*. *Mores are forms of action which the group regards as essential and right.* The wearing of clothing to cover the body is regarded by our social order as necessary and moral. To appear without that clothing would be immodest or immoral, yet such is not the feeling among all people in the world. The wearing of clothing is one of our mores.

(2) *Society.* In this study, the term society is frequently used. *The term society means a group of people held together in a relatively permanent relationship, bound together by understanding and agreement, and working together to attain the common needs of life.* The particular form of society is a part of the non-material culture of man. It may be a small isolated society where only a few people are found, or it may be a great number of people distributed over a wide area.

(3) *Ethnocentrism.* It is a characteristic of human beings that each individual regards his way of acting, in accordance with his group ways, as the usual way. The language and customs of the foreigner are likely to appear funny to Americans. They laugh when they see pictures of two men greeting each other by kissing. That is not the American way for men to greet. People in the United States are shocked when they learn that people of certain European countries eat horse flesh and that people of other countries eat dogs. These feelings are illustrative of ethnocentrism. *The term ethnocentrism means the feeling held by members of each society group that their culture, their way of doing, is best.*

c. *Relationship of material and non-material culture.* Material and non-material culture traits are closely woven together — integrated — into the pattern of a particular society. The two classes are interdependent and interlacing. In America, one sees a machine culture, by which is meant that machines form an indispensable part of the social pattern of this country. American people depend upon machines to manufacture their clothing, to construct their highways, to carry them from place to place, to cultivate their fields, to harvest their crops, to process their food products, to manufacture the materials for their houses, to erect their buildings of all types, and to do much of their housework. Just as the great variety of machines and the products of machines

utilized in society are a part of our country's material culture, so is the immaterial culture of the American people inseparably united with material culture traits. Great mobility of the population comes from machines that move people from one spot to another continually. A man may live miles away from where he engages in his vocation and he may change his residence at frequent intervals without changing his vocation. As a result of the rapid systems of communication and transportation, governments today are different from those of our forefathers. It is now possible for one nation to govern great areas which would have been unreachable without modern systems of intercourse. Great metropolitan centers with their spirit of urbanism are outgrowths of the material culture of modern urban society. Were machines in this country suddenly to cease operating for a week, there would be a shortage of food; and after sixty days a large portion of the city population would be forced to move or to starve.

Since mechanized material culture in this country has emphasized efficiency and speed, Americans are forced to live at a high tension. They feel that they must know of happenings when the events occur. They must waste no time. They must drive at a high rate of speed on the highway even if they have nothing important to do at the end of the drive. Even though they have a summer of rest in Europe ahead of them they must get there in the shortest time possible on the fastest ships. Emphasis on speed has become one of their folkways.

6. INSTITUTIONS

a. *Nature of institutions.* Institutions make up a very important part of the non-material culture of any people. They become a part of the culture in much the same way as do the folkways and the mores of the group. *An institution is a system of relationships, or a pattern for carrying out an idea, or a desire, which is regarded as necessary for the welfare of the group.*

b. *Functions and kinds of institutions*

(1) *Domestic.* It must be recognized by everyone that the very existence of the group depends upon the birth of children and upon their proper rearing. In order to accomplish these objectives, the institutions of marriage and the family are found functioning among all peoples. By marriage one or more men and one or more women are bound together in family relationship. Through this relationship the continuance of the group is fostered by reproduction and to an extent, at least, the behavior of its members is regulated. Furthermore, the

young are born into the family relationship and are guaranteed the necessary physical care and protection, together with the training desirable to fit them to take their places in society. Institutions which are related to marriage and to the family are classed as domestic institutions.

(2) *Political.* Regulation of the activities of individuals is necessary for group welfare and continuance. No one person may disregard the rights and welfare of others in seeking his own ends. Self-seeking on the part of individuals might follow lack of formal control, so there must be devices for controlling individual members, for compelling a type of action which implies recognition of the rights of others as superior to the individual desires of any one person. Institutions dealing with the government of group members exist in order to guarantee the recognition of the welfare of the group as superior to that of an individual. The importance of these institutions increases with the complexity and size of the social group involved. Among very primitive people the government and regulation of the conduct of individuals is left to families, mores, and indirect means of control. These are always important, but with the growing complexity of a society the need for other positive means for regulation is much greater. Furthermore all groups, primitive as well as highly civilized, need agencies to protect them against enemies from the outside. For that reason war and conflict is a phase of the culture of all groups. Among primitive groups the chief service which the governmental institutions render is that of defense from an outside enemy. The chief governmental officer in primitive groups is usually the head of the military forces.

(3) *Economic.* Even among primitive people, there is some exchange of goods. This exchange may in the first instance be the exchange of articles collected by one group for articles collected or made by another group. Before there is any exchange of goods, however, there must be a process by which goods are secured in excess of the demands or needs of the particular group. The securing of goods to meet the needs of life, the processing, manufacturing, and exchanging of goods, are all included in the activities of economic institutions.

(4) *Other institutions.* In addition to the domestic, the political, and the economic, other very important institutions are the religious, the educational, the recreational, and the aesthetic. These institutions are devoted to the performance of particular functions and are necessary for life within the various social groups.

Although the institutions are to be found as parts of the culture of all groups, they differ as the cultures of the groups differ.

7. HOW CULTURE IS ACQUIRED

a. *Discovery and invention.* No one knows just how or when came the beginnings of culture. Culture no doubt originated in response to a need for a more efficient way of supplying the primary needs of man — food, shelter, and clothing. In response to this need, some primitive Edison may have made a discovery or an invention which caused him to be more efficient in satisfying his needs than were the others. The discovery may have been the use of fire, for certainly fire was one of the earliest and most important discoveries ever made by man. This discovery was then imitated or borrowed by others, and finally became the possession of the group of people. Through the process of communication, it was passed on to other generations in the group.

How did use of the newly invented technique, or tool, find its way into other groups of people? It may have been by independent invention of individuals in the different groups, or it may have been by borrowing from some neighboring people. Either suggestion represents a possibility, for there are many examples of men living in distant regions yet inventing the same or similar devices independently of each other. For example, Darwin and Wallace reached similar conclusions in their independent studies of nature and life, and announced their theories of evolution almost simultaneously. Bell and Lancaster independently devised similar methods of teaching in school — methods which led to the designation of their schools as "monitorial." Americans attribute the invention of the steamboat to Fulton, yet William Symington constructed a steamship which he successfully operated in England in 1802, five years before Fulton's invention.

The culture of every group has probably been acquired both by invention and by borrowing. One thing seems certain, however. No invention or borrowing of new traits takes place until there is a need for the new elements or until previous cultural development has readied a group for the new traits. Edison, Marconi, Wright, or Bell could not have made their inventions in a society of Pygmies or of other people in a low state of cultural development; nor would people in that primitive state of civilization be interested in borrowing such traits from other peoples. Culture has been said to determine its own advancement. Groups tend to adopt new ideas or practices only as culture develops, so that the new traits can fit into the existing culture pattern.

b. *Culture borrowing.* The borrowing of culture traits by one group of people from another is a very important means by which the culture of all groups has been developed.

> Our farmers formerly planted, and often yet plant, maize in hills; this was the universal Indian mode, four to five grains being dropped at one place at regular intervals of about three feet. . . . In cultivation, the Indian hoed the earth up around the growing stalk, which is still the principle of the mechanical cultivator. For husking, our farmers use a husking pin, which, while now of iron, was not so very long ago of bone and wood, precisely like those still in use among our surviving eastern Indians. . . .
>
> The Indian planted beans and squashes among the corn. This has always been a favorite custom of our farmers. He also understood the art of testing his seed and of preparatory germination in warm water. Where fish were available they were used for fertilization, the rule being one fish to a hill.[2]

Other culture traits of the Indian borrowed by the white man were the smoking of tobacco and the use of potatoes, tomatoes, and squash as food. On the other hand, the Indian borrowed the use of firearms and of horses from the white man.

The nature of the culture-borrowing between the Indians and the white people suggests that groups tend to borrow material rather than non-material traits. Although the Indians were eager to secure the white man's gun and his horse, they did not show the same readiness to adopt the invader's religion, language, form of marriage relations, or government; and though the white man readily adopted the use of tobacco, corn, and other Indian products, he was likewise averse to adopting new traits of the immaterial culture. This reluctance to adopt new forms of culture may be due to the inability of the members of each group to see the usefulness of strange culture traits, whereas even the spirit of ethnocentrism could not blind them to the utility of certain material traits.

8. THE GROWTH AND SPREADING OF CULTURE

Culture grows by the accumulation of traits. When a new trait is introduced into a culture, it adds to the complexity of the existing culture, for seldom is a new trait added as an exact substitution for an already existing trait. For example, soft drinks, soda water, Coca Cola,

[2] Clark Wissler, "Aboriginal Maize Culture as a Typical Culture Complex," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, pp. 657–658, March, 1926. Reprinted by permission.

and the like may have been added to American culture as a substitute for stronger beverages — whisky, rum, and gin — but although the mild drinks have found a place in the culture, stronger beverages still remain. Although the Indians adopted the gun of the white man, they still retained bow and arrow.

a. *Accumulation of culture traits.* Boys know that a small snowball rolled in the damp snow will increase in size. At first it grows slowly, for it is small and does not cover a very wide surface, and so light that only a few particles of snow adhere. But as the snowball becomes larger, it grows faster until with each revolution its increase in size becomes very apparent. Finally it reaches such proportions that it can hardly be moved. Culture grows in much the same way as the rolled snowball. The culture of primitive people is sometimes considered static, not changing. But in reality there is no such thing as a changeless culture. The culture of primitive people does change, however slowly. Primitive peoples do not have the expanse of culture which calls for the rapid accumulation of new culture traits. Later, as the culture becomes more complex, growth becomes rapid. In modern Western civilization, very significant additions are made even within the period of one generation. For example, within the present century the automobile, the radio, the moving picture, world-wide telephone service, the submarine, poison gas in war, and a host of other articles and traits have been added to the culture. As a matter of fact, our culture has grown to such proportions that one person cannot possibly be well versed in all aspects of our complex civilization.

b. *Culture diffusion.* Culture spreads by the process called "diffusion." Sometimes the term diffusion is used solely to mean the borrowing of culture by one group from another. But the term here is used to designate the spreading of new culture traits not only between or among different groups but also within a given group of people after invention. The white man borrowed the practice of smoking tobacco from the Indian, but he spread that practice by returning to Europe with tobacco leaf supplies and showing other white people of Europe how to smoke. Thus it was through travel (movement from Europe to America and back to Europe), together with the contacts involved, that the introduction of the use of tobacco into European culture came about. All culture diffusion is similarly dependent on social contact. A group of people completely isolated from all outside influences could spread no new culture traits, except such as might arise through invention within

the group. The greater the number of social contacts, the more rapid and the more widespread the culture diffusion. Among primitive groups there are very few contacts with other groups, only such as are possible by actual travel of people from one group to another. Contacts are of the face-to-face variety. Primitive groups have no newspaper, radio, telephone, telegraph, nor correspondence by letter. Consequently, they have no way of knowing what other people are doing. Their culture has less opportunity to accumulate new traits. On the other hand, a new invention or a new discovery may today be broadcast by radio to all civilized nations. Newspapers of the world will discuss it, and, in a very short period of time, the new trait will be adopted, not only in the land of its origin, but around the world. For example, it is less than fifty years since Marconi in Italy discovered that messages could be sent through space without the medium of a wire; yet today radio listeners in California, Louisiana, Minnesota, or Florida can hear a news commentator in New York discuss foreign affairs with other commentators throughout the world as though listeners and commentators were sitting in the same room. This ease of communication has been made possible by the spreading of the discovery of Marconi to other nations together with discoveries and inventions made by other individuals. The radio is not a culture trait of the Italians exclusively; its use has been so diffused into the American culture that it is truly an American culture trait.

C. *The Importance of Culture in Human Development*

1. THROUGH CULTURE MAN OVERCOMES PHYSICAL HANDICAPS

Man has certain physical characteristics which have placed him at a distinct advantage over other forms of life. However, man's body is not so strong as that of the elephant, the ox, the camel, the horse, nor of hosts of other animals. Through the growth of culture, human beings utilize to their own advantage the superior strength of some "lower" animals. Further, the power of steam, of compressed air, of electricity, and of many other forces are harnessed and set to work by and for man. Thus he has not only the strength of the elephant, the ox, the camel and the horse working to accomplish his ends, but he directs forces more powerful than those of all the elephants. He can lift burdens beyond the strength of the most powerful of all living creatures. He can carry loads — by train and boat — greater than any animal could bear.

It is through the growth of practices and instruments — domestication of beasts of burden, and use of tools, machines, and so forth — that man has become able to accomplish tasks far beyond his own feeble strength.

By nature man is less swift on foot than the majority of animals. An ordinary man can hardly run a mile in less than five minutes. The swiftest runner ever known has not been able to run the distance in four minutes. A horse can run a mile in less than two minutes, and an antelope has been known to cover the distance in one minute. Through the development of culture in the form of vehicles for travel, man can outdistance the swiftest antelope. He has attained on the ground a speed of more than three hundred miles an hour or between five and six miles a minute.

Man is not an aquatic animal. He does not swim instinctively. He must learn to swim, and even after he has become proficient, his efforts are pitiable compared with those of a fish. Through culture, however, man can travel through water at a greater speed for long distances than that of the swiftest water creature. Motor boats attain a speed of more than a mile a minute, and great ocean liners cross the Atlantic in less than five days.

One of the great sorrows of our earlier ancestors was man's inability to fly. Early stories depicting gods and supernatural beings attributed to them the power of flying. Through the growth of culture, man flies higher and swifter than any known bird or insect. Great air liners cross our continent in less than one day, and "Clipper" planes can carry passengers across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in spaces of time unbelievable to our forefathers.

Through culture man has learned to set aside, to some extent at least, the law of natural selection. Man can within limits do his own selecting of the individuals who will survive and reproduce their kind. Thus artificial selection, through improvement in food and sanitation and through eugenics, is made possible.

Man is endowed with a larger and more complex brain than any other creature; he has greater mental capacity than any other being. However, it is through culture that the native intelligences of individuals are developed. From generation to generation the experiences of the group are transmitted. Formal institutions develop the habits and attitudes of individuals along lines which have been found by experience to be desirable for the person and for the group. Nature in the form of inheritance provides each individual with capacities for development.

These aptitudes set limits on what man as an individual can attain — physically and mentally. Man's culture furnishes the opportunity for development of the capacities.

2. THROUGH CULTURE MAN UTILIZES GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS TO HIS ADVANTAGE

All creatures are dependent for their very existence on their geographic environments. Man is no exception. However, where the other forms of life thrive or perish according to favorable or unfavorable geographic conditions or changes, man through culture can, within limits, modify and utilize, to his own advantage, his geographic conditions. Regions unfavorable to agriculture can be made to produce more abundantly through irrigation, drainage, or fertilization. Products of one region can be utilized by people dwelling in distant lands. Climatic conditions cannot be changed, but man by the use of material culture can dwell in "air-cooled" or artificially warmed houses as occasion demands.

In the process of human evolution, all factors — biological, psychological, geographical — are indispensable. But it is through culture, the uniquely human characteristic, that man has developed to his present state in the world. To culture belong man's material inventions, his systems of communication by which the thoughts and experiences of one individual, group, or generation have been transmitted to others, his institutions for protecting and regulating human beings for their own advantage.

D. *Summary*

Culture refers to the pattern of life together with the material objects such as tools, weapons, types of clothing, and shelter, which arise among people living in association with one another. Culture, a product of group life, is divided into units called culture traits. Culture traits seldom exist independently of each other. They are combined, woven together, integrated into the total culture of a people.

Among human beings culture is as universal as is group life. Everywhere people live in close association with their fellows, working together, competing, and engaging in conflicts of various degrees of intensity. Culture arises as a product of the contacts of human society.

Through culture man has been able to rise to his present high place in the world. Experiences and accumulated information of previous

generations are transmitted from generation to generation, and from place to place, so that culture continues to grow with the passing of time. Culture of man differs from the patterns of behavior of the lower animals in that human behavior is largely the product of learning, whereas that of the lower animals is largely instinctive and consequently relatively unchanging.

As the environment of man varies from place to place and from age to age, so the culture of human beings is different in different parts of the world and at different periods in the world's history.

There are two main classes of culture: material and non-material or immaterial culture. Material culture is composed of all objects which man has developed for use in his group, such as tools, clothing, shelter, and the like. Non-material culture comprises his system of organizations, such as family groups, forms of settlement, and the like; customs, such as folkways, mores, and institutions; and the various beliefs and practices associated with life in human society.

The term society refers to a group of people bound together in a relatively permanent relationship, and working together by understanding and agreement to attain the common needs of life. Although society itself is not a part of the non-material culture of man, the particular forms of society are. Within every society there is a spirit of *ethnocentrism* — a feeling that the ways of behaving in the group are the right, the best ways. The ways by which other people accomplish similar objectives are regarded as strange and even immoral.

Institutions are systems of relationships or patterns for carrying out any idea or desire regarded as necessary for the welfare of man. Society requires the continual addition of new members trained for efficient participation in the activities of the social order. Domestic institutions are charged with the responsibilities of perpetuating group wishes. Individuals must be regulated in their behavior for the benefit of society as a whole. Political institutions are designed to control activities along approved lines. In all human associations, activities are directed toward supplying the material needs of man. Some lands are rich in certain goods but poor in others. Through production and exchange of goods, man is able to live in his particular environment. Economic institutions are concerned with man's ways of securing such material needs as his cultural standards require. Other social needs such as religion, education, recreation, and health are met through the operation of special institutions.

Culture is acquired through the discovery and invention of ways of attaining desired objectives, and through borrowing traits from other cultural groups. Material culture traits are more readily borrowed than non-material. The advantages to be secured from the borrowed traits are more readily observable in material objects than in ways of procedure or in patterns of behavior.

Culture grows by the accumulation of new traits which are added to the existing culture of a society. New traits, both invented and borrowed, are spread among the group in which the invention is made and among other groups by the process of diffusion — the spreading of new culture traits.

Through culture, man has been able to overcome many of the physical handicaps with which he is endowed by nature. To his own advantage he makes use of the strength of other animals and of other forces. By means of culture, man is able to overcome the disadvantage of his geographic environment and to secure products of other lands. Forces of nature are used to serve man's needs.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. From the description of life among the Plains Indians pick out some folkways and institutions found among these people. Point out characteristic differences in the institutions of the Indians and modern Americans.
2. Explain how human culture differs from the characteristic group behavior of ants, bees, and other insects.
3. Compare the culture of the dweller in Los Angeles or Miami with that of a native of Siberia.
4. Illustrate folkways and mores by giving examples of each as found in modern American culture.
5. Can the World War in any way be accounted for on the basis of ethnocentrism? Explain.
6. Explain how all institutions in any society are related and their functions interacting and interdependent.
7. Have human beings ever been without a culture? Explain or justify your answer.
8. Can you name any culture traits which belong exclusively and originally to residents of the United States?
9. Man has been successful in overcoming his natural physical handicaps by cooperative effort. Is the cooperative effort culture? Explain.

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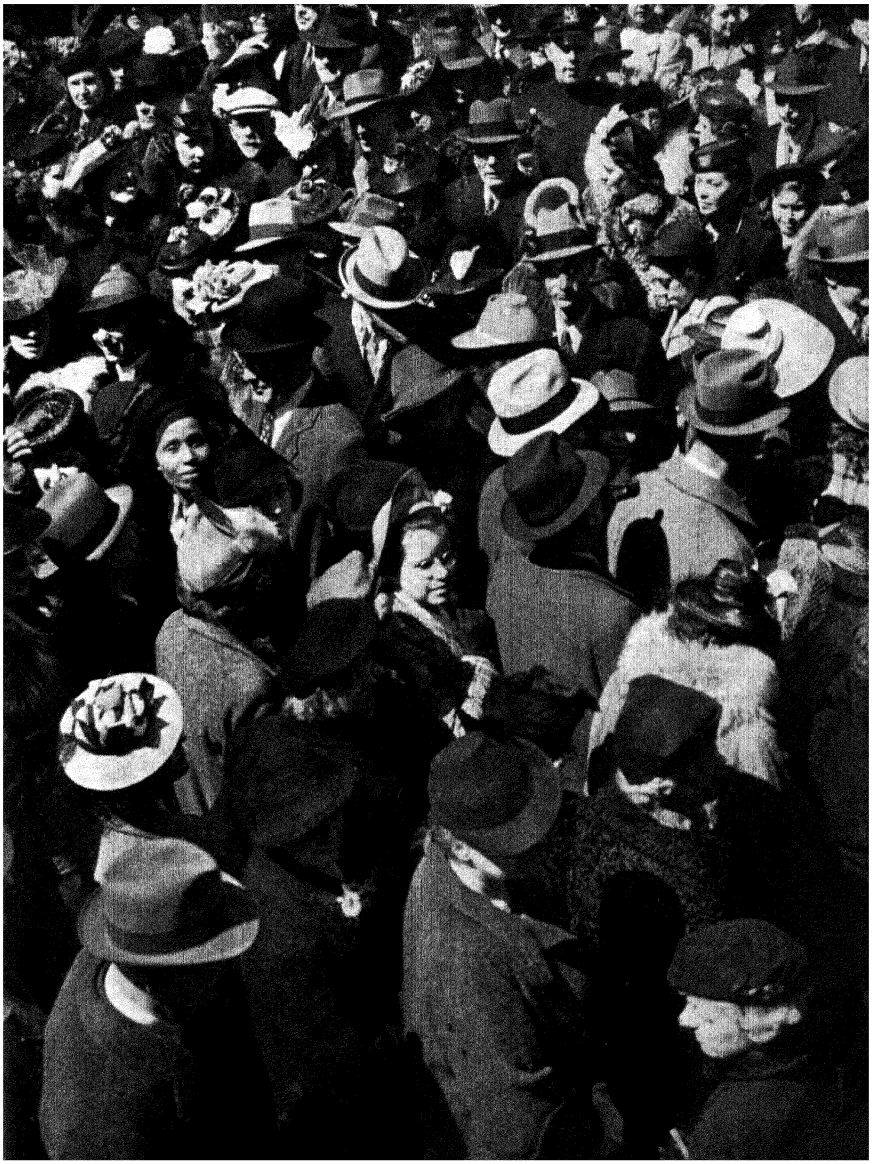
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Part II

Population Composition and Distribution

Population Composition and Distribution

Galloway PLATE 5





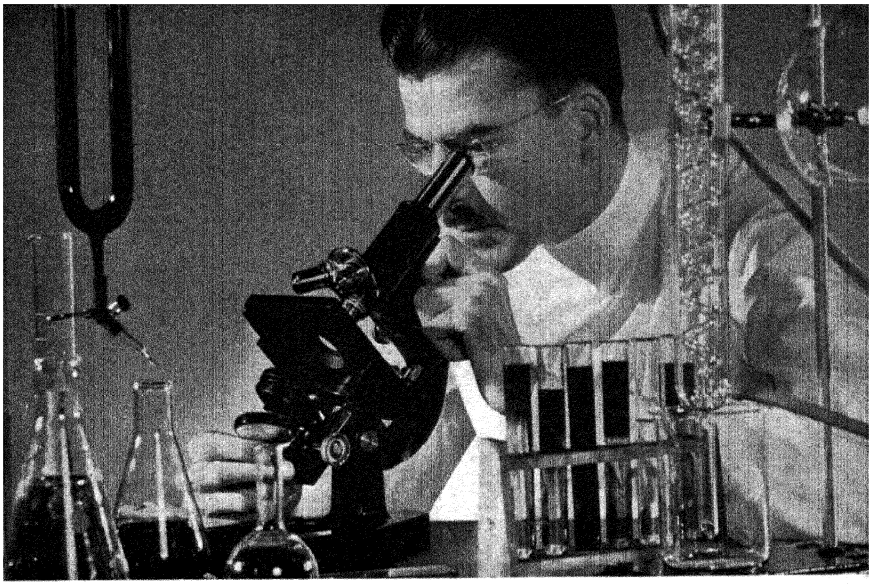
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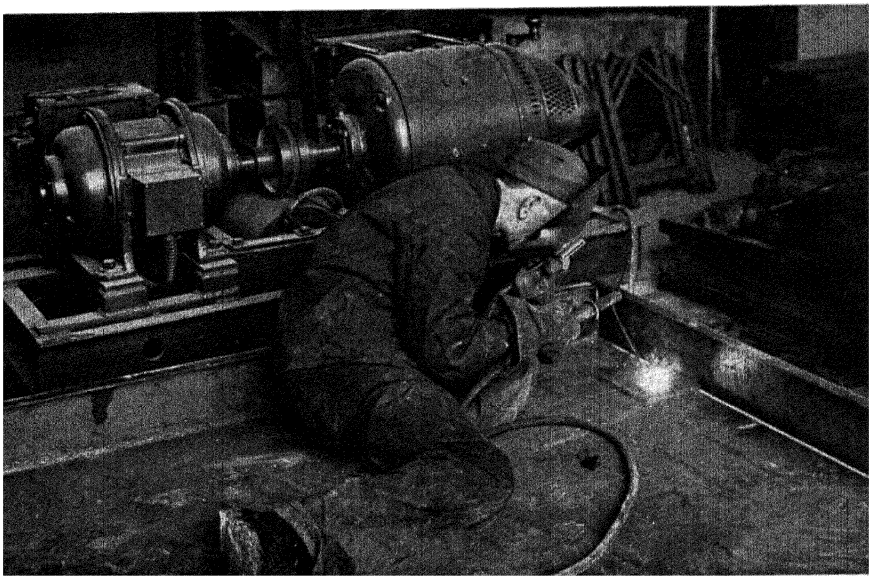
Black Star

PLATE 6

The world's population encompasses many races; race, however, is only one of the factors of population composition. Other factors are cultural and residential. A major residential division is that between urban and rural. The individuals pictured above are examples of urban and rural groups. Are they typical examples?



Galloway



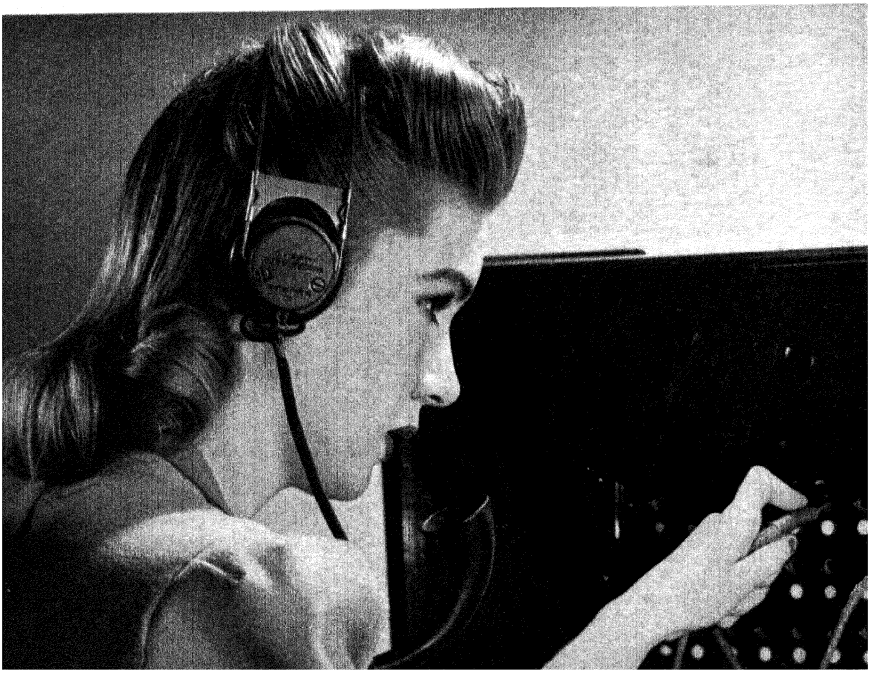
Gendreau

PLATE 7

We say that people are distributed in social space. *The scientist holds a certain place in social space, the welder another. They are separated by* social distance, *as are the business man and the share croppers of the left-hand page. Man attains his social status through inheritance and through achievement.*



Roberts



Galloway

PLATE 8

The movement of individuals in social space is called social mobility. Vertical mobility is a movement up or down in social space, from one social class to another; that is, a girl who helps with the housework at home becomes an opera singer. Horizontal mobility occurs where the movement does not change the social plane; that is, a switchboard operator in the First National Bank becomes a switchboard operator in the Second National Bank.

CHAPTER 6

Population Composition

ANYONE WHO WILL TAKE the time to look around will note that in any part of the world some persons in any society are distinguished from other persons on the bases of physical, residential, and cultural differences. For example, there are different races of men; individuals are differentiated on the basis of sex and of age; there are rural dwellers and there are those who live in cities; there are people of various nationalities, of different languages, and of diverse religious faiths.

A. *Biological Differentiation*

1. RACE

a. *Distinguishing traits.* The earth's population is differentiated on the basis of certain physical characteristics which have to do with race. *The term race means a group of individuals distinguished from others of the human family by certain hereditary physical traits.* In thinking of the different racial groups, one is usually conscious of differences in skin, hair, and eye color. These physical characteristics are the most obvious and consequently the most widely used in distinguishing races. However, they are not the only physical features by which people are divided into races. Others are: (1) shape of head; (2) shape of nose; (3) shape of face; (4) texture of hair; (5) stature; (6) cranial capacity; (7) miscellaneous traits.

The shape of the human head varies from long to broad. When it has a length which is considerably greater than its width [1] — when the ratio of the width to the length is less than 75 — the individual is classed as "long-headed." A head having a width which nearly approaches the length is spoken of as "broad" and the person "broad-

[1] The ratio of the width of the head to its length is called the cephalic index and is found by dividing the width of the head multiplied by 100 by the length. The formula is:

$$\text{C. I.} = \frac{W \times 100}{L}$$

headed." The ratio averages above 80. People having a head which ranges between a ratio of 75 and 80 are called "medium-headed."

The shape of the nose also refers to the ratio of the nasal width to its length. Everyone is familiar with the wide nose of the Negro and the slender nose of certain Northern Europeans. The slender nose is usually characteristic of people who live in the colder regions of the earth, whereas wide nostrils are characteristic of those living in tropical or sub-tropical regions.

Shape of face indicates the extent of prognathism — the extension of the jaw beyond the upper part of the face. Anyone studying the picture of an ape or of the early "fossil men" can hardly fail to notice that the jaws extend out farther than the foreheads, whereas the jaws of modern Europeans extend much less.

Texture of hair refers to the cross-section of hair as it appears under a microscope. The black kinky hair of the Negro is flat, the black straight hair of the Indian is round, and the brown or blond wavy hair of the European is oblong.

Stature indicates the height of individuals of the group. One thinks of the Japanese as very short, whereas the Northwestern Europeans are usually characterized as tall.

Cranial capacity refers to the brain capacity. The gorilla has a brain capacity of 420 to 590 cc., the Java ape man, 850 to 900 cc. and the modern man 1200 to 2000 cc.[3]

2. RACES OF THE WORLD

a. *Caucasian or white race.* In general, humans are roughly divided into three broad racial groups, the Caucasian or white race, the Mongolian or yellow, and the Negro or black. These classifications are still further subdivided. The white race includes *the Nordics, the Mediterraneans, the Alpines, the Armenoids,* and *the Hindus.*

The Nordics are tall, blond, long-headed, and typified by the Scandinavians of Northwestern Europe. The Mediterraneans dwell in Italy, Southern France, and Spain; they have dark hair, eyes, and complexion, are long-headed, slenderly built, and of moderate height. The Alpines, of Central Europe, are stockily built, of moderate height, dark of complexion, round- or broad-headed, and with straight or wavy black hair. The Armenoids, of Southeastern Europe, usually have dark pigmentation, large noses, broad heads, medium stature, and an abun-

[3] See Chapter 1, p. 10.



FIGURE 7. CAUCASIAN, NEGRO, MONGOLIAN
The faces indicate some of the dominant characteristics of the three major racial groups of the world.

dance of wavy dark brown or black hair. The Hindus of India embody most of the characteristics of the Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race, but they are taller and their skin much darker, even becoming black in certain groups.

b. *Negro race.* Among the Negroes are the tallest and the shortest of all human groups. The Negro race includes *the African Negro, the Oceanic Negro,* and *the Dwarf Black* (*the Negrito, Pygmy,* and *Bushmen*). The African Negro tends to be tall and long-headed; the Oceanic Negro is medium in height and has a long head; the Dwarf Black is very short and from medium to long-headed.

c. *Mongolian race.* The Mongolians are likewise divided into three groups, *Mongols, Indo-Malays,* and *American Indians.* Mongols are characterized by yellow skin, black straight hair, medium to tall stature, broad head and by the Mongoloid eye fold. Indo-Malays have yellow-brown skin, straight black hair, short stature, broad head, and the Mongoloid eye fold. American Indians are medium to tall, have copper-color skin, straight black hair, high cheekbones, head variable between long and broad, and only occasionally the Mongoloid eye fold.

d. *Indeterminate racial groups.* In addition to those listed under the three general races, there are groups with characteristics variable to such a degree that their classification is doubtful. Among these are the aboriginal *Australians,* the *Polynesians,* and the *Hairy Ainu.* The Hairy Ainu are aborigines of Japan, have certain of the Caucasian traits and are frequently classed as white.

e. *Variations in racial characteristics.* Although race has been mentioned as a group of people set apart by hereditary physical traits, yet even a most casual observer sees how inadequate is the statement when applied to familiar individual cases. How can one account for those red-headed and blond-haired individuals who are classed as Negroes although they possess such fair complexions that they freckle from exposure to the sun? On the other hand, some Latin Americans seem to possess more Negroid than Caucasian traits, yet are members of the white race.

There is great variability in all the physical traits which may be used in classifying people into races. Height may be taken as an example. The Nordics are characterized as "tall" whereas the Japanese are usually "short." But no one would assume that all Nordics are taller than all Japanese. It is even possible that the tallest one-fourth or one-fifth of the Japanese are as tall or taller than the shortest one-fourth or one-fifth of the Nordics. How then are the short Nordics to be classified? If other traits are considered, the problem becomes more complex and more individuals are eliminated from the racial groups. For example, let skin, hair, and eye color as well as stature be considered. All who are not fair-haired, blue-eyed, and fair-skinned would likewise fail to meet the criteria of the Nordic race. So it is with each trait added, until one is finally forced to conclude that those who possess the typical racial traits are, like the "average man," hard to find. However, as Sutherland and Woodward observe:

> The *average measurements* of one race differ somewhat from the averages of other races, a fact which allows the anthropologist to consider race as a convenient statistical concept. When applied to large groups the term is useful in describing averages. It is of less value when applied to individuals, and of almost no value in classifying those who appear as marginal cases on the measurement scale.[8]

Of all races, the Caucasian or white race is the most widely distributed. All the continents and most of the islands have been or are the homes of white men. They have migrated much more widely than the other races, and although their population constitutes less than forty-five per cent of the total population of the earth, they rule or control almost seventy-five per cent of the land area of our planet. The New

[8] Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1940, p. 377 and 379. Reprinted by permission.

World was originally inhabited by members of the Mongolian race, the American Indians, yet the population is today predominantly white.

3. RACES IN THE UNITED STATES

a. *The Negro.* The United States, with a population of 122,775,046 in 1930, had 88.7 per cent classed as white, 9.7 per cent as Negro, and

TABLE 2. NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL POPULATION *

Date	Total Population	Negro Population	Per Cent Negro is of Total
1870 †.....	38,558,371	5,205,379	13.5
1880.....	50,155,783	6,580,793	13.1
1890.....	62,947,714	7,488,676	11.9
1900.....	75,994,575	8,833,994	11.6
1910.....	91,972,266	9,827,763	10.7
1920.....	105,710,620	10,463,131	9.9
1930.....	122,775,046	11,891,143	9.7
1940.....	131,669,275	12,865,518	9.8

* United States Census Reports
† Estimated.

less than one-half of one per cent as Indian. The racial distribution in the United States is not uniform. In 1940, of the total Negro population of 12,865,518, over nine million or 77 per cent were residing in states classed as South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central. Within the states of these districts, the proportion of Negro to white population varied; in Mississippi, the number of whites in 1940 but slightly exceeded the number of Negroes (49.2 per cent Negro); whereas in West Virginia the Negroes represented only 6.6 per cent of the population, in Oklahoma only 7.8 per cent, and in Kentucky only 8.1 per cent. The majority of the Negroes of the United States are found in the South since they were brought to the new world, in the colonial period and later, to work as slaves in the production of cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane. In the South geographic environment made Negro labor profitable to the white plantation owners, and the climate was favorable to the increase of Negroes. Since the Civil War, there has been a considerable migration of Negroes from the South to the northern cities.

The increase of the Negro population of the nation has failed to keep

pace with that of the white race. In 1870, shortly after the close of the Civil War, Negroes made up 13.5 per cent of the total population. Not only has the Negro population decreased in relation to the total population, but it has likewise decreased within the Southern area. In 1870, close to 36 per cent of the population of the states classed as South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central were classed as Negroes. In 1900 this percentage had fallen to 32.2 per cent, and in 1940 it had still further declined to 23.7 per cent. In 1800, the Negroes residing in the states of the three southern districts made up 90.5 per cent of the total Negro population of the nation. Until 1900, this proportion had declined but slightly to 89.7 per cent, but, owing to the migration to northern cities during the first thirty years of the twentieth century, this percentage had by 1940 declined to 77 per cent of the Negro population.

Negro migration has largely been a movement from southern farms to southern or northern cities. According to the 1940 census, seven American cities had a Negro population of about 150,000 or more; only one is classed as a southern city. The seven were:

New York	458,444
Chicago	277,731
Philadelphia	250,880
Washington, D.C.	187,266
Baltimore	165,843
Detroit	149,119
New Orleans	149,034

What the future of the Negro in the United States will be, no one can foretell. Some students suggest that with the passing of time racial prejudice will decrease, but that there will always be two rather distinct groups of people residing within the territorial limits of the nation. These students believe that the Negroes will develop a race consciousness, will be proud to be Negroes, will strive to build up their own race, and will be less desirous to pass as white. On the other hand, in some countries, notably Brazil, racial intermixture has continued for a long period and will probably affect materially the racial composition of the population of those countries for many years into the future.

b. *Other races in the United States.* The South is not the only section of the United States where the presence of a race other than the Caucasian has created social and economic problems. In California there

has been considerable immigration of people belonging to the Mongolian race. This invasion of the Pacific Coast state had its beginning about 1848 when some Chinese laborers came or were brought into the state. The migration of Chinese to California increased rapidly after the first group arrived. Between 1848 and 1852, about 10,000 arrived in California. During the next two years, 31,861 more Chinese arrived. For the next fifteen years after 1854, there was but slight increase in the number of Mongolians, since the number of Chinese leaving almost balanced those entering. In 1868, an annual influx of from 6000 to 10,000 Chinese began, so that by 1880 there were about 75,000 Chinese residing in California.

In 1870, the problem of Chinese immigration had become so acute that an attempt was made by the California legislature to restrict the inflow of people from the Orient. But in 1868 the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China granted the Chinese the right to migrate to the shores of America. By 1879 the situation had become so serious that Congress passed a bill restricting Chinese immigration. This act was vetoed by President Hayes because it violated treaty rights. In 1880, the two nations adopted a new treaty giving the United States the right to regulate, limit, or suspend immigration of Chinese laborers to America, but not allowing absolute closure of American shores to Orientals. In 1882, Congress passed an act which suspended the right of Chinese laborers to come to the United States. This suspension was later reenacted in 1892. According to the 1930 census, the Chinese in California numbered 37,361, about 0.7 per cent of the population of the state.

When Congress adopted the law excluding Chinese laborers, no provision was made for regulating Japanese immigration. The prospect of a land where better living could be secured proved attractive to the Japanese, and they began entering to take the places forbidden to the Chinese. In 1891, 1136 Japanese entered California. They were energetic and worked for low wages, a characteristic that made them very objectionable to American laborers. By 1907, such a demand had arisen for a restriction of Japanese immigration that President Roosevelt negotiated with Japan and secured a "gentleman's agreement" from that nation to allow no further exodus of laborers from Japan to the United States. The number of Japanese immigrants to the shores of the United States never reached a total of 10,000 for any one year.

An examination of the population of California for three decades shows that whereas in 1910, 95 per cent of the population was classed as white, in 1930 the percentage had declined to 88.8 per cent. It is noteworthy, however, that whereas the Japanese represented only 1.7 per cent of the total population in 1910 and in 1930, and the Chinese represented 1.5 per cent in 1910 and 0.7 per cent in 1930, the Mexicans have steadily increased both in number and in relation to the total population. In 1900, there were but 8066 Mexicans residing in California and in 1930 they had increased to 368,013. No law at the present time keeps Mexicans from migrating into the United States.

TABLE 3. CHINESE AND JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA *

Year	Chinese	Japanese	Mexicans
1940	39,556	93,717	Not given
1930	37,361	97,456	368,013
1920	28,812	71,952	Not given
1910	36,248	41,356	Not given
1900	45,753	10,151	Not given
1890	72,472	1,147	Not given
1880	75,132	86	Not given
1870	49,277	33	Not given
1860	34,933		Not given

* United States Census Reports.

4. SEX RATIO AND MARITAL STATUS

Population is made up of men and women, males and females, but they are not to be found in equal numbers in any society. For example, in the United States since the census of 1820, there has been continuously a sex ratio of around 103 men for every 100 women. In 1920, the sex ratio for the nation was 104 men, and in 1910 it was 106 men to every 100 women.

Not only is there a difference in the distribution of the sexes in the country as a whole, but there are interesting differences within the nation. As a rule there are more men than women in rural sections, and more women than men in cities of the land, excepting in cities like Detroit (Michigan), Akron (Ohio), and in other centers devoted to manufacturing or to other industries requiring manual workers. For

the United States as a whole, the sex ratio is 95.5 men to 100 women in cities and 111.7 men to 100 women in rural-farm areas.

Not only is there a difference in the sex ratio between rural and urban people, but there are differences in different sections of the nation; in the New England and East South Central States, for instance, the women outnumber the men, but in the Mountain and Pacific districts, the men greatly outnumber the women.

TABLE 4.* SEX RATIO† OF THE UNITED STATES BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS: 1940

United States	100.7
New England	97.0
Middle Atlantic	99.1
East North Central	101.9
West North Central	102.1
South Atlantic	99.1
East South Central	99.1
West South Central	100.8
Mountain	107.4
Pacific	105.0

* Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce
† Sex ratio means the number of males per 100 females.

The differences in the number of men and women can be accounted for in the United States by the sex ratio at birth, by length of life, and by migration. Examining migration first, one notes that more men than women have migrated to our shores; for example, the sex ratio of foreign-born people residing in the United States in 1940 was 111.1 men for every 100 women, whereas for native-born population the sex ratio was 100.1.

It is perhaps in the birth ratio that the chief source of difference is to be found. Of the children born in the United States each year, about 105 are boys to every 100 girls. Hankins estimates that at the time of conception there are at least 120 males to every 100 females. The difference between the ratio at conception and birth arises from the greater delicacy of the males. Men may be the "stronger sex," but they do not appear to be as resistant to disease as are females. Hankins estimates that of those dying before birth, there is a ratio of 150 males to 100 females, and of the infant deaths the ratio is about 120 to

100.[4] It seems then that a greater number of male than of female births is a provision of nature to assure about an equal distribution of the sexes.

Not only is the death rate of male infants greater than of female, but, as emphasized at some length later, women live longer than men.

In all human societies of the past and the present, man has carried out the customary biological function of reproduction through the institutions of marriage and the family. Through the formality of marriage, in America, a new family is organized. Not all men and women, however, marry and establish families. Both among nations and among groups within a nation variations are to be found in the proportion of the population of marriageable age who are married. By Table 5 one can see that a larger proportion of American women of fifteen

TABLE 5. PER CENT OF FEMALES, FIFTEEN YEARS AND OVER, MARRIED: SPECIFIED COUNTRIES *

Country	Year	Per Cent Married
United States †	1940	61.0
Canada	1931	57.3
Chile	1930	44.4
India: British Province	1931	69.8
Japan	1930	61.4
Germany	1933	55.1
France	1931	57.4
Ireland	1926	40.1
Italy	1936	53.9
Netherlands	1930	54.2
England and Wales	1931	53.4
Sweden	1935	48.3
Spain	1920	50.3
Union of South Africa	1926	57.4
Egypt	1927	65.7
Australia	1933	54.9
New Zealand	1936	55.9

* *Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1940, vol. 9, no. 36, p. 385.
† *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940.

[4] Frank H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, p. 226.

years and older were married than of German, English, or French women. There are in fact relatively few countries wherein a larger proportion of the women are married than in the United States.

Likewise one notices by Table 6 that there are differences in the proportion of the women of fifteen years of age and older who are married within the United States. In the Rocky Mountain states, for instance, 65.0 per cent of all women of marriageable age (fifteen years and above) are married, whereas in the New England states the percentage is 55.3 per cent married.

Another interesting variation in the marital status of the population is to be found in the urban and rural populations. In 1920 and in 1940, a larger percentage of rural women than of urban were married. In 1920 a larger proportion of rural men than of urban were married, but this was not true, as can be seen by Table 7, in 1940.

In 1940 a higher percentage of rural and urban men and women were married than in 1920.

From statistics on marital status of American men and women one may draw three conclusions: that it is more generally the practice for American women to marry than for non-American women; that a larger proportion of the rural population is married than is true of urban dwellers; and that in 1940 a larger percentage of the population was married than in 1920. Marriage is not going out of style in the United States.

TABLE 6. PER CENT OF FEMALES, FIFTEEN YEARS AND OVER, MARRIED; UNITED STATES, 1940 *

Geographical District	Per Cent of Total	
	Married	Single
Continental United States	61.0	25.8
New England	55.3	31.9
Middle Atlantic	58.3	29.5
East North Central	62.2	25.0
West North Central	61.6	25.7
South Atlantic	60.7	25.8
East South Central	62.7	23.5
West South Central	64.2	21.8
Mountain	65.0	22.4
Pacific	62.6	21.0

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940.

TABLE 7. URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: MARITAL CONDITIONS OF PERSONS FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920 and 1940

	Per Cent of Total	
	Married	Single
1920 *		
Urban population:		
Males	58.9	35.5
Females	57.6	29.0
Rural population:		
Males	59.5	34.7
Females	64.3	25.2
1940 †		
Urban population		
Males	61.8	32.6
Females	58.1	27.4
Rural population		
Males	60 4	34.0
Females	65.4	23.4

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, p. 47.
† Adapted from *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940.

5. AGE DISTRIBUTION IN THE POPULATION

Although there are different age groups in any society, the distribution of children, of adults in their productive years, and of old people is not uniform in all parts of the world, in different regions of a nation, nor in different periods of time. In some societies a person past his productive years is forced to leave the group so as not to be a burden by consuming food of which there is a limited supply. In other societies old people are highly honored and are cared for even at the cost of reducing the inadequate food supply of younger members. In some parts of the earth the manner of living is such that only the hardiest survive to reach manhood or womanhood. In some lands and at some periods of history, warfare destroyed large numbers of the active and productive portions of the population. The differences just mentioned result in populations with many children and active adults but with few aged persons; in undue proportions of old people; or in numbers of adults small in comparison with the numbers of children.

Occupational and cultural differences also produce variations in the age distribution of populations. For example, cities and urban occupations attract many young men and women from rural sections

TABLE 8. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1940 *

	Under 5 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over
Urban population, number	5,007,137	5,083,240	5,854,770	6,493,936	31,164,475	15,747,515	5,072,629
Per cent of total urban population.....	6.7	6.8	7.9	8.7	41.8	21.2	6.8
Rural non-farm population, number.....	2,522,831	2,446,807	2,503,567	2,483,112	10,295,187	4,811,223	1,966,658
Per cent of total rural non-farm population	9.3	9.1	9.3	9.2	38.1	17.9	7.3
Rural farm population, number.....	3,011,556	3,154,575	3,387,598	3,356.475	9,800,419	5,525,538	1,980,027
Per cent of total rural farm population...	10.0	10.4	11.2	11.1	32.5	18.2	6 6

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940.

TABLE 9. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1940 *

Division	Per Cent in Age Group															
	Under 5	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 to 44	45 to 49	50 to 54	55 to 59	60 to 64	65 to 69	70 to 74	75 and over
New England	6.8	7.3	8.3	9.0	8.6	8.1	7.5	7.1	6.9	6.8	6 0	4 9	4.2	3.5	2.5	2.5
Middle Atlantic.	6.6	7.0	8.3	9.0	8 8	8.6	8.2	7.7	7.4	6.9	6.1	4.7	3.8	2 9	2.0	1.9
E. North Central..	7.5	7.4	8.4	8.9	8 6	8.3	7.8	7.4	7 0	6.8	6.0	4.8	3.8	3 0	2.1	2.3
W. North Central..	8 0	8.0	8.7	9.2	8.3	7.8	7 3	6.9	6.6	6.4	5 8	4.8	4.0	3 2	2.4	2.6
South Atlantic	9.5	9.6	10.1	10.4	9 6	8.8	7.6	6 9	5.9	5.2	4.5	3 6	2.9	2.5	1.5	1.5
E. South Central..	10.2	10.3	10.6	10.4	9.0	8.3	7.4	6.6	5 6	5.1	4.4	3.6	2.9	2 6	1.6	1.6
W. South Central..	9.4	9.6	10.1	10.1	8.9	8 6	7.9	7 3	6 1	5 5	4 6	3.7	2.9	2 5	1 5	1.5
Mountain..	9.8	9.3	9.4	9.6	8.9	8.4	7.5	6 6	6.0	5 8	5.2	4 2	3.3	2 5	1.7	1.8
Pacific.....	6.7	6.4	7.1	8.1	8.4	8.7	8 2	7.8	7.3	7 0	6.4	5.4	4.4	3 4	2.3	2.5
Continental United States....	8.0	8.1	8.9	9 4	8 8	8.4	7.8	7 2	6.7	6.3	5.5	4.4	3.6	2 9	2.0	2.0

* *Sixteenth Census of the United States*, 1940

TABLE 10. DISTRIBUTION OF AGE GROUPS OF AMERICAN POPULATION *

Year	Per Cent of Total Population in Each Age Group					
	0–4	5–19	20–29	30–44	45–64	65 and over
1840	17.4	37.2	18.2	15.7	9.0	2.5
1850	15.1	37.4	18.5	16.6	9.9	2.6
1860	15.4	35.8	18.2	17.4	10.4	2.7
1870	14.3	35.4	17.7	17.7	11.9	3.0
1880	13.8	34.3	18.3	17.6	12.6	3.4
1890	12.2	33.9	18.3	18.6	13.1	3.9
1900	12.1	32.3	18.3	19.5	13.7	4.1
1910	11.6	30.4	18.8	20.3	14.6	4.3
1920	11.0	29.8	17.4	21.0	16.1	4.7
1930	9.3	29.5	16.9	21.5	17.5	5.4
1940†	9.2	29.1	16.6	21.6	20.2	7.1

* Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trend in the United States*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933, p. 109. Reprinted by permission.
† Preliminary Reports, *Population Characteristics*, 1940 census.

Urban men and women do not, however, bear as many children in proportion to the population as do the rural adults, for reasons pointed out in a later chapter. Therefore in the same region during the same period of time, a larger proportion of a rural population is under 20 years of age but a city group has a larger proportion of its population in the productive period of life (Table 8).

A study of the census reports for the United States (Table 9) shows that some sections of the United States have much larger proportions of population under 20 years of age than have others. In 1940 for example, the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi had 41.5 per cent of their population under 20 years of age, whereas California, Washington, and Oregon had only 28.5 per cent. The four southern states on the other hand showed 49.9 per cent of the population in the productive period of life — 20 to 59 years — while the Pacific states showed 59.0 per cent.

Different periods show remarkable differences in the age distribution of American society (Table 10). For example, 54.6 per cent of the national population was under 20 years of age in 1840, but only 38.3 per cent in 1940. On the other hand, 2.5 per cent of the population was 65 years of age or older in 1840, but the proportion had more than doubled to 7.1 per cent in 1940.

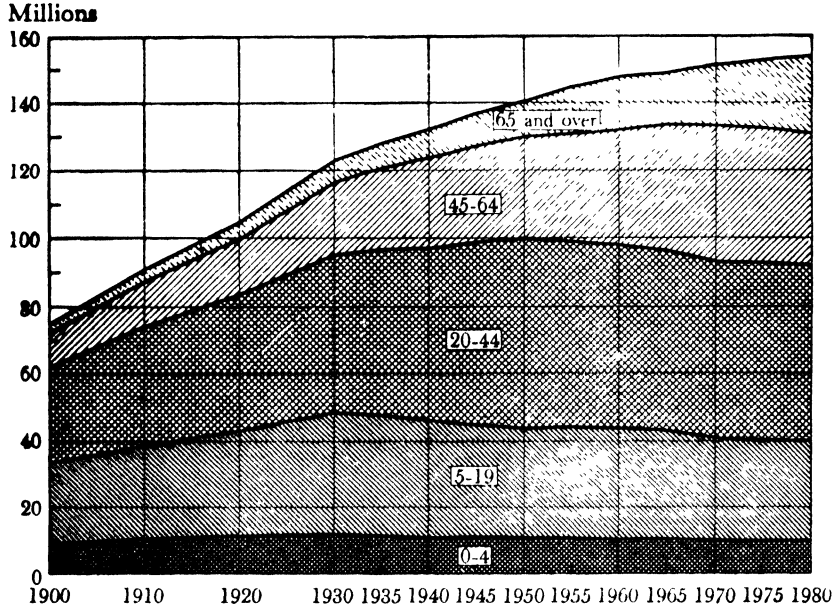


FIGURE 8. CHANGES IN THE AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1900–1980

B. *Rural and Urban Populations*

People tend to live in different sections of a nation according to the types of occupations followed. Workers in factories live in the vicinity of the plant and many people may cluster within a very small area in order to be near their work. On the other hand a relatively small number of individuals and families may be dispersed over wide expanses of land if stockgrowing or extensive farming is their occupation.

In highly civilized countries of all ages, there has existed this crowding of portions of the population into small areas of space in towns, and a parallel spreading of other smaller portions on large tracts of land.

The United States was settled by a rural population. There were no large cities in the colonies and only a few towns. In 1790 there were only six towns with a population of 8000 or more inhabitants, comprising but 3.3 per cent of the population of the nation. In 1940, however, 49.3 per cent of the national population resided within the corporate limits of 1323 cities and towns which had populations of 8000 or more.

In order to determine just what constituted a rural population, and what an urban, the United States Census Bureau has defined an urban population as one "residing in cities and other incorporated places having 2500 inhabitants or more." The remainder is classified as rural.

As can be seen by Table 11 the percentage of urban population varies widely in different sections of the United States. The Middle Atlantic states, comprising New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, had, according to the 1940 census, an urban population of 76.8 per cent of their total, whereas the East South Central states consisting of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi had an urban population of 29.4 per cent. The same table shows that urban population has been increasing in relation to total population. In almost every census division of the United States, the urban population was proportionately greater in 1940 than in 1910. For the nation as a whole the increase was from 45.8 per cent to 56.5 per cent urban. During the decade from 1930 to 1940, there was a decided reduction in the increase of urban population in the nation. The increase for the nation as a whole was from 56.2 per cent to 56.5 per cent. Geographical districts which were most urban experienced a decline in their urban population. Decrease in growth of urban population is probably attributable to the financial depression of the thirties and to the fact that rural people are more economically secure than are urban residents.

TABLE 11. PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION CLASSED AS URBAN *

Division	Year			
	1910	1920	1930	1940 †
New England	76.3	79.2	77.3	76.1
Middle Atlantic	71.0	74.9	77.7	76.8
East North Central	52.7	60.8	66.4	65.5
West North Central	33.3	37.7	41.8	44.3
South Atlantic	25.4	31.0	36.1	38.8
East South Central	18.7	22.4	28.1	29 4
West South Central	22.3	29.0	36.4	39.8
Mountain	36.0	36.4	39.4	42.7
Pacific	56.8	62.4	67.5	65.3
Continental United States	45.8	51.4	56.2	56.5

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, p. 7.
† These figures were obtained from a Press Release issued by the Bureau of the Census, Washington, January, 1941 entitled "Urban and Rural Population of the United States. 1940."

Urban and rural populations differ in the occupations of inhabitants, in the ratio of the sexes to the total populations, in the distribution of the different age levels, and in other ways which because of space limitations cannot be discussed here. Most rural dwellers are engaged actively in farming or are dependent upon agriculture as a means of satisfying their economic needs, whereas urban dwellers follow a great variety of economic vocations. Within rural populations one finds, generally, that there are more men than women; furthermore, the proportion of rural men married tends to be greater than that of urban men.[5] The birth rate among rural people is higher than among urban; consequently more children and people under 20 years of age are found in rural populations.

C. *Culture Groups*

1. NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES

Not only are people divided or classified according to race, sex, marital status, age, and place of residence — urban and rural — but they are likewise distinguished from one another on the basis of political groups. There are nations and nationalities. *A nation is a political group residing within a common territory.* Usually the people are bound together by customs and traditions. They often speak the same language and have the same religion. A nation, moreover, has a form of self-government. It is independent. One does not speak of Alaska as a nation; it is governed by the United States; nor can Egypt or India be regarded as nations.

Natives within the territorial confines of a dependency or of a province governed by distant people often have the characteristics of a nation, such as a common language, religion, culture, and tradition, but lack an independent form of government. People within such areas may be designated as nationalities, not as nations. French-Canadians and Germans in certain South American countries are examples of nationalities. Nationality, then, refers to people who have originally been a part of a nation but who no longer rule themselves as independent groups.

From the standpoint of their population, their military strength, and their influence on world affairs, several nations may be classed as the most important nations of modern times. The British Empire com-

[5] See Chapter 9, "Marriage."

prises the British Isles, Australia, Canada, South Africa, India, many islands and smaller continental areas; has a land area of 13,320,854 square miles; and a total population of 495,339,761 people. Russia has an area of 8,819,791 square miles and a population of 192,695,710 people. The United States including Alaska and the insular territories and possessions, has an area of 3,738,395 square miles and a population of more than 145,000,000 people. Germany, including Austria and Sudetenland, has an area of 225,568 square miles and a population of 79,600,000. France and her possessions cover an area of 4,900,101 square miles and have a population of 113,284,436 inhabitants. The Japanese Empire has an area of 260,644 square miles and a population of 97,697,555 people. Italy, including her possessions in Africa, has an area of 1,339,085 square miles and a population of 51,356,776.[6]

Race is frequently confused with nationality, but there should be no such misconception. Race usually refers to biological differences and is a much broader term than nation or nationality. All the nations mentioned in the preceding paragraph are Caucasian except Japan which is made up largely of Mongolians. However, there are to be found in almost any of the nations representatives of all races. The United States includes native-born Americans who in race are classed as white, black, and yellow. From the standpoint of their legal rights, all native-born citizens of the United States, be they black, white, or yellow, are equally Americans irrespective of race. Likewise, the British Empire contains not only Caucasians but great hordes of Negroes and many Mongolians, yet all are classed as British.

2. LANGUAGE GROUPS

People are often classified on the basis of the language they speak. Certainly a common language is a very important tie in binding peoples together. Language groups cut across both national and racial lines. Not only British people but others who are not British speak the English language. Spanish is the language of most of the nationalities of Central and South America as well as of Spain. There are nations like Switzerland wherein no common language exists; and there are other nations like China where in isolated regions dialects have so arisen that residents of one part of the nation have difficulty in being understood by those of others. Such nations lack the bonds of understanding

[6] The figures given above were for the nations prior to 1940 (*World Almanac*, 1940). The area and population figures will probably be different after the Second World War.

and kindred feeling usually possessed by a group which speaks a common tongue.

3. RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Another very old and important basis for classifying people is the religious basis. As in language and race, religious groups cut across national lines. There are Christian Japanese, Chinese, Russians, Italians, and Americans. Likewise, there are Mohammedan Turks, Russians, Chinese, and British. There are Buddist British, Chinese, Japanese, and Americans. Sometimes a nation is made up of many religious groups; thus, China contains Confucianists, Taoists, Buddists, and others. A nation bound together by a common language and a common religion is usually more firmly integrated than one having variations. Such nations are Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Italy.

One group difficult to classify is the Jews. They represent one of the oldest if not the very oldest group possessing a recorded history. Often they are classed as a race, as in Germany where the Anti-Semitic campaign has been waged. Often they are spoken of as a nation, although they possess few of the characteristics of a nation. They possess no common geographic area and they are not self-governing. Hankins speaks of them as a "people" for want of a better term or method by which to group them.[7] It seems, however, much more adequate and descriptive to designate them as a religious or cultural group, since they are bound together by little besides a common culture and a common religion. There are American Jews, German Jews, Irish Jews, English Jews, Russian Jews, Chinese Jews, and even Negro Jews. Although all these "Jews" are sometimes spoken of as belonging to the "Semitic" race, they assume some of the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of the land in which they dwell. Thus the Chinese Jews who have resided in China for ages are Mongolians in racial characteristics and Chinese in nationality. Russian Jews are Caucasian in race and Russian in nationality. Their religion is the one point wherein they differ from other people of the region in which they reside. They are Jewish in religion and in culture.

D. *Summary*

Mankind is divided into groups according to certain variable, hereditary, physical traits. Such groups are known as races. The traits more

[7] Hankins, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105.

commonly considered in differentiating human beings into races are. 1. shape of head, 2. shape of nose, 3. shape of face, 4. texture of hair, 5. stature, 6. cranial capacity. On the basis of physical differences, human beings are divided into three main racial groups — Caucasian or white, Negro or black, and Mongolian or yellow race. Each major race is subdivided into groups on the basis of minor physical variations. Outside the three major racial groups, certain human aggregates more or less defy classification. Such groups are known as indeterminates — incapable of being classified as Caucasian, Mongolian, or Negro.

Although the United States is inhabited predominately by the Caucasian race, many persons of other races live within its boundaries. According to the 1940 census, 9.7 per cent of the population was classed as Negro. The proportion of the total population classed as Negro has declined with each ten-year period in American history since the Civil War. The greater portion of Negroes live in the states classed as South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central. Migration of Negroes within the United States has been chiefly from the farms and rural sections of the South to the industrial urban centers of the North and South.

The Negro is not the only race beside the Caucasian found residing in the United States. In California (and in other states in smaller numbers), there are Mongolians and persons of mixed racial stock, such as Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans who have migrated to America. The numbers of Chinese and Japanese do not afford a serious problem at the present time. The Mexicans on the other hand are increasing in number so rapidly that their presence is viewed with some concern by many residents of the United States.

Populations are made up of men and women — males and females — but they are not equally distributed in either time or place. In the United States there has been since the beginning of the nation a preponderance of men. In 1940 the sex ratio was 101.1 males to every 100 females. Rather striking differences are found in different sections of the nation and in different age groups. Urban localities tend to attract women, whereas there are usually more men in rural areas. More male than female babies are born each year. The death rate of boy babies is higher than that of girls, and the length of life of women is greater than that of men.

Variations in the marital status of women and of men are to be found among the nations of the world and within the different regions of the

United States. More American women of marriageable age tend to marry than do women of most other countries. In America, a larger proportion of rural than of urban dwellers are married.

Groups of individuals are differentiated on the basis of their chronological age. There are children in a state of dependency upon other members of society; there are adults in their productive years; and old people more or less dependent on others for their care. Occupational and cultural differences occur in the distribution of children, of productive adults, and of the aged within American society. Urban localities tend to attract individuals of productive years, while rural areas usually have more children and old people. Within the past century in our society the proportion in the old age group has tended to increase, while the percentage below the age of twenty has been steadily decreasing.

People are differentiated as rural and urban on the basis of their place of residence. The residential differentiation is often occupational as well. Rural dwellers are usually either directly or indirectly concerned with farming as an occupation, whereas urban residents engage in varying occupations.

An urban population is defined by the United States Census Bureau as that "residing in cities and other incorporated places having 2500 inhabitants or more." The remainder is classified as rural. The trend in the United States has been toward a more urban population. In 1930, 56.2 per cent of the American people were classed as urban. In 1940, the proportion was 56.5 per cent.

In addition to groups distinguished by their physical differences, sex and marital status, age, and place of residence, other aggregates of human society are distinguished by such cultural differences as nations and nationalities, language, and religion.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the inferior social status of Negroes in American society to be explained on the basis of biological or cultural differences? Explain.
2. Stoddard in 1920 spoke of the Rising Tide of Color as endangering the present world position of the white race. From the trend in the United States is there reason for members of the white race to become alarmed?

3. What cities of the United States have the largest Negro population? What effects on the racial problems of the nation may the migration of Negroes to northern cities have?
4. How can you account for the differences in the sex ratio between rural and urban populations; certain cities such as Gary, Indiana, and Lowell, Massachusetts; and the New England and Pacific divisions of the United States?
5. From the census figures on marital status of American men and women does it appear that marriage is going out of fashion? Are people marrying younger than formerly?
6. How do you explain the facts that a larger percentage of urban men are married than of women; but of the rural population a larger percentage of the women are married than of the men?
7. Explain how the age distribution of the American population places a heavier burden on the South in the realm of education than on any other section of the nation.
8. What has been the trend of the American population as to rural and urban residence; and as to the distribution in age groups?
9. Show how language and religious groups cut across both racial and national lines.

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CHAPTER 7

Distribution and Growth of Population

A. *Distribution of Population*

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS of all living objects is their capacity to reproduce their kind. Furthermore, there is an ever present tendency for the rate of reproduction to be greater than is necessary to maintain the existing population. In time — the length of time depending upon the rapidity of increase — the area inhabited becomes populated to saturation point. No more individuals of that species can be maintained in the region under existing conditions. There must then either be migration to other areas, a rise in the death rate to hold the population increase in check, or an increase in the available food supply.

1. DENSITY OF POPULATION

The reproductive tendency has been as strong with man as with other animals. Today, man is to be found in practically all habitable regions of the earth. Some places are very densely populated, whereas others have but few inhabitants. Frequently the differences in population density can be accounted for on the basis of the geographic environment, but often the cultural development (the state of civilization) has a profound influence. Usually one will find a dense population associated with a mild climate, rich soil, and an abundant supply of natural resources; this is true in China and India where the average density of population is estimated at 245 and 222 persons per square mile respectively. Yet in the fertile valley of the Mississippi River, prior to the coming of the white man, population was very sparse. Even though nature may be generous, man must have reached a certain stage in cultural development to make use of resources in order to reap the benefits of a favorable natural environment and to make possible a dense population. The American Indians walked and hunted

over the regions rich with deposits of iron, oil, gas, and coal, but made no use of them.

On the earth are five or six continents, according to the manner in which they are classified, together with a multitude of islands. The human population, estimated at more than two billion, is distributed on these areas. Asia, the continent greatest in area, is the home of about one-half the world's population, approximately one billion, one hundred million people. The average density of population — number of people per square mile of area — of Asia is estimated at about 67. Europe, much smaller than Asia, has a smaller gross population, approximately 570,500,000, but its population density is about 150 per square mile, more than double that of Asia The other continents fall far behind Asia and Europe in both total population and density of population. North America has a population of 182,810,000, with a density of between 19 and 20 persons to the square mile. South America has a population of 91,300,000 and a density of about 13. Africa has a population of 155,500,000 and about 14 persons to each square mile of area.

2. HUMAN FEAR OF OVERPOPULATION

Although all groups of people desire to perpetuate themselves and their culture, the fear of overpopulation is very real among different groups widely distributed in time and place. Great increases in the population among many tribes of the North American Indians would have endangered the existence of the entire group, for the increase in food supply was limited to the capacity of the wild animals to reproduce and grow. The presence of more human beings to prey on the animals would have reduced rather than increased the available food supply. Increase in population among the Greeks, Romans, and other ancient peoples would likewise have been attended by a reduced supply of food for each individual. The same condition prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. In the Orient of the present time, where the population density is very great, each additional mouth to feed presents the problem of producing more food on an already heavily burdened land; otherwise there must be a reduction in the food consumed by each person.

Thompson says:

> As a matter of fact, the adjustment of his numbers so that he could live as seemed good to him has always been one of man's major problems

> It is not surprising, therefore, that even the so-called primitive peoples have generally developed population policies. . . .[1]

3. DEVICES TO PREVENT OVERPOPULATION

The positive devices to restrict the increase of population and thus prevent overpopulation have been:

a. *Infanticide.* This method has been employed at various times by people in all parts of the earth. The American Indians, the Greeks, the Romans, Australian tribes, and certain modern Asiatic and African peoples have all practiced infanticide. Often infanticide is limited to the destruction of female infants.

b. *Abortion.* This is closely related to the practice of infanticide and has no doubt been practiced among all people for ages past. In infanticide the infant is destroyed after birth, whereas in abortion the destruction occurs before the child can be born. Thompson feels that abortion has always been one of the most important devices for checking population growth. The extent to which this practice has operated can only be a matter of conjecture, but some writers estimate that abortions in some regions range from two-thirds to more than the number of live births within the area.

c. *Sexual taboos.* These refer to social codes which severely regulate sex relations, marriage, and so forth. In India and in other regions, widows are not permitted to marry. Priests of the Catholic Church are not permitted to marry. All countries recognize and more or less ad here to certain customary regulations of marriage and sex relations As Thompson says:

> . . . we are apt to underestimate the importance of these taboos in restricting births. There can be little doubt, however, that they belonged with infanticide and abortion in importance as restrictive practices.[2]

d. *Senicide.* The killing or abandoning of aged or infirm members of a group is another device which has been practiced to aid in preventing excess population. This practice is found among certain Eskimo groups and has not been unknown in other regions of the earth.

e. *War.* Although war cannot be regarded as a device consciously planned to reduce a population, it frequently results from population

[1] Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1935, p 5. Reprinted by permission.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

pressure and it has a positive effect in bringing about a reduction in the number of inhabitants of a country or an area. Among some primitive people, according to Thompson,

> . . . war is often so large a part of the life of the tribe, or horde, that it can very legitimately be regarded as a population policy.[3]

f. *Contraception.* Means of preventing conception have been known and practiced for ages, but it is within recent times that contraceptive practices have become widespread in use. At the present time the use of contraception is limited largely to the upper social classes in the Occident. Positive practices designed to regulate or to prevent conception have not become universal or widespread among the poorer classes of western society, and have not reached the Oriental world to any considerable extent.

4. MEANING OF OVERPOPULATION

It is obvious that the term "overpopulation" needs considerable definition. The United States at the present time, with a population of over 130 million people, is not suffering from overpopulation, but a small fractional part of that number of inhabitants among the Indians at the time of the discovery of America would have been an overpopulation of the region. Germany with its population of about 80 million can hardly be regarded as overpopulated; however, a much smaller population would have been considered excessive during the Middle Ages and would have been attended by food shortage and suffering.

It is somewhat more helpful to consider population density rather than the total population of an area, that is, the average number of people per square mile of area. In Japan one finds a population density of about 592; in India, 222; in Belgium, 709; in Germany, 372; in Holland, 673; and in England and Wales, 703.[4] The overpopulation of Japan and of India is frequently stressed, but Germany, Holland, Belgium, and England are seldom regarded as overpopulated.

> If we say that a nation with a density of 50, 100, or 200 is overpopulated, we are confronted by such nations as France and Germany. The inhabitants of those nations have fair standards of living, and their mortality rates do not reflect the ravages of disease or famine. Much the same may be said about Belgium and Holland whose densities are still

[3] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[4] United States Department of Commerce, *Vital Statistics*, Washington, 1940.

> greater. No doubt their inhabitants must practice rigid economies and their standards of living are relatively low, yet their birth rates are comparatively high and their death rates are comparatively low, showing no indications of famine or pestilence. . . . China and India are agricultural peoples with density indexes lower than those of Belgium, Holland, or Germany with high indexes. The former nations seem to be really overpopulated, because it is difficult for their masses to make a living, and there are frequent famines and pestilences which destroy millions of people.[1]

Overpopulation refers then not merely to the total number of people residing in an area, nor even to the density of the population within the region, but to the ability of the people within the country to supply themselves with customary essentials for existence, such as food, clothing, shelter, and usual luxuries, without danger of famines, and without an excessively high death rate. Obviously, then, the productivity of a region, and the stage of cultural development of the people are the truly important factors. The Indians relied upon nature almost exclusively to supply their wants, with but little contributing assistance from man; consequently the number of people who could live in a region without suffering from overpopulation was very limited. In China and India the population depends almost exclusively for their economic needs upon a relatively simple technology in connection with an intensively cultivated land area. The productivity of the soil under existing cultivation methods has been stretched to the limit. When crop failures due to climatic irregularities occur, disaster in the form of famine is the result. In European countries on the other hand, people do not live mainly in a simple agricultural economy. Machine technology in an industrial economy greatly increases their productivity, and through trade they can secure goods from distant regions. Hence, a much more dense population can be supported than would be possible were the population to depend upon agricultural pursuits alone.

What then are the symptoms of overpopulation in a land?

> Whether a given density means overpopulation depends on the stage of social or cultural development attained by the people or nation in question. (1) In the earliest economic stages of mankind, a district sparsely inhabited may be overpopulated since the fruits, roots, and animal life supplied by nature are soon dissipated. (2) Overpopulation takes place at the agricultural level whenever there is not land enough to go around

[1] John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt, *Current Social Problems*, American Book Co. New York, 1933, pp. 80–81. Reprinted by permission.

so that many have no means of support or the farms are too small to support the dependent families. (3) But with the arrival of the industrial and commercial stage, made possible by world communication and world markets, the population of a nation is able to surmount national boundaries in quest of subsistence, and trade its manufactured goods for what it needs. Hence, neither density nor limitations of farm land are sure signs of overpopulation, and we have to resort to a general statement. In a highly industrialized society, overpopulation may be said to occur when the masses of people are unable to earn income sufficient to maintain them in health, efficient working conditions, and to maintain the standards of living required for civilized existence. Widespread and continuous unemployment, low wages, heavy emigration, and high or heightening mortality rates may be signs of appearing overpopulation.[6]

B. *Population Increase*

The population of a nation increases through: (1) an excess of births over deaths, and (2) immigration. In considering the increase of population, it is customary to speak of the birth rate within the area or group considered. Birth rate is generally taken as the number of births per 1000 persons in the population. Sometimes this is refined to refer to the number of births per 1000 women between the ages of 15 and 45 years of age. In this chapter will be used the crude birth rate, that is, the number of births per 1000 people in a country's population.[7]

1. EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS

Obviously a very high birth rate might not be accompanied by a rapid increase in population, for there might be a correspondingly high death rate. For example, as can be seen by Table 12, although the birth rate of Italy in 1926–1930 was 26.8, and that of New Zealand was 19.7, the net increase in the population for New Zealand was greater; for the death rate in Italy was 16.0, compared with 8.6 for New Zealand.

It can be seen by examining Table 12 that the birth rates of countries vary greatly. For example, the birth rate in British India in 1926–30

[6] John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt, *Current Social Problems*, American Book Co, New York, 1933, pp. 81–82. Reprinted by permission.

[7] The crude birth and death rates are used since they show the numerical changes occurring in the population and no attempt is made to measure the differences in the fertility or mortality of population of different age groups, nor is any attempt made to indicate future development of the population by these data.

TABLE 12. BIRTH AND DEATH RATES OF NATIONS AND DEPENDENCIES *

	Birth Rate per 1000 pop.			Death Rate per 1000 pop.		
	1911–13	1926–30	1939	1911–13	1926–30	1939
Continental United States	25.1	19.7	17.2	14.1	11.8	10.6
Canada	....	24.1	20.3	....	11.1	9.6
Argentina	37.4	30.1	24.0	16.8	13.3	11.4
Chile	39.9	41.6	35.2	31.0	25.8	24.6
India	38.6	33.3	....	29.9	24.3	....
Japan	34.9	33.5	....	20.7	19.3	....
Germany	27.0	18.4	20.3	14.8	11.8	12.3
France	18.1	18.2	14.9	19.0	16.8	16.7
Ireland	22.6	20.1	19.1	16.4	14.4	14.2
Italy	31.7	26.8	23.5	19.3	16.0	13.4
Netherlands	28.1	23.2	20.7	13.1	9.9	8.7
England and Wales	24.1	16.5	15.5	13.9	12.1	12.2
Sweden	23.6	15.9	15.3	13.9	12.1	11.5
Spain	31.2	28.5	....	22.2	17.9	....
Union of South Africa	31.9	25.9	25.4	10.3	9.7	9.4
Egypt	42.3	44.3	....	25.8	26.2	...
Australia	28.0	21.0	17.7	10.9	9.3	9.9
New Zealand †	26.2	19.7	18.8	9.2	8.6	9.2
Hawaii	....	33.6	22.9	....	11.7	7.6

* *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, Geneva, 1940.
† European population.

was 33.3 whereas that in England was 16.5. The most important reason for this variation probably is that England is made up largely of an urban population while the people of India are largely rural and are engaged in agriculture. Rural population has a higher, often much higher, birth rate than has an urban group. The explanation is that children may be an economic advantage to farm people, whereas in the city-dwelling group they consume food and wear clothing which they do not assist in producing; consequently they represent a net expense.

The general social attitude helps a great deal to account for the difference in birth rate among countries. Within a region where the people regard a large family as a blessing, something to be proud of,

or a guarantee of individual and group perpetuation, one would expect a high birth rate. On the other hand, where children are regarded as an inconvenience and where a man or woman with many children is looked upon as an object of mild ridicule or of sympathy, it is to be expected that there will be relatively few children.

Inasmuch as population increase within an area is the result of an excess of births over deaths, any factor which might lower the death rate without interfering with the birth rate would accelerate the rate of population increase. On the other hand, a rising of the death rate through disease, famine, or war, without a corresponding rise in the birth rate, would result in a declining population; so would a fall in birth rate without a corresponding decline in deaths.

2. HUMAN MIGRATION

The history of mankind has been in part a history of population movements, that is, of people migrating from one region to another. Even among the most primitive people of the past there were frequent and significant movements of populations. Through prehistoric migrations the aborigines of the New World are thought to have reached the continents of North and South America by the Bering Strait from Asia. At the dawn of history there were migrations of the people in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Southeastern Europe. With the development of civilization the rate of human migration was not reduced, and it may have even been accelerated. Today in the United States people are moving in great multitudes from place to place by means of railway, highway, steamship, and air line travel.

a. *Causes of migration.*

> The factors that cause people to migrate may be summarized under the terms, push, pull, and means of travel.[1]

A land which is overcrowded, where the customary food supply is reduced perceptibly, or wherein the usual religious or political liberties are denied, becomes unattractive to a portion of the population, and migration from the region occurs. The conditions existing within the area serve as a push to impel the population, or a portion of it, to move.

On the other hand, adventurous individuals who feel they can improve their fortune are attracted to a land with abundant economic re-

[1] William F. Ogburn, Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1940, p. 439.

sources, with religious toleration, with political liberty, and with opportunities for social advancement. Regions offering to individuals the promise or the hope of improving the social, economic, or political position of themselves or their children, exert on migrants pull which appears to be stronger than the push of adverse circumstances at home.

Development of means of travel has made movement easier, less hazardous, and much faster. Regions which were inaccessible under the slow means of travel of the past become easily reached by the steamboat and by other modern means. The movement of more than 30,000,000 Europeans to North America in a period of less than a century would have been impossible without large-sized steamboats.

In addition to push, pull, and means of travel influencing migration of people, one must of course take into consideration such factors as accessibility of new land and absence of restriction on mobility. Laws prohibiting migration into a land naturally reduce the rate of population movement into the region, even though the factors of push, pull, and transportation facilities are operating in a manner to encourage such movement.

b. *Results of migration.* Whenever a considerable number of foreign migrants enter a region, several results are possible. The invaders may settle in peace in the new land and they may be gradually assimilated into the group previously inhabiting the area. The United States attempted to solve the problem of immigration in this way. Usually, however, the invasion of one region by inhabitants of another is attended by a struggle for supremacy. The invaders attempt to secure a dominance over the new land, and the native population resists. There ensues a long and bloody conflict, in which either the invaders or the defenders are defeated. Certain conditions are then forced upon the vanquished group: if the invaders are beaten, they are compelled to withdraw to some other region; if the natives are unsuccessful in their resistance, they often become slaves of the victorious group, are forced to accept an inferior social status, or are driven into mountain or barren districts inaccessible or uninviting to the invaders.

c. *Immigration in the United States.* That immigration has played a very important part in the population growth of the United States can be judged by the fact that, according to the 1930 census, almost one third of the population was composed of inhabitants of foreign birth or of foreign or mixed parentage. Beginning with the first great wave of immigration in the period of 1845 to 1848, which was in a large

TABLE 13. IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: 1821 TO 1940 *

Period	Number
1821–1830	143,439
1831–1840	559,125
1841–1850	1,713,251
1851–1860	2,598,214
1861–1870	2,314,824
1871–1880	2,812,191
1881–1890	5,246,613
1891–1900	3,687,564
1901–1910	8,795,386
1911–1920	5,735,811
1921–1930	4,107,209
1931–1940†	528,431

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, p. 97.
† *The World Almanac*, New York World-Telegram, New York, 1941, p. 524.

measure due to the potato famine in Ireland and to the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, great masses of migrants have moved to our shores to find new homes and new opportunities. No nation of the world ever became such a haven of refuge, offering such renewed hope to oppressed humanity, as did the United States from the period of 1840 until the beginning of the World War in 1914. A study of the table of immigration shows a peak reached during the years around 1910, when more than a million new residents came to the United States each year.

Immigrants to the United States can be conveniently divided into two groups, those arriving before 1890, and those coming at a later date. The immigrants who arrived prior to the early 1890's were in large part natives of northern and western Europe, Germany, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries. They were of a racial stock very similar to native Americans. They settled in rural as well as in urban areas and built up the agriculture and the industry of the region. They soon became Americans and upheld the ideals and traditions of their new land. They constituted the "old immigration." Since that earlier period, a "new" immigration, made up more largely of southern and eastern Europeans, has crossed the Atlantic to our shores. The new immigrants settled largely in urban and industrial centers. Instead of becoming farmers they worked in factories and in mines. Usually they settled in groups in the poorer sections of the cities and established "Little Italys," "Little Russias," or "Little Polands." They

TABLE 14. IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: 1925–1940 AND 1941

Country	1925–1929 *			1930–1934 *			1935–1939 †			1941 †		
	Admitted	Departed	Excess of Admissions	Admitted	Departed	Excess of Admissions	Admitted	Departed	Excess of Admissions	Admitted	Departed	Excess of Admissions
All countries....	1,520,910	389,746	1,131,164	426,953	335,690	91,263	272,422	153,248	119,174	43,211	12,972	30,239
China.....	7,925	18,570	− 10,645	3,824	16,153	− 12,329	2,050	6,683	− 4,633	559	477	82
Japan.....	3,421	5,655	− 2,234	2,177	4,463	− 2,286	506	3,925	− 3,419	179	1,713	− 1,534
Mexico.....	243,171	20,261	222,910	21,944	83,482	− 61,538	10,765	24,467	− 13,702	2,900	2,687	213
All Europe... ..	789,407	294,972	494,435	259,519	186,091	73,428	185,754	81,294	104,460	20,773	2,853	17,920

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939.
† *Ibid.*, 1942.

became relatively unassimilated masses within our national boundaries.

Problems naturally arose as so many people with different cultures, religions, languages, and traditions of government landed in our midst without opportunities to be trained for membership in the new society. Various attempts to limit immigration were climaxed by the laws of 1921, 1924, and 1929.

The restriction has proven so successful that the net increase of population from immigration was 91,263 for the years 1930–34, whereas for the period of similar length 1925–29 the net increase amounted to 1,131,164.

C. *Human Life Span*

The Old Testament places the length of human life at "three score years and ten" — seventy years — but it is doubtful if any considerable group of people ever had an average life span of that length. The life span may be regarded as the length of life of individuals or it may be considered as the average length of life for a group of persons. From the first viewpoint one might say that the life span of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., was 98 years. He lived to that age; but that fact tells nothing about the age to which other people of his society lived. There have always been individuals who lived to a ripe old age, although a large portion of the population may have died in infancy, and the average length of life may not have been more than thirty or forty years.

1. EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH

In the Western World there has been a great increase in the average length of life, or in the life span of the group. In 1800 it is estimated that the average length of life for people living in the United States was between thirty-five and forty years. One hundred years later there had been a substantial increase in the life span, so that the average length of life for men was slightly more than forty-eight years and for women more than fifty-one years. During the next forty-two years there was an even greater lengthening of the life span so that in 1942 the average length of life for white men was 63.65 and for white women 68.21 years (Table 15). That does not mean that individuals are living to a greater age than formerly, but that more people live to maturity or to old age than formerly.

To a large extent it is through the reduction in infant mortality that the life span has been increased. Thompson says:

> It is perhaps hard to realize that by far the greatest part of the decline in the death rate has been brought about by the saving of lives among infants and small children. Until quite recently a very considerable part of all children born died before the end of the first year of life, and it was not at all uncommon for half or more to die before they were ten years old.[1]

TABLE 15. EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN THE UNITED STATES, ACCORDING TO COLOR AND SEX, FOR SELECTED PERIODS FROM 1900–1942 *

Year or period	White		Colored	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1942.....	63.65	68.61	54.28	58.00
1939–1941....	62.81	67.29	52.26	55.56
1930–1939.....	60.62	64.52	50.06	52.62
1929–1931 ...	59.12	62.67	47.55	49.51
1920–1929. ..	57.85	60.62	46.90	47.95
1919–1921.....	56 34	58.53	47.14	46.92
1909–1911... .	50.23	53.62	34.05	37.67
1901–1910 ...	49.32	52.54	32.57	35.65
1900–1902.....	48.23	51.08	32.54	35.04
Gain: 1900–1902 to 1942	15.42	17.53	21.74	22.96

* Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., *Statistical Bulletin*, vol. 25, no. 4, April, 1944, p. 6.

2. REDUCTION IN DEATH RATE

Table 16 shows that since 1890 there has been a steady decline in infant mortality and that in 1939 the United States did not have the lowest infant death rate. That distinction belongs to New Zealand. The Netherlands, Sweden, Australia, and New Zealand had lower rates of infant mortality than the United States.

Not only has there been a reduction in the infant mortality, but the general death rate has likewise declined. In the United States an accurate record was not kept until recently; consequently, there are no

[1] Warren S. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

TABLE 16. INFANT MORTALITY

Deaths under one year per 1000 living births *

Countries	1921–1925	1931–1935	1938	1939
Continental United States	74	59	51	48
Canada	98	75	63	62
Argentina	116	94	102	92
Chile	265	248	236	225
India	182	170	167	..
Japan	159	120	114	..
Germany	122	74	60	60
France	95	73	66	67
Ireland	69	68	67	65
Italy	126	105	106	97
The Netherlands	64	45	37	34
England and Wales	76	62	52	..
Sweden	60	50	41	39
Spain	143	113	119	..
Union of South Africa	73	63	52	50
Egypt	144	165	163	..
Australia	58	41	38	..
New Zealand †	43	32	36	31
Hawaii	119	74	59	52

* *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, Geneva, 1940.
† European population.

reliable data. But in Denmark, France, England, and Germany, where records are obtainable, the death rate has been reduced by almost one-half since 1858.

The underlying factors responsible for the reduced death rate are improved sanitary conditions; immunization against diseases which formerly took a heavy toll in human life, such as smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, rabies, tetanus, and others; virtual removal of mankind from the danger of yellow fever; increased medical and surgical skill; and improved quality of food. The last-named factor has been very important in reducing the number of infant deaths.

D. *Population Trends in Western Society*

1. MODERN INCREASE IN POPULATION

Since such strides have been made in increasing the life span of people in the Western World and since the death rate has been so greatly

reduced, one would expect a great increase in the population of this region unless there had been a corresponding reduction of the birth rate. That such an increase in population occurred during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries can be seen by Tables 17 and 18.

TABLE 17. POPULATION: ENGLAND *

Date	Population
1070	1,800,000
1340	1,500,000 to 2,000,000 (Estimate)
1377	2,250,000 to 2,500,000 (Tax returns)
1600	5,000,000
1700	5,475,000
1750	6,467,000
1760	6,736,000 (England and Wales)
1821	12,000,236 (England and Wales)
1891	27,482,104 (England)
1931	37,354,917 (England)

* H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920, (and *Census Returns*). Reprinted by permission.

During these decades the increase in population for the entire Western World was greater than at any other period in the world's history. There were newly discovered lands to be settled. Food and other economic necessaries were abundant and could be more easily procured by the masses of the population than at any other period. Industrial technology was enormously increasing the productivity of labor; man became much more effective in utilizing agricultural and other natural

TABLE 18. POPULATION: UNITED STATES *

Date	Population
1850	23,191,876
1860	31,443,321
1870	38,558,371
1880	50,155,783
1890	62,947,714
1900	75,994,575
1910	91,972,266
1920	105,710,620
1930	122,775,046
1940	131,669,275

* United States Census Reports.

resources. People who lived in a crowded area might move to a place where the competition for existence was not so keen.

2. RECENT DECLINE IN BIRTH RATES

During the nineteenth century there was little worry over the possibility of overpopulation, and the birth rates were very high. Most countries had a rural population; children were desired. But toward the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the early twentieth century, cities developed; industries grew; nations whose people were formerly rural became urban dwelling. As the populations became more urban, the birth rate declined. There has been a continuous drop in the birth rate of almost all of the Western nations for the last sixty years.

TABLE 19. BIRTH RATES, 1858–1928 *

Date	Denmark	England	France	Germany	United States
1858–1862.....	32.5	34.5	26.8	36.3	....
1868–1872.....	30.3	35.3	25.3	37.4	....
1878–1882.....	32.0	34.4	24.9	38.0	....
1888–1892.....	30.8	30.9	22.6	36.3	....
1898–1902.....	29.7	28.8	21.7	35.7	....
1908–1912.....	27.5	25.2	19.4	30.0	....
1918–1922.....	23.7	20.9	17.3	21.7	23.5
1927–1928.....	19.6	16.7	18.2	18.5	20.2

* Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–82.

In the United States, although there were vast areas to settle and although the population was largely rural until the period of 1920, the birth rate fell rather steadily until it reached an all-time low record of 16.7 births per 1000 population in 1933. Although accurate birth statistics were not kept in the United States during the early period of national development, studies of the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women, ages fifteen to forty-five, show that the birth rate in this country has been declining since 1810. The greatest reduction in the birth rate took place when it dropped from 25.1 to 16.7 between 1915 and 1933.

The United States experienced such a remarkable growth in population between 1800 and 1930, in spite of the declining birth rate, because of the relatively low death rate characteristic of the United

States population and because of the great numbers of immigrants coming to our shores.

3. FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DECLINE IN BIRTH RATE

At the present time there are no great areas of arable land available for settlement in the United States. The census returns of 1920 showed that the United States has changed from a nation whose people were mostly rural to one where the greater part of the population live in cities or towns. Over 51 per cent of the population was in 1920 classed as urban. By 1940 this percentage had increased to 56.5. Thus urbanism can be considered as a very important factor in the reduction of the birth rate in the United States.

Other factors are responsible for the decline in the birth rate. Contraception, that is, birth control and birth prevention, is practiced. The "emancipation of women" has meant that women prefer to work in the commercial world rather than to be homemakers and bearers of children. The social ambition of members of society means that individuals and families strive to raise their own social status so that they or their children will be placed higher in the social pyramid, and hence a large family is expensive and hampers such ambitious designs. The rising standard of living means an increased financial per capita outlay even without the addition of children to the family.

Associated with the decline in birth and death rates have been certain important changes in the age distribution of our population as is indicated at the beginning of the chapter. As is to be expected, there are fewer children than formerly in relation to the total population. At the same time the number of old people, sixty years and above, has been increasing more rapidly than the total population. In other words, a larger proportion of our population than in any previous period is above the age of sixty.

The increase in the proportion of our population beyond the productive period of life, together with the growth of urbanization, is undoubtedly a major reason for the attention now given to old age pensions.

E. *Summary*

The fear of overpopulation with the concomitant results of food shortage and insecurity has been a characteristic of human societies

widely separated in time and place. In order to avoid the danger of too many individuals to consume the available food supplies, "population policies" have been developed even among primitive people. The more common ways in which population growth has been restricted are: (1) infanticide; (2) abortion; (3) sexual taboos; (4) senicide; (5) war; (6) contraception.

The term overpopulation is misleading. Such countries as India and China are regarded as overpopulated, but one seldom hears of Belgium being so regarded. However, there are on an average more than three persons on every square mile of Belgian soil to one on each square mile in India.

Populations increase through: (1) excess of births over deaths; and (2) immigration. A high birth rate alone may not result in rapid increase in the total population. It may be associated with a high death rate. One finds considerable variation among nations both in birth rate and in death rate. Birth rates are usually higher in rural countries and among rural people than in urban populations.

Population movements have characterized human behavior during all stages of history. The migration of man from one place to another has resulted from forces within the environment of individuals and groups which impelled them to seek homes, wealth, or adventure in new lands. Often the promises afforded by a new region attracted human beings and drew new settlers and adventurers. Then the existing means of travel greatly influenced the rate and extent of movement of people from place to place.

When people move from one region to another, the invaders or the invaded may be assimilated by whichever is the dominant group. Sometimes a period of struggle — war — results from invasion by migrant groups, and one or the other of the warring factions are destroyed or vanquished. A defeated group must accept a position of inferior social status or withdraw to some less desirable or less attractive region.

Immigration has been an important factor in the development of the American population. Migration to the United States is divided into two periods. That prior to 1890 is known as the period of "old immigration." That after 1890 is called the period of "new immigration." The group comprising the "new immigration" were less readily assimilated into American society than were the former immigrants. As a consequence of the great flow of migrants to America, laws were

passed in 1921, 1924, and 1929 which have effectively curtailed immigration.

During the nineteenth century most nations in the Western World had rapid increases in population. Between 1850 and 1940 the population of the United States increased by more than 100,000,000 persons. Associated with the rapid increase in population there was a steady decline in the birth rates in most western nations. For instance, between 1858 and 1928 the birth rates in both England and Germany declined 50 per cent or more. In the United States the reduction in the number of births in proportion to the population was no less pronounced. The great increase in population during the period is to be accounted for by the fact that death rates in the western nations declined even more rapidly than did birth rates.

Decline in the birth rate in western society can be attributed largely to: (1) the growth of urbanization; (2) birth control; (3) "emancipation of women"; (4) social ambitions of members of society; (5) rising standards of living.

Associated with the decline in the birth and death rates and with the increased life span of man, there is a greater proportion of our society above the age of sixty years than in any previous period of history.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why are India and China referred to as overpopulated yet Belgium and Holland have not been so considered?
2. What devices have been followed in order to limit the population of areas? What means is most widely practiced today?
3. Which has fallen more rapidly in the United States during the past quarter century, the birth rate or the death rate?
4. How do you account for the differences in the prevailing birth rates in different countries, for example, United States and Italy?
5. Give examples of famous migrations in history. Were these caused by the push or pull factors?
6. What are the characteristic differences between immigrants to the United States before 1890 and immigrants after that period?
7. How do you account for the great increase in the human life span in the United States during the twentieth century? What problems has this increase produced?

8. When one studies the trend of population in Europe and America during the last two centuries is he justified in fearing extreme overpopulation within the near or distant future? Explain.
9. How do you account for the recent decline in birth rates in the United States?

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CHAPTER 8

Distribution of Population in Social Space

NOT ONLY ARE PEOPLE distributed in physical space, in the various geographic regions of the world; they are distributed in social space as well. Some enjoy positions of honor, power, and privilege, whereas others are very poor, with few privileges and but little influence or power. People have always been migrating from place to place to find adventure but more especially to seek new means of improving their social position and to secure a greater share of the world's material goods than had been their customary lot. As there is movement in physical space, likewise there is movement in social space. Individuals rise from positions of low esteem to wealth and power. On the other hand persons who are born to the purple may fall to very low social status.

A. *Social Classes*

1. INEQUALITY OF HUMAN BEINGS

That individuals in human society are not equal can be seen from the following extracts describing life in the medieval manor, in colonial American society, and in contemporary American urban life.

a. *An English manor.*

> The inhabitants of the manor consisted of the privileged and unprivileged individuals. First in power and importance was the lord, and to him some form of service or payment was owed by practically every one who lived on the manor. Closely identified with the lord was the local priest or abbot. Power, wealth and influence were the outstanding characteristics of a lord's position, which was restricted only by feudal or local law. Assisting him in the management of the estate were a number of officials and servants, free and unfree, who were generally recruited from the local population. Chief among these servants was the bailiff or manager, who was personally responsible for the well-being of the

manor. Certain definite tasks fell to his lot, such as selling surplus stock, caring for the roads and barns, and inspecting the stock and farm equipment. In most cases the bailiff was a freeman and frequently held his office for but a year or two. The manorial reeve, however, appears to have retained his position for an indefinite period if not for life. He was probably a serf and, as such, seldom left the manor except when his duties took him to town.... Below the reeve came a group of minor officers like the shepherds, waggoners, bakers, millers, and auditors. Most of these servants were serfs though at times free tenants were employed. A free tenant was a privileged individual in that his social and economic position was usually higher than a serf. He lived in a better home, possessed more worldly effects, and was counted politically free. He was compelled, however, to render certain services to the lord in the form of money payments. In addition he gave his master at certain times during the year, some produce of his farm or an article of clothing. During the rush of plowing, planting, or harvesting, the free tenant labored on the demesne by the side of the serf.

Among the unprivileged classes none was more important than the serf. Politically he had no rights but those which custom or feudal law might grudgingly grant him.... Practically, however, the life of the average serf began and ended as an unfree individual....

Below the serf came the cottage tenant (cotter) who was not asked to do as much as the serf, or villein, as he was also known. The cottage tenant enjoyed no special consideration but his economic status did not warrant such services. The cotter class was recruited from the younger sons of the serfs and possessed holdings barely large enough to sustain life. The cotter's home, which was often on the edge of the forest, was miserable. To the lord the cotter gave one day's work a week....

Lowest down in the scale of unprivileged persons were the slaves, who were used by the lord as laborers to perform menial tasks about the manor, houses, barns, granaries, and workshops.... Slavery did not die out in England until the early part of the thirteenth century, ecclesiastical lords being the last to give up this unchristian practice.[1]

From the description of an English manor, it is clear that all persons were not equal. The lord stood at the top of the social scale, with different classes of people arranged in layers or strata below him. Other accounts of the English manor show that all lords were not equal; some owned and operated larger estates than others, and some lords owned several manors and received the profit from their operations.

[1] W. Freeman Galpin, *A History of England*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1938, pp 122–125. Reprinted by permission.

On the manor the work of individuals differed. Some work was more highly esteemed and was assigned to free individuals; other work was regarded as menial and suited only for unfree labor. The types of homes, the possession of economic goods, and the political power varied among the different classes of society; the poorest dwellings, fewest possessions, and least power were held by persons lowest in social status. Not only were the desirable things in life — economic possessions, political power, social esteem — unequally distributed among the residents of the manor, but a person for the most part remained throughout his life on the social plane of his family at birth and died on the same level. In other words there was relatively little opportunity for a serf to become a lord or an individual of high social esteem.

b. *Society in colonial America.*

> Perhaps nowhere in American colonial life were class, or social, distinctions and special privileges more conspicuous than in New England's earliest colleges: in Harvard, founded in 1636, and in Yale, established in 1701. In the catalogues of Harvard down to 1772 and of Yale down to 1767 the names of the students were not listed alphabetically, as democracy would presumably demand, but in an order which was supposed to indicate the social rank of their fathers or their families. . . . There was a conscious effort through the college roll to preserve the respect due to family names of distinction. And even at Yale, a trifle more democratic and homespun than Harvard, there was high respect for such names. The claims of family aristocracy and ancestral distinctions were protected or exalted, and it is probable that personal partiality or prejudice had influence. At both institutions a name of renown was its own justification for an unrivaled place in the college lists; though at both an ample fortune seems also to have been taken into account in estimating family rank.
>
> The low place occupied by the son of unquestioned family claims could be explained only by "straitened paternal circumstances." The notebook of the president of Yale, within two decades of the Revolution, revealed that the parents of certain students low in the lists were "of middling estate, much impoverished." Exceptional regard was paid then, as now, to economic wealth, and slights upon some of those who failed by the test of wealth were as common in college as in the world outside. The students who ranked highest generally had the most influential friends. They were given the best living quarters and had the right to help themselves first at table. When the freshmen were notified of their rank they took their places in classes, dining rooms, and chapel in carefully graded precedence.[1]

[1] Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1929, pp. 78–79 Reprinted by permission.

A description of early American colleges shows that social classes existed during the colonial period of American history. These social distinctions were so highly regarded that even colleges ranked their students according to the social status of the parents. One may be assured that college students stood above the average level of the populace, for the higher educational institutions have always selected their student bodies from groups of greater wealth, more political power, and higher social position.

c. *Contemporary urban America.*

> My family received its patent of nobility at the time of the Crusades. I studied engineering in Berlin, since that had become a fashionable hobby with young men of the Hungarian aristocracy twenty years ago. As a result of a quarrel with my dad, I left home and came to America. I was so angry that I resolved to earn my own living and shame my noble family. I had been in America only a month when I secured a job as an engineer and I have been an engineer ever since. I suppose I have made money enough here to buy out my father's estate if I wanted to. I belong to the Detroit Yacht Club and enjoy very much the associations I have made with my fellow-members. I became aware of these Hunkies of Delray a few years ago, as a result of labor trouble in one of our plants. You surely would not expect me to associate with such people as they are. I don't want to have anything to do with them. Indeed, if I should happen to be in the employment office when two laborers, one a Hunkie and the other a man of some other nationality, applied for a job, I would say to our employment manager: "Don't give the job to that Hunkie. Give it to the other man." I don't want Hunkies hired at this plant while I am here. They will do me dirt every time. . . .
>
> If you have called to ask me about my connections with the Hungarian laborers of Detroit, I think you must want to insult me. I am an American. Why should it be cast up to me after twenty years that I came from Hungary? My family were gentlemen in Hungary, not half-starved laborers, like these people in Delray. I once felt sorry for the Hungarian laborers, because they came from the same country that I did. I helped a few of them to get work in our factory. The rascals thought that I was on the same level that they were. They tried to climb up by making use of their acquaintance with me. That settled matters. No more of them for me! They are not my people any more, and I do not want to hear about them.[3]

[3] Erdmann Doane Beynon, "Social Mobility and Social Distance Among Hungarian Immigrants in Detroit," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XLI. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, July 1935–May 1936, p. 430. Reprinted by permission.

The above quotation indicates that in modern America social classes are recognized, and that those of the upper strata do not always feel that they should associate with persons of lower position even though all may belong to the same nationality group. The statement of the Hungarian immigrant indicates that efforts are actually made to hold others in low positions, and that those in the less esteemed groups strive by diverse methods to improve their status.

From the examples given above one is forced to draw the conclusion that *people in society occupy different social positions. Some are relatively higher than others.* Some demand and receive more consideration and a greater share of worldly possessions, whereas others accept positions of a lower order. There are distinct classes in society.

Although the "equality of man" has been a slogan of democracies and of demagogues for many years, actually men are born unequal, not equal. From a biological point of view there can be no question but that men, as well as all forms of life, are born with great inequalities. These may be differences inherent in the individual at birth or they may arise out of unequal environments. Were all individuals of any species equal, natural selection could not operate. The theory of natural selection is based on inequalities.

2. BASIS OF INEQUALITY

Social classes are found wherever human beings are grouped together. In primitive society a superior position was the result of superior strength, intelligence, skill, or cunning. In modern social groups, positions of greatest importance are usually associated with the economic wealth of individuals. John D. Rockefeller is very high in the social scale of America; he is one of the world's wealthiest men. At the same time he occupies a position of great influence in the political world, although he holds no political office. He ranks very high in industry, since he directly and indirectly provides employment for many thousands of men and women.

Social classes in a society may be represented by means of a diagram, a pyramid of population. A great majority of the population is to be found in the lower portions of these pyramids, whereas a very few, relatively, are in the dominant upper levels. For instance, in the United States in the year 1935–36, a small group of 10 per cent of the population received in income over 36 per cent of the total for the nation, while at the same time another 10 per cent with annual incomes of less than $340 received less than two per cent of the national total.

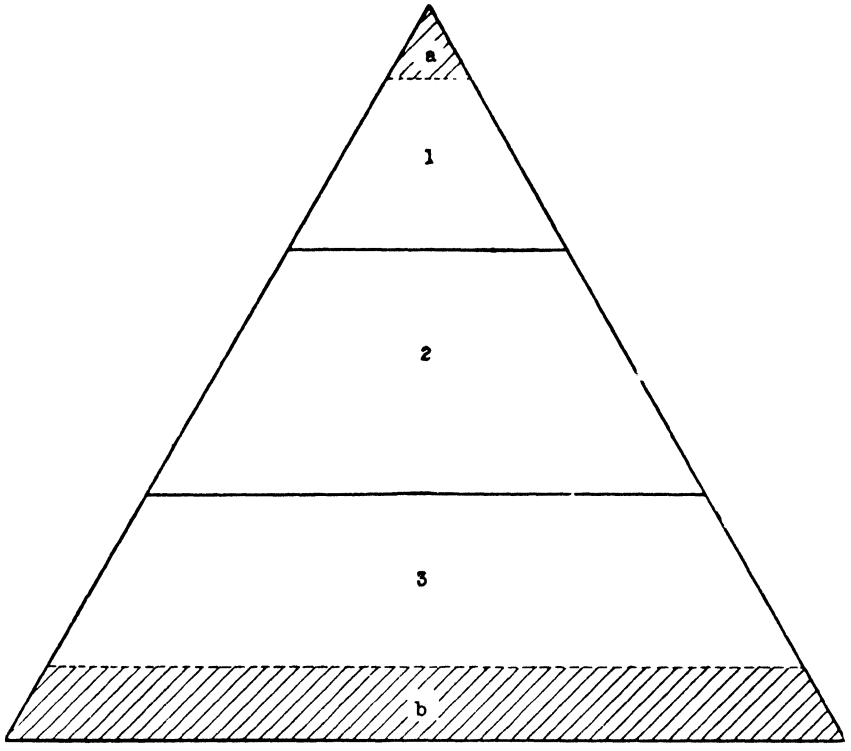


FIGURE 9. ECONOMIC INCOME OF AMERICAN CONSUMERS FOR THE YEAR 1935-36 *

a. 10 per cent have an annual income of $2600 and over.
1. One third have an annual income of from $1450 to more than a million dollars.
2. One third have an annual income of from $780 to $1450.
3. One third have an annual income of less than $780.
b. 10 per cent have an annual income of less than $340.

* *The Consumer Spends His Income*, Report of the National Resources Committee, June, 1939.

In more concrete terms, roughly 13 million families and single persons at the lower end of the income scale received the same aggregate income as did 197,000 families and individuals at the upper end of the scale.[4]

3. SOCIAL SPACE

The position which a person holds in the social scale is referred to as his place in social space. Social space is very different from geometric or geograph-

[4] *The Consumer Spends His Income*, Report of the National Resources Committee, Washington, June, 1939, p. 6.

ical space, for although it is very real and is recognized by most people, it is not tangible and cannot be measured by feet, yards, acres, miles, or by any other specific unit of measurement. Anyone will recognize that there is distance, social distance, between the great industrialist whose income runs into five, six, or seven figures each year and the pauper, the person on relief, or the person with an annual income of less than $500. Clearly great social distance separated the lord of the medieval manor from his serfs and the families of colonial aristocracy from their indentured servants; today families that are prominent economically and politically are similarly separated from those of less prominence.

4. HOW SOCIAL POSITION IS ATTAINED

Granted that there are different social spaces and that social distance exists, how is social position determined? *Man attains his social status through inheritance and through achievement.* The son of an unskilled laborer begins life in the social space of his unskilled father. He may rise from that lowest occupational level, but he will do so by his own achievement. The son of a "share-cropper" is placed in society by his inheritance. Likewise, the son of a monarch is a member of royalty, and the child of a family rated as one of the "400" or of the "F.F.V.'s" inherits a similar position. Social position attained through achievement is discussed later in the chapter under the subject of *social mobility.*

5. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification is a term used to describe the division of society into lower and upper classes, one above the other, as indicated in the diagram. This designation is descriptive of the order of their arrangement, that is, in strata or layers, each resting on the lower division.

The degree of permanency or rigidity in social stratification depends upon many factors. In an old culture or a civilization characterized by isolation, the social levels tend to become very firmly established and rigid. India with its caste system is typical. Under the caste system, classes are so rigid that an individual has great difficulty in moving out of the social position into which he is born. Often caste designation is associated with racial differentiation. The Negro-white relationship in the South is often referred to as a caste system. Any country with a caste system has a very rigid form of social stratification.

A new country, a country where great social changes are taking

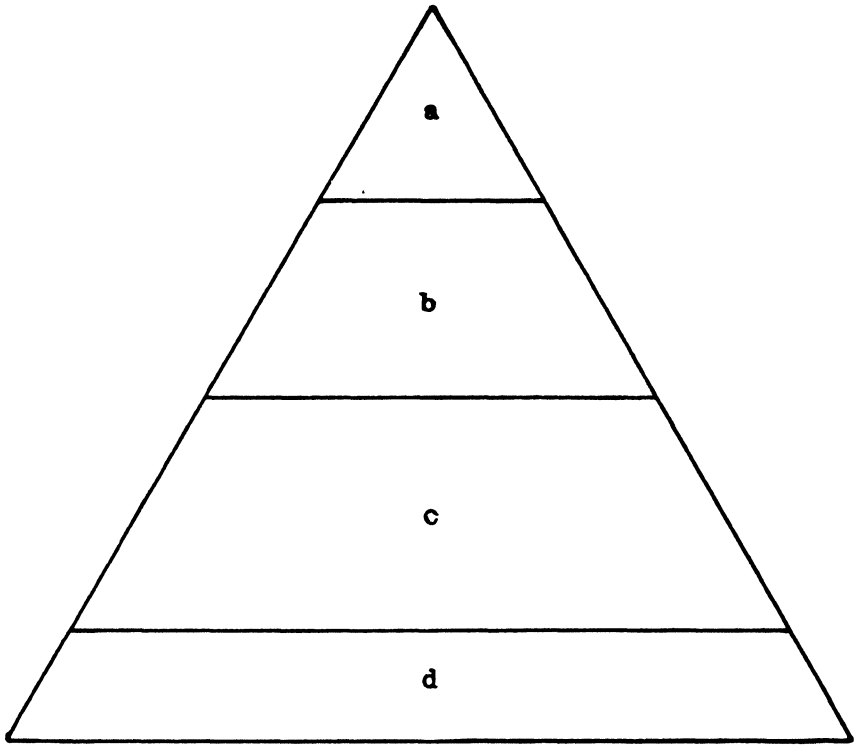


FIGURE 10. PYRAMID OF POPULATION ON THE BASIS OF ECONOMIC STATUS
a. Great industrialists b. Professional c. Skilled d. Unskilled

place, or a country being invaded by a foreign army or by masses of immigrants is likely to have a less rigid system of social stratification. During the colonial period of our history, although there were social classes, and social distinctions were observed, the strata of society were not so rigid as they were in the "old country." Frequently individuals arriving in the colonies of America as indentured servants rose above their low status of involuntary servitude to positions of honor and importance.

In the United States, where important social changes have been taking place and where great numbers of foreign immigrants have recently come to our shores, the strata of social classes are relatively less rigid than those of European countries undisturbed by such influences. Here a boy born in a log hut rose to the position of highest importance,

the Presidency of the Nation; another boy, an orphan raised on an Iowa farm, also became President; a young mechanic became the head of the largest automobile company and one of the richest men in the world.

In Germany, Russia, and Italy very serious social disturbances have taken place within the past quarter century. Russia's complete overthrow of its former government has included an overturning of the existing ideas of religion, economic distribution, and social status. In Russia new social strata have been established, although the original claim was that all people would enjoy equality. People who occupied positions at the bottom of the social pyramid have been raised to positions in the middle or even near the top; the former rulers or occupants of upper social strata have been reduced to much lower status. In Germany, Hitler and others of the present ruling class were formerly occupants of much less prominent positions in social space than those which they now hold. Hitler was an Austrian of very humble origin, whereas today he is the Dictator of Germany. As such he occupies a position in social space second to no other person in his nation. In Italy, the monarchy has been retained with its very rigid line of hereditary nobility; but at the same time the great changes associated with Fascist rule, the centralization of economic activities under government control, and the development of a large army have provided opportunities for many people to rise to higher social strata; individuals formerly unknown have assumed positions of great prominence.

B. *Social Mobility*

1. TYPES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Movement in social space is called social mobility. This movement may be up or down the social scale, as when a son of an Iowa farmer becomes President of the United States, or when a Russian nobleman becomes a dishwasher in a New York hotel. Movement may also be from one position to another position on the same social level, as when a former member of the Baptist church becomes a Methodist, a former bricklayer becomes a plasterer, or a Standard Oil Company employee of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, takes employment with the Gulf Oil Company in Texas. The former type of movement in social space is referred to as *vertical mobility*, whereas the latter form is known as *horizontal mobility*. Neither of these forms of mobility necessarily implies any

movement in physical space. The son of a mechanic may rise to the presidency of a large automobile factory and not leave the town of his birth, and the member of the Baptist church may join another denomination within the same geographical area; no movement in geometric space has taken place, yet there has been vertical and horizontal social mobility.

2. SOCIAL MOBILITY UNIVERSAL

It has been noted that movement in physical space has from the earliest known records been a general characteristic of mankind; it is no less true that movement in social space has been and is a common phenomenon. No system of social stratification is so rigid that mobility is completely blocked. Both vertical and horizontal types of mobility exist in India, under the most rigid caste system. A son of a Brahmin, the highest caste, may perform some act which will cause him to lose caste, whereas a son of the "untouchable" caste may be educated in Oxford, and return to India to assume a rôle of great importance in his native land. (Although he may still be rated as an "untouchable," in reality he will occupy a position very much higher; he may become a political, an economic, or an educational leader.) As an example of horizontal mobility, the daughter of a Brahmin may marry the son of a Brahmin in the same geographic region or one at some distance. In either case, the girl moves from a family in the highest caste to another family within the same caste.

3. MOBILITY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

Sorokin, in referring to immobility within the caste system of India, points out that the Brahmin caste did not always hold the position of absolute superiority over other castes. In the remote past the caste of warriors and rulers was held as not inferior to the Brahmins, but through a long struggle the supremacy of the Brahmins was attained. This example illustrates the possibility of social advancement of an entire group as well as of individuals.[5]

Many similar examples may be found in history. The French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, a revolt of the middle classes against the oppression of the nobility and the clergy; as a result the entire class was raised in social status. During the colonial period in our history, the clergy occupied the most prominent position in colonial society

[5] Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1927, p. 134.

Cubberley in referring to the Massachusetts School Law of 1642 says:

> Accordingly the leaders in the Puritan church appealed to what was then their servant, the State as represented in the colonial legislature, to assist them in compelling parents and masters to observe their obligations.[6]

Lawyers and legislators stood in a position of less social prominence than did the religious leaders. The parents of John Adams were greatly disappointed when their son decided on becoming a lawyer instead of a minister. Today, no one would consider the social position of lawyers and statesmen as lower than that of the clergy.

4. FACTORS IN SOCIAL MOBILITY

An individual may change his social position through the *exercise of superior energy*. The Horatio Alger hero is an American stereotype. A boy who was born in the slums of a great city in a very low social position becomes a bootblack, works hard, saves his money, attends school, applies himself to his studies, and rises through sheer effort to a position of social, economic, and occupational importance. Such cases exist not only in sensational novels, but in real life. The late Governor Johnson of Minnesota was, for instance, born of a mother who earned a living by washing clothes for other people. Others may rise as the *result of great talent in some field*. A genius may arise in the humblest social stratum and as a consequence of his ability become very prominent in his field. Examples are numerous: the Negro chemist, Carver, in the Tuskegee Institute; Booker T. Washington; Thomas Edison; and Benjamin Franklin, to name but a few. Others may rise in the social pyramid as the result of *good fortune*. A farmer of but slight talent or energy may become a millionaire because oil is found on his land. A mediocre prospector may discover a gold mine and gain great riches. Many people rise in social space through "luck."

Seldom do the forces leading to improved social status operate singly. Energy, as well as ability and good fortune, are usually involved in social rise. General U. S. Grant possessed great talent in leading an army, but before the Civil War he was regarded as a failure. His name would probably be unknown had it not been for the outbreak of the war. Numberless lesser cases illustrate the interaction of energy, ability, and favorable circumstances to bring about social advancement.

Vertical social mobility may be downward as well as upward, since

[6] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934, p. 17. Reprinted by permission.

the achievement may be of a negative variety. An individual inheriting an enviable social position may through indolence, neglect, indiscretion, lack of ability, or misfortune, one or all, be very greatly reduced in social status. A Russian heir of nobility may be forced to emigrate to the United States and live in a greatly reduced position. The son of a millionaire may, through riotous living, squander his inheritance and be required to accept a minor position.

A struggle continuously goes on for positions in the higher social levels. Those who occupy favorable positions must be on their guard against those who occupy less important ones, and those occupying the lesser social spaces are continuously striving to climb to a higher level. The quotation dealing with Hungarian immigrants at the beginning of the chapter indicates the intensity of this effort to "climb" and the diligence of those in more favorable positions to resist encroachments. Resistance of the superior group to any change which might endanger their status is common, whereas those who have no position to risk are always ready for any innovation promising advancement. In the French Revolution the nobles and clergy were in a position to lose social status, whereas the bourgeois and the proletariat could only gain by a changed social order. Hence, the bourgeois and the proletariat united to produce a revolution or a reorganization of the existing social order whereby many formerly privileged were greatly reduced and the bourgeois increased in social status.

5. AVENUES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Sorokin, in his *Social Mobility*, lists six institutions which have been and still are important avenues of vertical movement in social space. They are: the army, the church, the school, political, economic, and professional organizations. The army has always been a very popular avenue for social advancement. Any able-bodied youth may be accepted for service, and there has always been the possibility that through daring, skill, and good fortune, the young man might climb to a position of social importance. Although the importance of the army and of military men in our national life has perhaps declined during the past generation or two, the army has always been a ladder by which vertical mobility could operate. In the history of our own nation, the popular military leader in each war, except in the World struggle which terminated in 1918, became president within twenty years after the conflict ended. Washington, for example, the leader of

the Revolutionary forces, was the first president; Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans in the War of 1812, became president 13 years after the battle was fought; William H. Harrison, the "Hero of Tippecanoe," was elected through the influence of his military reputation; Zachary Taylor, the "Hero of the Battle of Buena Vista," was elected president in the first election after the Mexican War; U. S. Grant, the most successful Northern general in the Civil War, was elected president in the first election after the war closed; Theodore Roosevelt, "Hero of San Juan Hill" and "Colonel of the Rough Riders," was elected vice-president after the Spanish American War and succeeded to the presidency after the assassination of President McKinley.

The clergy stood at the top of the social pyramid during the colonial period. They stood at the top throughout the Middle Ages in Europe. Likewise, in primitive society, religious leaders stand very high in social esteem. In most Christian societies any child may prepare for religious duties. Christian clergy did not usually select candidates for religious leadership from the social elite, except during periods of great religious domination when there was an influx of the sons of nobles into the church for the purpose of further advancement. Sorokin says:

> The Church, as a channel, transposed a great many people from the bottom of society to its apex. Hebbon, Archbishop of Rheims, previously a slave; the greatest Pope, Gregory VII, a son of a carpenter; the powerful Archbishop of Paris, Maurice of Sully, a son of a peasant; Bishop Fulbert, Suger; Archbishops Pierre, Robert, Jean Peraud — are a very few examples of a great many climbers of the church ladder.[7]

At the present time the church is not used as an avenue for social advancement in the United States to nearly such an extent as formerly.

Other channels which function better under our modern conditions have been developed. One such avenue for social mobility is the school. Although this agency operates to raise individual social status in all modern countries, it is especially active in the United States where free public schools, open to all classes without distinction, are the national standard. Children of all levels of society may attend free schools from the kindergarten through the universities. There is but one educational ladder. Among American people today, the doctrine that through education all men may rise in the social scale has been preached from the platform and the pulpit, and it has been spread by the public

[7] *Op cit.*, p. 167.

press. Public schools are established as the means by which education may be attained. Educators and statisticians have even determined, according to their interpretation, the money value of each day spent in school through the comparison of the average economic earnings of college graduates, high school graduates, and those of various lesser grades of education. Fallacious as their reasoning may be, in that it fails to take into account many other important factors such as natural ability, energy, and opportunity, it has greatly popularized the school. Parents strive without stint to give their children educational advantages so that they "will not have as hard a life as we did"; in other words, so that the children may rise above the social level on which they began life. The school is, in the popular mind, the open door to social, economic, political, and occupational advancement.

Although the school must be regarded as the most important agency for social advancement in America, it is closely related to political, economic, and professional organizations, since the school is the most popular means of securing preparation for these later activities.

In the United States it has usually been regarded as a distinct advantage for a politician to be a "self-made man," a "washerwoman's son," a "dirt farmer," a "rail splitter," and so forth. The young man with a humble beginning, impressive personality, leadership, and energy, may well rise from a low social position to a much higher status if he is willing to pay the price in labor, in preparation, and in the various activities necessary for political leadership. Instances of humbly-born men who have risen to local, state, and national prominence through politics are legion. Lincoln, Harding, Coolidge, Huey Long, and "Al" Smith are but a few prominent American examples. In Europe, also, politics is an important channel for social advancement, as shown in the careers of Lloyd George, the first World War Prime Minister of England; Ramsey MacDonald, a later Prime Minister of England; Hitler, the "fuehrer" of Germany; Stalin, the ruler of the Soviet Union; Blum, a former Premier of France; and Mussolini, former dictator of Italy. All these men originated from families of low social status but rose by means of politics to very important positions.

Business, earning money, is perhaps the American national ideal to an even greater extent than is political renown. The value of schooling is often measured or interpreted in the preparation it affords for gaining greater financial rewards. The economic channel for social advancement may take a variety of different forms both legal and il

legal. Gambling, ranging from using the slot machine to playing the stock market; speculation in land and other commodities; investment in industries and business; banking; merchandising; engaging in commerce, transportation, and communication; and marrying into wealthy families are all devices whereby the participant hopes to improve his economic position.

Wealth-getting is of great importance because wealth is regarded as an open sesame to high social status, to prominence in most fields of activity.

> A successful money maker is the great aristocrat of modern democratic society. . . . Governments and universities, princes and churchmen, poets and writers, societies and organizations, abundantly pour upon him all honors and titles, scientific and other degrees, positions and what not.[8]

American history has been full of the records of men who through wealth-gaining activities became "financial powers" of their nation. John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, John J. Astor I, Cornelius Vanderbilt I, James J. Hill, Samuel Goldwyn, Harry F. Sinclair, Phillip D. Armour, and Simeon B. Armour are all examples.

One must not form the opinion that the economic channel is a one-way passage along which people only rise to higher social levels. For every person who raises his social status by wealth-getting occupations, there are doubtless hundreds and thousands who remain on the same level throughout their life. At the same time, some inheriting large financial resources lose wealth and social position through unwise investments, waste, idleness, and misfortune. Economic status may truly be regarded as a platform from which extend two ladders, one leading up and the other down.

The professions, medicine, law, education, religion, science, and so forth have been and are channels for social mobility. Their importance varies in time and place. In lands where social stratification is rather rigidly maintained, the professions offer fewer opportunities for social advancement owing to the difficulties involved in receiving training necessary for professional status. Those within a profession always attempt to limit the number by making it difficult for a young man or woman to attain the degree of training or skill required for entrance. Within a period of twenty years, in Louisiana, the requirements for receiving an elementary school teacher's certificate have increased from

[8] Sorokin, *op cit.*, p. 178.

the ability or knowledge exhibited by passing a rather superficial examination in the common school branches, to graduation from a standard college with a certain amount of professional training included in the collegiate course.

During the early period of our national development, a person might be admitted to the practice of law without any formal study or instruction in legal practice. At the present time, many law schools demand, for entrance, training to the extent of an A.B. or a B.S. degree. In medicine, likewise, requirements have steadily risen until now, before young men or young women are permitted to practice the medical profession, they are commonly made to acquire seven to ten years of training beyond the secondary school level.

With the raising of requirements for admission into professional groups, the number of persons who can continue study and training to meet such demands grows smaller. Not only the less capable, but those of the less favored economic groups are likely to be excluded. It is usually impossible for the son of a poor family to pay his way through medical or law school. The professions thus become largely a channel for mobility only in the upper levels of the social pyramid.

However, the professions are not limited exclusively to children of families occupying higher positions in the social pyramid. Sorokin observes:

> Among 829 British men of genius, studied by Havelock Ellis, there were 71 who were the sons of unskilled laborers and climbed to very high positions principally through this channel. About 16.8 per cent of the most prominent men of Germany were born in the laboring class and climbed up through the professional ladder. In France, among the most prominent literary men, we find about 10 or 13 per cent who came from the laboring class and obtained prominence and high social position in the same way. In the United States, out of 1000 men of letters, at least 187 rose to prominence through this channel. Four per cent of the most prominent Russian scientists (academicians) who came of peasantry, rose through the same channel. If such is the situation with the most prominent men of genius, it is comprehensible that a great many less prominent professionals have somewhat improved their social position by the same "elevator." Illustrations may be given of many motion-picture players (Gloria Swanson, Douglas Fairbanks, etc.), many singers (Chaliapin), many actors, painters, artists, composers, and writers, who, being born in a humble family, through this channel have promoted themselves to a very high economic, occupational, and social position, and have obtained

wealth, fame, titles, degrees, and so on. Such is the situation now; such in essence has it been in the past.[9]

C. *Summary*

Human beings are divided one from another not only on the basis of physical space but by social distance as well. The factory owner does not occupy the same social plane as his employees, and the king is not on the same social level as his subjects. In all societies there are social classes which assume rights and prerogatives over the other classes. In short, people are not equal socially.

The status a person holds in society is referred to as his position in social space. The distance from one person to another in social space is social distance. The movement of individuals in social space is *social mobility*. *Vertical mobility* occurs where the movement is up or down, from a higher level to a lower plane or from a lower to a higher level. *Horizontal mobility* occurs where the movement does not change the social plane, but where there is movement on the same social level.

A person may change his position on the social plane through the exercise of superior energy, as the result of great talent in some field of endeavor, or as the result of good fortune. Often the change in social space may result from the operation of not one factor alone but by the combination of two or even three.

Six institutions are important avenues of vertical mobility — the army, the church, the school, political, economic, and professional organizations.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are social classes? Do such classes exist in the United States? Have people ever been entirely equal in the sense that all enjoy an equal share of the existing material goods possessed by a group?
2. Differentiate social space from physical or geographical space.
3. What conditions in a country favor rigid social stratification?
4. Differentiate vertical and horizontal social mobility.

[9] Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1927, pp. 174–175. Reprinted by permission.

5. Explain how opportunity is a very important if not an indispensable factor in vertical mobility.
6. What avenue of vertical social mobility is most widely used in modern America? Explain.
7. Why is politics a more important avenue of vertical mobility in the United States than in most European countries?
8. Would you say marriage is also an avenue of vertical mobility? Explain.

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Part III

Social Institutions

SECTION A: DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS

SECTION B: EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION C: RECREATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION D: RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

SECTION E: HEALTH INSTITUTIONS

SECTION F: AESTHETIC INSTITUTIONS

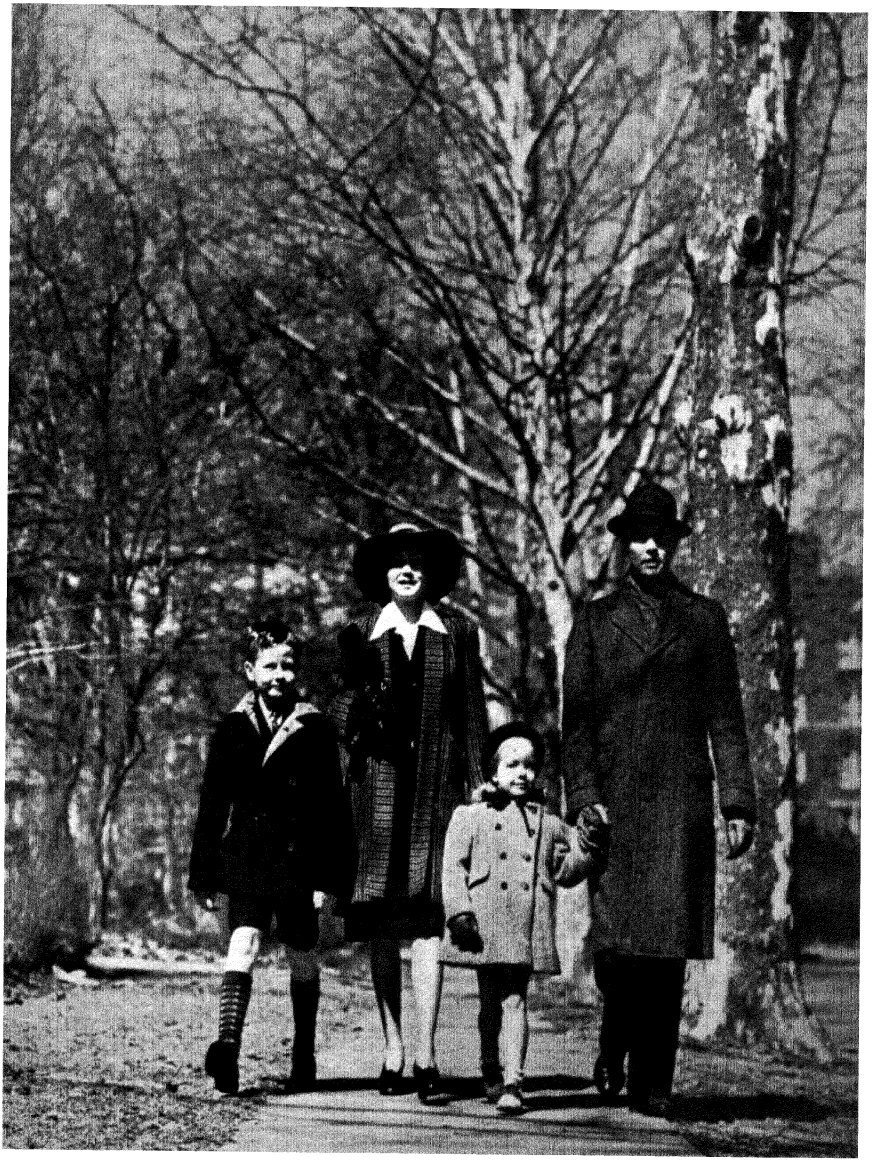
SECTION G: ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

SECTION H: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

SECTION A:

Domestic Institutions

Roberts **PLATE 9**





Keystone



Roberts

PLATE 10

Two institutions designed to guarantee the perpetuation of the group and its cultural heritage are the domestic institutions, marriage and the family. The rural and the urban household vary in degree of unity, in occupation, in strength of religious belief, in accessibility to educational advantages, in economic status, and, therefore, in their contribution to the social order.

CHAPTER 9

Marriage

IN AN EARLIER CHAPTER institutions were defined as patterns of behavior for carrying out certain ideas or desires which are regarded as necessary for the welfare of the group.[1] The special group of institutions called domestic are courtship, marriage, and the family. These institutions are designed to guarantee the perpetuation of the group and its cultural heritage. The domestic institutions of one people in one part of the world are different in many ways from those of another group in a different part of the world. Likewise, domestic institutions of any group undergo changes in different periods in history, but no group of people has yet been found which has not tried to protect women and children through marriage and family relations.

The present Section treats the subjects of marriage in its various forms — family organization, divorce customs, and economics of the family.

In this chapter of the Section, the following subjects are discussed: the functions of domestic institutions, the different forms of marriage prevailing in different culture areas, the manner of selecting the mates in marriage, the winning of the mate, and the rules of eligibility for marriage.

A. *Indian Courtship and Marriage*

A Cheyenne boy was expected to court a girl from one to five years. After he felt sure of her consent, he applied to her parents for theirs, sending either an old man — some friend or relation — or perhaps an old woman — his mother — to ask the girl in marriage. With the messenger he sent the number of horses that he could give. The messenger tied the

[1] Cf. p. 68.

horses in the front of the father's lodge, and then went in and delivered the message, saying, "Such a young man (naming him) wishes your daughter (naming her) for his wife." The messenger did not wait for an answer, but at once went away.

Sometimes the father decided for himself whether or not he would consent to the marriage, but at other times he sent for his relatives to talk the matter over and to ask their advice before giving an answer. If this was unfavorable, the horses which the young man had sent were turned loose and driven back to his father's lodge; but if the marriage was acceptable, the girl's father sent her, and with her a number of horses, often greater than that sent by the young man, to the lodge of the young man's father.

The horses sent by the young man stood in front of the lodge of the prospective father-in-law until the question of the advisability of the marriage had been decided. Sometimes they stood there all day. Often not horses alone were sent, but any other presents that the suitor thought might be acceptable. Thus, if the girl had a young brother who was fond of going to war, the suitor might send a war-bonnet, or even his whole war outfit, bows, arrows, quiver, and his war clothes; or even a gun or a six-shooter.

The horses might not stand before the lodge of the girl's father more than one night; that is, twenty-four hours. They must be accepted or sent back within that time. Thus, there was no long engagement after the boy asked for the girl. The matter was soon decided, and the marriage often took place within twenty-four or forty-eight hours.

A young man who was courting a girl would often try to persuade her to run off with him and be married at once. She would not directly refuse, but would put him off, saying, "No, I cannot do it today; let us wait until some better opportunity occurs. . . ."

Sometimes a girl who was fond of a man might learn that some richer suitor was about to propose for her, and to send horses to her father. If she discovered this, she might anticipate the matter by running off with the man she loved. Perhaps then her parents might pretend anger with her, or really feel it, and when they learned of her act might send word to her not to return to their lodge, or might refuse to receive her if she came. In that case she went to the lodge of some near relative, an uncle, aunt, or favorite cousin, and was married from there. After a little while her parents again became friendly, and the old affectionate intercourse was renewed.

If a man whom she did not love sent horses for the girl, and she loved someone else, her parents would often try to make her marry the man who had offered himself, they would talk to her, persuading and commanding her, and might induce her to accept the man against her will.

They would not, however, beat or abuse her. In a case of this kind, the girl in her despair might go out and hang herself. Not a few cases of this kind have happened; for many girls were so obedient and so careful of appearances that they would not consider a suggestion to elope with their lovers. Because her mother scolded her for meeting a young man of whom the mother did not approve, the sister of three women well known to me knotted a rope about her neck and swung herself over the bank. In very recent years one or two girls have hanged or shot themselves for such reasons. At present, however, young people usually solve the problem by eloping; but in old times they did not do this, for an elopement was disgraceful, and was regarded as no marriage. But if, after it had taken place, the boy sent the customary gifts, this made the marriage valid, and the disgrace was wiped out. . . .

After it had been determined to return a favorable answer, the horses presented by the young man were at once given to the near and dear relatives of the girl. One might go to a favorite brother, another to an uncle who was very fond of her, perhaps another to a favorite first cousin. Each of these relatives was likely then to catch his best horse and send it to her father's lodge, to go with the horses that were to be sent to the young man. Besides the horses, they usually sent other good presents. It was generally known beforehand that the marriage was likely to take place, and some preparations for it had been made.

The girl was now put on one of the best horses, which was led by a woman not related to her, and her mother followed behind, leading a number of horses, all of which wore ropes or bridles. The other horses were all led by women. Before they reached the lodge of the young man's father, some of his relatives came out, carrying a fine blanket, which was spread on the ground; the girl was lifted from the horse and set in the middle of the blanket, and the young men, taking it by the corners and edges, carried her into the lodge. Sometimes, instead of carrying her in the blanket, the horse which she rode was led close to the lodge door; the women ran out from the lodge; the girl dismounted, put her arms about her mother-in-law's neck, from behind; other women took hold of her ankles, and lifted her feet from the ground, and she was thus carried into the lodge without stepping across the threshold. This was all done in silence.

When the girl set out she was dressed in fine new clothing, but after she had been taken into her mother-in-law's lodge, they removed the clothing that she wore, and dressed her in new clothing they had made, combing and rebraiding her hair, painting her face, and hanging about her various ornaments as gifts.

The husband's mother had, of course, prepared food, and when the

young people had seated themselves side by side, she offered it to them. That prepared for the girl was cut into small pieces by the mother-in-law, so that the girl need make no effort in eating.

After the marriage had taken place, the girl's mother began to make up her wedding outfit, and in this work the mother-in-law also took part. The girl's mother usually provided the lodge and most of its furniture, such as beds, back-rests, cooking and eating utensils. Many of the other things, however, were furnished by the uncles, aunts, and other relatives of both the young people. When all these things had been prepared and were ready, the mother of the girl would pitch the lodge — usually somewhere near her own — and would furnish it with all the articles that had been contributed; and then would go to her daughter and say: "Daughter, there is your lodge, it is your home, go and live in it."

Sometimes the lodge was made in advance, and the day before the couple were married was pitched in the circle, near the home of the father of the young man or woman. If near the lodge of the wife's father, it was set a little back of that lodge, in order that the young man might not see his mother-in-law too often. . . .

After marriage the young man did his best to support his wife by hunting. All their relatives made them presents, and the young couple usually started in life with a good outfit, but all the presents were made after the marriage.

The connection between a young married couple and their parents was closer with the girl's parents than with the boy's. If the boy was a good hunter, he strove to supply meat for his father-in-law's lodge; but he seldom or never visited it and, of course, he never spoke to, or knowingly went near, his mother-in-law.

When a child was born, a woman relative of the father usually made a cradle for it, though some woman, not a relative, might make one. When the cradle was brought to the lodge and presented, the father perhaps gave a horse to each one who brought a cradle.

Young mothers sang to their babies to put them to sleep, and had many stories which they told to children a little older, with the same purpose. While such stories were being related, the little child did not speak, and very likely had fallen asleep before two or three of them had been told. The tales were usually about small animals — about mice, the little ground squirrels, or the chipmunks.

The Cheyennes did not take many wives. The largest number I have heard of for one man was five. These were sisters who were married to Crooked Neck. When he was made a chief, he gave three of his wives away, but lived always with the other two. Younger sisters were potential wives of an older sister's husband, but were not always married to him.

Men seldom married a second wife who was not related to the first. When they did so, there was usually trouble, and the first wife was likely to leave her husband.

If a man found it impossible to live peaceably with his wife, he might divorce her in public fashion, notifying everyone that he abandoned all rights in her that he might possess. This action was usually taken in the dance lodge at some dance or gathering of his own soldier society, and according to a certain prescribed form. Before he acted, the man notified his soldier band of what he purposed to do. At a set time in the dance, therefore, the singers began a particular song, and the man, holding a stick in his hand, danced by himself and presently danced up to the drum; struck the drum with the stick; threw the stick in the air, or perhaps toward a group of men in the lodge, and, as he threw it, shouted: "There goes my wife; I throw her away! Whoever gets that stick may have her!" Sometimes to this was added, "A horse goes with the stick!" If this last was said, the person who secured the stick received the horse — but not the wife.

If the man threw the stick across the dance lodge at a group of men, each one of them was likely to dodge, or jump to one side, to avoid being hit. If one of them was hit, or narrowly missed by the stick, other men were likely to joke him, and say, "Ha! You want that woman, do you? I thought I saw you reach for that stick!"

By this act the man renounced all rights to the woman thrown away, and if anyone married her, the husband might not claim any gift or payment.

To be treated publicly in this way was a disgrace to a woman. In any dispute or quarrel that the woman might be engaged in later, the matter was likely to be brought up, and her opponent might say, "Well, I never was thrown out of the dance by the drum." If by chance a man married a woman who had been thus disgraced, and if they ever wrangled, he was likely to remind her of it. It was not forgotten.

A woman was in no sense the property of the man she married. If a man grew tired of his wife, or for any other reason divorced her, except by the drum, anyone else who married her must settle with the husband, often by paying him what he had given for the woman. If a woman ran off with another man, the latter must pay the injured husband. This usually settled the matter amicably; but sometimes the husband was angry, and might kill the man, or the woman, or both. Or, if the matter was not satisfactorily settled, he might kill horses belonging to his successor, or might injure him in some other way.

If a man stole another's wife, that is to say, either eloped with her or took her after her husband had thrown her away, he was likely to take an

early opportunity of sending to the husband an old man carrying a filled pipe. The old man was authorized to talk to the injured husband and to offer him the pipe, telling him to ask for what he wished. If the husband smoked, the matter was settled amicably. The husband might ask for, and would receive, what he regarded as a suitable payment.

The Cheyenne young man was not permitted to speak to his adult sister. While the little children of a family played together until they approached manhood and womanhood, still, young men might not speak to their sisters after the latter had grown up — when they were about fifteen years. Until very recently this law has been rigidly observed. If a man went to the lodge of his brother-in-law to speak to him, or to get some article, and found him absent, he did not address the wife — his own sister — on the matter, but spoke to a child about it. Thus, he might ask a little child — even a new born babe — in the mother's hearing, for the article which he required; or might give it a message for his brother-in-law. If he came to borrow something, very likely the wife presently took the article and put it down somewhere in his sight, and after a time the man took it and went away. The message left with the child in the wife's hearing was always delivered. The practice continued to old age.

Among the Cheyennes, as already said, the women have great influence. They discuss matters freely with their husbands, argue over points, persuade, cajole, and usually have their own way about tribal matters. They are, in fact, the final authority in the camp. There are traditions of women chiefs, and of women who have possessed remarkable mysterious powers or have shown great wisdom in council. If in later days the women did not take part in councils, they nevertheless exercised on the men of their families an influence that can hardly be overestimated, and in the councils so frequently held where only men spoke, this influence of the women was always felt.

In old times women sometimes went to war, not necessarily to fight and take horses, but as helpers, yet many accounts are given of cases in which they have fought, and have struck their enemies. Sometimes women charged and counted coup on the killed.[1]

This description of courtship and marriage among the Cheyennes shows how different their customs are from those of modern America. The Indian marriage ceremony may seem strange to anyone but an Indian. It is, however, significant that although these Indian customs of selecting and marrying a wife are very different from those of modern

[1] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1923, vol. I, pp. 137–157. Reprinted by permission.

Americans, the Indians do court and marry. In other words, all groups have their own characteristic family, marriage and courtship institutions.

B. *Marriage in General*

1. THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE

Marriage is an institution found among all groups of people, primitive as well as the highly civilized. Its form differs in time and place, but its existence is universal. *Marriage means the living together, the cohabitation, of a man and a woman or of men and women in a socially approved union.* There may be in the socially approved union one man and one woman, one man and more than one woman, more than one man and one woman, or more than one man and more than one woman, depending upon the customs of the group.

Marriage is inevitably related to the procreation, care, protection, support, and training of the children of a group. Through marriage and the family, the perpetuation of the group is assured. The human infant is one of the most helpless of all young animals. If left to itself, it would soon perish. Furthermore, the mother is neither as powerful nor as able as the male of the species to protect her infant from surrounding dangers. Through the institution of marriage and the family, both the mother and the father, or some male relatives, are entrusted with the duty of caring for the children and protecting them through their long period of infancy and dependency.

In the beginning the social position of nearly all individuals is fixed by the family and the marriage of which they are products. The sons and daughters of a king and queen are princes and princesses through the marriage of their parents. On the other hand, a child of some serving maid by the same king is not recognized as a prince or princess. Through the institution of marriage — specifically, through their parents' marriage — the young receive their social status. They may occupy a low class in society or they may be in some other stratum. Their positions may, of course, be altered through their own actions in later life.

The institution of marriage has many functions. It is a device for regulating and providing for the natural physical inclinations or drives of human beings, such as the sexual urge and the "paternal instinct."

Marriage provides for a very close and intimate companionship, such

as could not otherwise be found. Especially is this true and important in more advanced societies. One seldom finds any relationship so intimate or so completely cooperative as that which is to be observed between husband and wife. They cooperate in their respective spheres to keep their home and to provide for, protect, and train their young. In this companionship of husband and wife there is mutual interest, purpose, and a degree of understanding not found in other social relationships. As additional bonds, very deep emotional attachments are usually to be found uniting the parties to marriage.

Marriage and the family provide an excellent basis for the inheritance of possessions. Even in primitive societies there is usually found private possession of certain economic goods. These may be horses, bows and arrows, stone axes, or other tools and commodities which are used in gaining a living or which have economic value. Such possessions may be passed on to others when the owner has no further use for them. It may be that the possessions are not passed from father to sons, but they are usually inherited within the kinship group; and in modern society, especially Western society, the usual inheritance is within the marriage group itself.

In summary, the functions of marriage and of the family which result from marital union are:

1. Biologically insuring the procreation of the group.
2. Caring for, protecting, supporting, and training the children resulting from the marital union.
3. Placing the new members in their social space.
4. Providing for and regulating sexual urges and the "parental instinct."
5. Furnishing a close, intimate companionship and cooperation.
6. Providing a basis for economic inheritance from members of one generation to members of another.

2. FORMS OF MARRIAGE

Although as an institution it is universal in human society, marriage exists in various forms. Many travelers in different countries have failed to understand the marriage customs within some groups and have reported that there was no marriage, that the people practiced promiscuous sexual relationships. More recently students have discovered that domestic institutions do exist among these primitive people and that their sexual activity is regulated by systems of mores, oftentimes

systems of great complexity. It is doubtful if any groups of people do exist or have ever existed wherein complete promiscuity, or unregulated sexual intercourse, was the approved custom.

There are two principal forms of marriage: monogamy and polygamy. Monogamy is the marriage of one man with one woman. Polygamy, however, involves more than two people within a marriage: one man may be married to more than one woman; one woman may be married to more than one man; or two or more men may be united in a marriage with two or more women. Polygamy is a marriage practice widely distributed in both time and place. It has existed during all periods of recorded history, and it is found in widely separated regions of the earth.

a. *Polyandry.* The terms used for the three different forms of polygamy are *polyandry*, *polygyny*, and *group marriage*. Polyandry is a form of marriage which is practiced in only a few isolated regions. It is found among certain natives of Tibet, among the Todas of India, and among certain other peoples. In these regions there is a disproportionate distribution of males among the population. In some instances, this may be or may have been because of the practice of female infanticide (killing girl babies). By this practice the natural balance between the sexes is disturbed, and more men grow to maturity than women. (But the fact that the number of men is greater than that of the women is not always due to infanticide.) In order to make provision for the unbalanced condition among the sexes, one woman may marry not just one man but a man and all of his brothers or even, in some instances, may marry men who are unrelated. Thus *polyandry means the marriage of one woman with more than one man.*[3]

b. *Polygyny.* On the other hand, there are other regions of the earth where fewer men than women are to be found. This may be explained by the fact that men wage wars and are consequently killed in great numbers. Also, their ordinary activities, hunting or herding, are more strenuous and dangerous than the activities engaged in by women. Consequently in these areas where there are more women who arrive at maturity than men, polygyny is frequently approved and followed. By this practice one man may marry more than one woman. As the account of the Cheyennes showed, they practiced polygyny. So did the ancient Hebrews of Old Testament times. Followers of the

[3] For a discussion of the point read: Edward Westermark, *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. III, pp. 52–100.

Mohammedan religion are permitted to practice polygyny. In fact, among groups in many parts of the world the practice of polygyny has been very widespread.

c. *Group marriage.* Group marriage as a practice is more restricted in its usage than either polyandry or polygyny. Group marriage is a custom among the Chuckchee of Siberia and among certain natives of Australia and others. In group marriage several men individually marry a like number of women. Then although each man is married to an individual woman, he also has concubinage rights to wives of other men in the group. Thus, there is, in effect, a system whereby a definite group of men, often brothers, marry a group of women and practice an exchange of wives among the members of the group.

d. *Monogamy.* While polygamy in its various forms is found existing as an approved practice among groups of people in many parts of the world, few if any people are known who practice polygamy as the exclusive or only form of marriage. *Monogamy, the marriage of one man with one woman,* probably exists among all groups of people; and certainly among all of the modern Western nations, it is the only approved form of marriage.

3. ELIGIBILITY TO MARRY

Who may be selected as a mate is a matter regulated either by custom in the form of unwritten mores of the group, or by legal codes reinforcing the customary sanctions.

a. *Marriage prohibited on the basis of kinship.* There is a widespread prohibition of marriage among people of close relationship. The restriction against brother-sister marriage, and against mother-son or father-daughter marriage is almost universal.[4] Other than that, there have always been great variations in the practices of different regions. For example, in some social groups, marriage of a man with the daughter of his sister (his niece) would be forbidden, but marriage with his brother's daughter (also his niece), his brother's granddaughter, the wife of his mother's brother, his father's sister, his daughter's daughter, the daughter of his sister's son, or the daughter of his mother's brother would not only be permitted but would be the expected union. In other tribes these particular marriage customs may not be practiced,

[4] The practice of brother-sister marriage has been found among members of certain royal families in order to limit their family lines, that is, Cleopatra married her own brother and she was the product of not less than eleven generations of brother-sister marriages. The practice was also found among the royal families in Hawaii and Peru.

but others equally strange to a member of Western society may be found instead.

b. *Restrictions in the United States.* At the present time in the United States, each state makes its own regulations governing marriage and fixing the eligibility to marry. The first requirement exacted by all states is that a person shall be married to but one mate at a time. Before a person who has been married shall remarry, he must be legally free from the bonds of the previous union. A man or woman who marries before he is free from a previous marriage commits bigamy and is subject to severe punishment under the laws of the state.

There are other uniform rules in the United States regarding eligibility to marry. All states provide that there shall be no marriage of brothers and sisters, of children and parents, of grandchildren and grandparents, of uncles and nieces, or of aunts and nephews. Such marriages would be regarded as incest and would not be sanctioned by custom or tolerated by law. More than half of the states also prohibit first cousin marriages, and six states do not allow second cousin marriages.[5] Furthermore, the Southern states have all passed laws against the marriage of whites and Negroes. By way of summary there are thirty states wherein people belonging to different races are not allowed to marry. Fourteen states forbid intermarriage of Mongolians and whites as well as forbid the marriage of whites with Negroes. Four states also forbid the marriage of whites with Indians. Two states prohibit the marriage of Negroes with Indians.

c. *Age for approved marriage.* According to the old common law which forms the basis of most of our state laws, males of fourteen years of age and females twelve years of age were eligible to marry. In the United States today all but ten states have changed the common law age by statute. The most generally adopted age standard in the United States is eighteen years for males and sixteen years for females. In all states, youths below a certain age must secure their parents' consent in order to consummate a legal marriage. By state law the usual age which has been established as the minimum for marriages to be performed without

[5] The states prohibiting first cousin marriages are: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Those states which prohibit second cousin marriages are: Indiana, Minnesota Nevada, Ohio, Washington, Wisconsin.

Chester G. Vernier, *American Family Laws*, Stanford University Press, 1931, pp. 176–181

parental consent, is twenty-one years for men and eighteen years for women. By common law the minimum ages established for marriage were approximately those of attaining manhood and womanhood in temperate climate. Usually, girls reach the pubescent period at about twelve years of age and boys at about fourteen years. Among primitive people who do not practice child marriage, young people are expected to marry shortly after they reach the period of puberty.

4. MEANS OF SECURING A WIFE

a. *Romantic love.* Our literature is filled with romantic passages describing young lovers in their courtship: a young man and a young woman as they stroll in the moonlight or float lazily in a boat over the surface of a moonlit lake, lagoon, bay, river, or bayou (according to the region in which the scene is located). Or perhaps the romantic pair is an urban couple. Then street lights must be substituted for the moon, a city street or a public park for the landscape, an auto and the public highway for the boat and the moonlit water. Or perhaps the scene is located in a motion picture theater or in a ballroom. Always there is a couple, a young man and a young woman. They are always young — the girl is always beautiful, slender, and bewitching; the man is always tall, virile, and commanding. They may have known each other no longer than one evening as they chanced to meet on the ballroom floor, but they are "madly" in love. Of course, they marry, and as the fable goes, "they live happily ever after."

This is the American stereotype — "boy meets girl." Courtship is the prerogative of those who are to marry. They are the parties involved. Courtship concerns no one else. If they "love each other," all other considerations must be swept aside as of no moment. What else could weigh in the scales against romantic love?

Such is not the universal ideal, however. As Reuter and Runner say:

> It is in the United States that perhaps the only, at any rate the most complete, demonstration of romantic love as the prologue or theme of marriage has been staged. The explanation lies not far afield. The relaxation of paternal control over courtship has changed marriage into a romantic adventure instead of a serious and responsible undertaking in which not merely the family but the state was concerned. . . . Naturally, then, romantic love tends to consider the person, not the type, and personality traits, as beauty, charm, individuality, rather than family wealth, and social standing.[6]

[6] Edward Byron Reuter and Jessie Ridgeway Runner, *The Family*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1931, p 120 Reprinted by permission.

In other regions, among primitive people, among people of ancient civilizations, among the orientals, and to a certain extent among the Western societies of Europe, marriage was and is regarded as a matter which involves the welfare of the families and of society in general. It is a man's and a woman's duty to marry, and in such an important matter the decision is not left to the immature, inexperienced youths. As the account of the Cheyennes showed, the parents and close relatives are consulted and the final decision rests in their hands. Among the French, arrangement for the marriage of two young people is left almost entirely in the hands of their parents.

Although marriage is arranged by the families of the young couple or by the elders of the group to which they belong, the young people's wishes are usually regarded to some extent, and seldom are marriages consummated where actual distaste or aversion exists between the young people. The theory seems to be that if two young people of similar social backgrounds are brought together in marriage, their life together will not be unhappy. In fact, an actual fondness for each other will develop. Congeniality, rather than romantic love, is considered a sound basis for marriage.

b. *Wife stealing.* In popular articles describing primitive society one often sees references to "wife stealing" or "marriage by capture," as though at one time it were the approved way of securing a wife. The term implies the capture of a woman, or women, of one group by a man or men of another group. There is no doubt that isolated cases of wife stealing existed in all early societies, but probably in no group did it ever reach the state of frequency where it was the customary or approved manner of securing a wife. Perhaps early explorers and visitors among the primitive groups did not understand the prevailing marriage customs of exogamous groups.[7] The apparent capture of a wife instead of being a true case of wife stealing was often merely a symbolic ceremony designed to show the reluctance of the girl's relatives and friends to part with her. It was a testimony of the affection in which the girl was held by her group or family, and the stealing or capture was symbolic rather than real.

[7] The term *exogamous* refers to a common requirement in many primitive societies that a man must secure his wife from some group other than his own. In our own society exogamous marriage is the rule in the sense that a person is not expected to marry within his own family group.

The opposite of exogamous marriage is *endogamous* marriage In that case the man is expected or required to marry within his own group. In the United States marriages are largely endogamous in that people marry largely within their own racial, economic, religious, and political groups

c. *Wife purchase.* Wife purchase has been widely approved as a method of securing a wife. The theory back of the payment of goods, services, or money for a wife is that the woman is an economic asset to the group of which she is a member. She is capable of working to produce economic goods. When she is married, her services are transferred to another group. The group which loses her labor services must be recompensed by the one which is to gain from the marriage.

Sometimes the formality of purchasing a wife develops into an elaborate system of exchange of gifts between the members of two groups involved. This seems to have been true among the Cheyenne Indians.

The custom whereby the wife's family provided a dowry in the form of goods or wealth to go with the bride in marriage may have had its origin in the practice of compensating a family group for the loss of a producing agent as mentioned above. Thus, among many of the most primitive families the man, when he marries, goes to live with or near his wife's family — that is shown to be true in the Cheyenne marriage described at the beginning of the chapter. Under these conditions the family of the young man loses the worker and producer, so it is only fair that the compensation is paid to them instead of to the bride's family who gains by the marriage.

5. MARRIAGE CEREMONY

In the United States marriage is regulated by state law, and before two prospective mates may be married, they are required to secure a legal permit, a marriage license. In some instances, the marriage ceremony is performed by a legal officer, such as a justice of the peace, and the proceedings are of a purely civil nature. More commonly the actual wedding ceremony, after the legal permit is secured, is conducted by some religious leader, such as a pastor of a Protestant Church or a priest of the Catholic Church. The religious leader acts as an agent for the state and certifies to the state that the couple are legally married according to all the required forms.

Among certain primitive groups and in some modern nations, such as Russia, marriage is purely a civil contract, with no religious implications whatever; whereas other groups hold that marriage is mainly or solely a religious act and should be regulated by the prevailing religion.

It is customary among practically all societies that the joining of two people in marriage should be attended by some characteristic ceremony. The form of ceremony may be very simple, such as the two eating rice

from a bowl to symbolize their unity; or it may be elaborate as shown by some of the famous royal marriages. The idea, in all instances, is to announce to the world at large that the two are united as man and wife.

6. PLACE OF RESIDENCE

a. *In the United States.* After the marriage is consummated, it is customary in the United States for the young couple to set up their abode by themselves. They live neither with the family of the man nor with the relatives of the woman. They establish a new family and a private home; it may be a hotel room, an apartment, or a separate house. Theoretically, they are independent of the families of the husband and the wife alike, self-supporting, and self-sufficient. Although there usually exists the closest ties of love and friendship between the newly established family and their parents, there is no legal or moral bond which gives either of the longer established families the right to control the actions of the members of the newly formed marriage group. They are not required to obey their parents, nor are they required by law to support the older people. Formerly, while there was no legal compulsion which required a married son or daughter to support and care for his father and mother, custom decreed that should the father and mother be indigent, the sons and the daughters should provide a home for them and care for their needs. With the growth of urbanism, the custom has weakened considerably and apparently the attitude is growing that provision for these indigents is the duty of society and not of the members of the family alone.

b. *Matrilocal residence.* As indicated, the practice of the newly married couple among the Cheyenne Indians is to occupy a new lodge, which has been prepared by the girl's mother, near the lodge of the girl's parents. After the marriage, the young man becomes closer to his wife's family than to his own. He works to supply his wife and her family with food. The custom of going to live with or near the wife's family is called *matrilocal.* Although under the matrilocal system it is customary for the wife to continue her permanent residence with her family, it is not the universal practice that the husband establish his residence there. He may do so or he may visit his wife there periodically, or the wife may visit him at regular intervals in his abode. Often this form of marriage relationship is associated with polygyny and a pastoral economy. As the herds consume the grass in certain regions, the men are forced to move their headquarters from place to place dur-

ing the year. For this reason, it seems desirable that the herders have a wife living with her parents near each location.

Matrilocal residence after marriage is a custom which is very widespread in its use. It was characteristic of the American Indian, many native tribes of Africa (such as the Bushmen and the Pygmies of the Congo regions), the inhabitants of Northern and Central Asia, and many others.

c. *Patrilocal residence.* On the other hand, it has long been the established custom in China that the young bride should go to the home of her husband and become another member of the family along with his unmarried sisters, his brothers, the wife or wives of his brothers, his parents, and in some cases, his grandparents. This system whereby the wife goes to live with the husband's family is called *patrilocal.* It is very often associated with the patriarchal family, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

7. WOMAN'S PLACE IN SOCIETY

a. *Division of labor on the basis of sex.* The earliest and most universal division of labor is on the basis of sex. Always the duties performed by women are different from those in the hands of men, and it is the usual condition that occupations held high in the esteem of the group are those of men rather than of women. Among the hunting and fishing societies, hunting was a masculine pursuit, whereas dressing the meat and the skins of the slain animals was a part of the duties of women. Among groups who regard agriculture with little respect, women are the tillers of the soil. Among pastoral people, active care of the animals is man's work and is highly esteemed. Among agricultural groups who have high regard for farming, tillage of the soil is largely man's province, although women are expected to grow small patches of vegetables for home consumption. Especially is this true in rural America where farming is a man's work, but a woman may raise a garden, care for the poultry, and "chore-around."

There has always been a certain amount of jealousy and competition between the sexes over division of labor. Women who are able to perform men's tasks feel a certain amount of pride in their accomplishment. On the other hand, a man would be eternally disgraced in the eyes of everyone if he should be required to perform the duties of a woman. Among certain primitive groups boys were required to associate with women and perform women's duties until they could manifest their

manliness by some deeds of strength, skill, or courage, or pass some ordeals set up to test manliness. Nothing was a greater disgrace than for a boy beyond a certain age to be unable to pass the test of manhood and thus to be forced to continue the duties of women. Even in America a sharp division of labor on the basis of sex is maintained, and it is not the tasks of women which are glorified or esteemed.[8]

b. *Women in the professions.* Few of our professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, or the ministry contain an appreciable number of women. In the field of education there is a considerable number of female teachers, but even here women usually occupy the positions in the elementary or secondary schools rather than in the colleges and universities. The number of women who enter the professions, however, was steadily increasing in most of the nations of the western world, especially in the United States prior to the second World War. With the advent of war, women entered many fields formerly held exclusively by men. For instance, almost all branches of the military service were opened to women, who were granted commissions in the army, navy, and in the marine corps. On the other hand, in the Fascist nations, Italy and Germany, before the war the reverse trend appeared. Women in those nations were discouraged from entering colleges and universities, and they were no longer entering the professions in any considerable numbers.

c. *Women in religion.* In the field of religion women have always played an inferior rôle. Women could serve as Vestal Virgins, "Brides of the Church," nuns, but seldom, if ever, as the chief religious officers, such as priests, pastors, elders, or bishops. In most of our Protestant Churches women are the "pillars of the church" and make up a large part of its membership, but men sit on the governing bodies, determine the church policies, and receive most of the honor and recognition. The same condition is also largely true in the Catholic Church and in the Jewish Church.

d. *Women in politics.* Politically, also, men have occupied the highest positions of prominence. There are few societies, indeed, wherein women have occupied the important positions of political leadership. To be sure, in some instances women have occupied the thrones of powerful nations; yet these examples are significant and attract attention because of their rarity. Almost without exception a woman who became the head of a government did so because there was no man of royal blood

[8] This is very forcefully portrayed in a novel, *The Home Maker*, by Dorothy Canfield.

available for the position. In modern society it is only within the present century that women have been granted political rights. Women were granted the right to vote in the United States in 1920. In certain other nations the franchise was granted to women at about the same period of time: Russia, 1917; Finland, 1906; Norway, 1913; Denmark, 1915; Sweden, 1921; Spain, 1926; Germany, 1918; Turkey, 1925. Although women are granted the franchise in England and in the United States, relatively few women are elected to office. In 1944, fourteen women were serving in the British House of Commons, 2.2 per cent of the total number; in 1945, nine women were serving in the United States House of Representatives, 2.1 per cent of the membership. At the present time all forty-eight state governors are men. Since the advent of woman suffrage in the United States, only two women have been elected governor of a state — Mrs. Nellie Ross in Wyoming and Mrs. James (Ma) Ferguson in Texas. Only one woman has ever been elected United States Senator, Mrs. Hattie Caraway of Arkansas. She was retired from office in the election of 1944.

e. *Customary rights of women.* The legal and customary rights of women vary widely among societies. As among the Cheyenne Indians, many primitve groups allowed women much freedom of action within their customary spheres, and their influence was great in all matters of the group. Among other primitive societies, women had little or no voice in the state affairs, but in practically no instances were wives regarded in the same category as slaves. Although a husband might purchase his wife and although she represented economic worth to him, he was not free to sell her again. In fact, there seems to exist in most primitive groups a rough sort of equality between the sexes, the duties assigned to the different sexes being fixed by customs which have their roots in the physical needs of the group.

In ancient Greece, woman's place was a very unenviable one indeed. She received little consideration and was not highly esteemed. In fact, in Athens the wives of the aristocracy were regarded as a necessary evil, or inconvenience, in order to guarantee the continuation of the group. They were not honored by either their husbands or their sons. Plato sounded a new note for the Greeks when he argued that women should be given essentially equal rights with men and that there should be no division of labor on the basis of sex. Aristotle, however, averred that women were by nature inferior to men and that their natural position was that of subordination.

In ancient Rome, women gained a great amount of freedom. They could control property; the consent of the prospective wife became essential to marriage, and divorce became the free choice of either the woman or the man. Among the Romans, women possessed more freedom and rights than at any later time until comparatively recent years.

In the early days of Christianity women were deprived of most of the rights held under the Roman law. The ascetic, celibate life was the approved life. Marriage was a compromise with sin, and women were looked upon as a source of evil. The canon law institutionalized male dominance. Women were subject to their husbands and had no recourse to divorce. In spite of the romantic idealism of Chivalry, the lot of women was but little changed until the Reformation liberalized many religious views, including the ideas of marriage and divorce. Luther looked upon marriage as a civil contract. Since a civil contract may be broken, so marriage may be dissolved by divorce.

Industrialization and its corollary, urbanization, had great influence in further modifying the place of women in society. Women found a place in industry. Even though they often worked under intolerable conditions for long hours and were exploited, they found themselves in a measure independent of masculine support.

Under common law practices, within individual states during the early days of the Union, the position of women was that of subordination to men. A wife could own no property in her own name; she could not make a legal contract. If she worked, her husband could collect her wages. More recently, states have modified the practices that come under common law, and women have been granted legal rights approximating those of men. However, there are still 6 states in the Union wherein women do not possess their own earnings, and there are still 25 states in which women do not have the absolute right of contract.

8. RECENT MARRIAGE TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Many persons have the idea that recent changes which have taken place in the United States such as the growth of cities, the mechanization of industry, the employment of women outside the home, the increased number of divorces, and the decline in the birth rate have been accompanied by a decline in the marriage rate and by a rise in the marriage age of individuals. With the emancipation of women and the occupation of men in industries unrelated to the home, it has been argued that fewer women will submit to the ties of matrimony when

they can provide for their own needs and economic support without giving up their freedom, and that fewer men will assume the responsibilities of supporting a wife and maintaining a home when neither are essential to their economic success. Actually both assumptions are far from the truth. As Baber says, "not only are we one of the 'most married' people in the Western Hemisphere, but for several decades we have been steadily becoming 'more married'; that is, the percentage of the population married has risen." * The truth of the statement can be seen by Tables 7, 20, and 21.

The recent trend in the United States has been toward an increase in

TABLE 20. MARRIAGE IN MODERN COUNTRIES *

Country	Average Number Marriages per Year			Marriages per 1000 Inhabitants			
	1921–1925	1935	1937	1931–1935	1935	1936	1937
Canada	66,078	76,893	87,800	6 4	7.0	7.3	7.9
Argentina	63,112	80,880	86,503	6 5	6 9	7.0	7.2
Japan	516,478	556,730	674,500	7.6	8.0	7 8	9.5
Germany	590,562	651,435	620,265	9 3	9.7	9.1	9.1
France	380,685	284,895	274,122	7.4	6 8	6 7	6 6
Italy	325,591	287,653	377,219	6 8	6.7	7.4	8 7
Norway	17,000	20,511	23,910	6.5	7.1	7.8	8.3
United Kingdom	343,571	396,368	406,134	7.9	8.5	8 5	8.6
New Zealand	10,188	12,187	14,364	7.3	8 2	9.3	9 6
Egypt	.	210,790	209,838	.	13.5	13.8	13.2
United States	1,180,141	1,327,000	1,426,000	9.2	10 4	10.7	11.0

* League of Nations, *Statistical Year-Book*, Geneva, 1939, p. 36

TABLE 21. PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES FIFTEEN YEARS OLD AND OVER MARRIED, BY SEX, 1900–1940 *

Year	Per Cent Married		
	Both Sexes	Males	Females
1900	55.7	54.5	57.0
1910	57.3	55.8	58.9
1920	59.9	59.2	60.6
1930	60.5	60.0	61.1
1940	61.1	61.2	61.0

* United States Census Reports.

* Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1939, pp. 17–18. Reprinted by permission.

the number of married people both actually and in relation to the total population. Likewise more young people marry in our present society than did a generation ago. Ogburn points out in *Recent Social Trends* that among the young men and women 15 to 19 years of age, there were 15 more married out of every 1000 in 1930 than in 1890; for the ages of 20 to 24 there were 73 more married out of every 1000 of the population.[10]

C. *Summary*

Marriage is defined as the cohabitation of a man and a woman, or of men and women, in socially approved union. The most important functions of marriage and of the family are: (1) the reproduction of the group; (2) the care, protection, support and training of the young; (3) the provision of social status to each new member of society; (4) the regulation of the sexual urges and of the "parental instinct"; (5) the provision of a close and intimate companionship and form of cooperation between the sexes; (6) the provision of a basis for the economic inheritance from members of one generation to the members of another.

There are two main forms of marriage: monogamy and polygamy. Monogamy is the most widely practiced form of marriage throughout almost all if not all parts of the world, but forms of polygamy have been widely practiced in ancient and modern times. There are three forms of polygamy: polyandry, the marriage of two or more men with one woman; polygyny, the marriage of one man with more than one woman; and group marriage, the marriage of two or more men with an equal number of women whereby each man has concubinage rights to the wives of the other men in the group.

In all societies there always have been certain regulations as to whom a man may select as his mate. The most common basis for restricting a man's choice of a wife is kinship. Close relatives are almost universally prohibited from marrying. In the United States members of one race are frequently prohibited from marrying individuals of another race. Bigamy — having more than one wife or husband at a time — is a crime in all states with penalties for violating the code varying according to state law. All states provide some regulation of marriage on the basis of the age of the individuals involved. The age limits vary in different states. In the United States the approved way of securing a mate is through the process of courtship. The individuals who are to

[10] McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, p. 680.

marry select their own mates. "Romantic love" as a basis for marriage is the American ideal. In many other countries the young people often have little voice in the selection of their mates. The decision is made on the basis of family solidarity and welfare, with the individuals who are to marry being more or less passive agents in the transaction. Marriage by capture, or wife stealing, is rarely if ever found in any society as an approved way of securing a wife. On the other hand wife purchase is a very common way of securing a mate in many countries. In reality the economic transaction may be regarded as an exchange of gifts or as a repayment by one group for the loss which is sustained by another.

Marriage is usually accompanied by some kind of ceremony for the purpose of announcing to the world at large that the individuals are united in an approved union, and that they are entitled to the rights and consideration which marriage gives them in their particular society.

After marriage the young people may, as in the United States, establish a home of their own wherein they are legally supreme. They may live with or near the family of the wife, and the young man may aid in supplying the wife's family with its material needs (matrilocal residence); or they may live with the husband's family and act as members of this family (patrilocal residence).

It has always been an almost universal rule of human society that the position of woman does not carry as high social esteem as that of man. Human society has been referred to as a "man's world," for in almost all fields of human activity, the positions of honor have gone and continue to go to men rather than to women.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you define or describe institutions? How do institutions originate and develop?
2. Which of the functions of marriage and the family are most important in modern society? Explain.
3. Differentiate polygamy from polygyny.
4. Compare rural and urban courtship in modern America. Do you think the fact that rural marriages tend to be more permanent can in any way be related to the courtship patterns characteristic of rural people?

5. Compare the place of American, European, and Asiatic women in their respective societies.
6. What evidences can be found to indicate that Americans are not so insistent that men and women hold to a sharp division of labor on the basis of sex?
7. Are women in America accepted on a plane of absolute equality with men? Give illustrations to prove your point.
8. Is there danger, judging from recent trends in American society, that marriage will become an obsolete institution, one which will be discarded?
9. How does the number of married people in proportion to the total population in the United States compare with that in Japan, Canada, or Egypt?

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CHAPTER 10

The Family

OFTEN THE TERMS *marriage* and *the family* are used interchangeably as though they defined identical functions. In a strict sense these terms should not be so used. Certainly the two institutions are very closely related and inseparable, but whereas *marriage* means the recognized union of two or more persons of opposite sex, *the family* is the product or the result of that union. A family may be simply a married couple; it may include a man, his wife, and minor children; or it may be a genetic group embracing a man and his wife or wives, their sons with their sons' wives and children, together with their unmarried daughters.

In a true sense there can be no family except through the institution of marriage; as a matter of fact, in some groups a marriage is not recognized as a true marriage until children result from the union. On this account one might be led to believe that marriage as an institution is antecedent to the family, or that the family is an outgrowth of marriage. However, the question as to which institution precedes the other in time or significance is like the old controversy as to which came first, the hen or the egg. Each is indispensable to the other. In some cultures marriage is rooted in the family. The parents choose the wife or husband of their son or daughter with the aim of maintaining the family prestige or status. One of the functions of marriage is to determine the place in society of each individual, the product of marital union. This fixation of the individual's social position is in the family. *A*, the son of Mr. and Mrs. *X*, has his position fixed because, through the marriage of his parents, he became a member of their family line. Thus marriage is an instrument of the family. For our purpose, however, it is sufficient to point out that the terms are in a true sense not synonymous and that *the family* is a broader, more inclusive designation.

A. *Types of Families*

The type of family found in different regions varies greatly in time and place: at different periods of time in man's history the form of

family life existing in a particular region has changed very greatly; and different types of families are found in different regions during the same period of time.

1. PRIMITIVE FAMILIES

a. *Maternal family.* In the society of primitive man, the *maternal family* was probably the earliest form. It consisted of the mother, her children, and her brothers and sisters. The father and his brothers and sisters lived in another family group — that of their mother line. In this type of family, motherhood was of course definitely recognized, although fatherhood was not. With very early man an understanding of the nature of conception was often lacking, and pregnancy, instead of being regarded as the perfectly natural result of intercourse between two persons of opposite sex, was thought to be due to some supernatural force, such as spirits in the wind, in stones, in animals, or even in fruit. Since fatherhood was not understood, it was only natural that the family group centered around the mother. *Matrilineal descent* was associated with this type of family; children traced their ancestry through the mother line rather than through the father line.

Often associated with the maternal family is a custom known as *avunculate*. By this custom the mother's brothers (the maternal uncles of the children) are responsible for the protection, discipline, training, and even for the support of their nieces and nephews.

In the description of domestic life among the Cheyenne Indians, the newly married couple had a lodge located near that of the wife's family. This relationship constituted a *matrilocal* form of conjugal group; it is almost universally connected with the maternal family. Ancestry among the Cheyennes is traced through the mother line, and the mother is the recognized head of the family.

b. *Patriarchal family.* As human beings evolved in the realm of culture from the hunting and fishing state to the pastoral stage, the position of man in society changed. Previously his work had been that of hunting, fishing, collecting fruits and nuts, and engaging in warfare for the protection of his group or for the expansion of the group's territory. He had little concern with the rearing of children. During this period of cultural development, people had few economic possessions. Land was not owned individually, and the fruits of an area were gathered collectively by members of the group. A man owned little except

his war and hunting implements and his clothing. There was little or no economic wealth to transmit from one generation to another.

With the development of pastoral societies, wealth came into being in the form of animals raised for food, for clothing, or for use in travel. Men were the herders, and ownership of the animals was vested in them rather than in the women. With the ownership of economic goods came the need for a system of inheritance from one generation to another.

Among pastoral people is usually found a characteristic type of family life, the *patriarchal family*. Here the father is recognized head of the household. Often his authority over his wife or wives, his unmarried daughters, and his sons and their families is limited only by existing customs. Likewise, his responsibilities for the members of the family group are almost unlimited. The authority of the patriarchal head of the family appears in the account of Jacob in the Old Testament. His word was the final authority, and the family did not move into Egypt until he gave his approval.

Another characteristic of the patriarchal family is that the social position of women is not as high as that of men. Not only is the father the head of the family, but his sons occupy a much more prominent place than his daughters; especially important is the oldest son, who inherits his father's position as head of the household. In fact, the Bible hardly mentions the daughters, but it does not fail to name the sons

2. FAMILIES IN ANCIENT-HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The early Romans had a characteristic type of patriarchal family life; but, unlike the Hebrews, among whom it was customary for a man to have more than one wife, the Romans did not permit more than one wife to a family. Among the Romans, as among the Hebrews, the father was the head of the family.

> The paterfamilias had absolute power over his children and other agnatic descendents. He decided whether or not the new-born child should be reared; he punished what he regarded as misconduct with penalties as severe as banishment, slavery, death; he alone could own and exchange property — all that his descendents earned or acquired in any way was his; according to the letter of the law, they were little better than his chattels.[1]

[1] Harold Whetstone Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*, Scott, Foresman & Co., New York, 1932, p. 31. Reprinted by permission.

As a matter of fact, judged from our individualistic standpoint, conditions were not exactly as they appear. The father's authority was limited not by law but by custom. Legally he owned the property and received the earnings of his descendents, not as an individual, but as head of the family; also he was bound to care for and to be responsible for the acts of these members.

3. MODERN FAMILIES

The typical family among the Chinese is patriarchal.[2] There the old man, his wives, concubines, and slaves together with his unmarried daughters, his sons, their wives, concubines, slaves, and children are subject to the rule of the father. At his death the authority passes to his first wife. Often all the members of this family group live in the same household.

In the typical family of the Western World one finds a modification of the patriarchal form. The father is the recognized head of the household, but he has lost much of his former authority and recognition; the position of women has correspondingly changed until the woman is often the actual, if not the recognized or nominal, head. There is no longer the tendency, as a universal practice, for children to continue living with their parents after they reach maturity. Consequently, parents exercise very little authority over children thereafter.

4. THE AMERICAN FAMILY

The early settlers in the New World brought with them the culture patterns of their respective homelands. Because most of the early settlers of the original Thirteen States immigrated from England, they had in the beginning a common culture, except for differences based on religion. For example, the Puritans of Massachusetts believed that the duty of the state was to teach every individual to read the *Bible* for the soul's salvation. On the other hand, the Anglicans of Virginia believed that the responsibility for teaching and reading rested on the family, not on the state. For that reason the schools established in Virginia were to be charity or pauper institutions, not intended for the general public.

a. *Early regional differences.* In the beginning the type of family life in the North and the South was very similar, simply the patriarchal family transplanted from England. The family was made up of the parents,

[2] A description of the patriarchal family is to be found in *The Good Earth*, by Pearl S. Buck.

their unmarried children, and anv indentured servants, all subject to the customary authority of the father as head of the household.

The ideal of the early American was to conquer the wilderness. To accomplish this, large families were desirable. Marriage took place at an early age, and the newly married couples, unlike traditional European sons, did not remain on the homestead of their fathers, but moved west to new land and established new homes and new families.

With the difference in physical environment, marked changes in the original culture pattern took place. In New England, the soil was stony, the country hilly; the farms, located in the valleys, were of necessity small, and surrounded by hostile Indians whose lands the settlers had appropriated. The proximity of these aborigines made it desirable that the early settlers live in villages or towns as a protective measure. In the South, on the other hand, the regions of settlement were more flat, and better suited to agriculture on a large scale; the Indians were more tractable; rivers and streams were usually deep and navigable for some distance from the sea, so that they served as available highways for communication between the interior and the coastal ports or the homeland across the sea. These conditions were favorable to settlement on farms, or plantations, rather than in villages and towns. Through the desire for the extension of holdings, these plantations often grew into princely estates which included thousands of acres, a palatial dwelling called the "Big House," and an army of slaves or indentured servants. Richard Lee, the first of the Lee family of Virginia, settled in the tidewater region of Virginia in 1640. He had 13,000 acres of tobacco soil, a household of six children, and about one hundred indentured servants. Among the early families, when finances were sufficient, the ownership of indentured servants and later of slaves was common, both in the North and in the South. However, the geography in the North was not favorable to large scale agriculture except in a few regions such as the valleys of large rivers; for this reason, indentured servants and slaves were economically not profitable in the Northern sections of the country, and the practice of using unwilling labor soon came to be characteristic of the South, rather than of the North.

This change had its influence on the type of family characteristic of the two sections. In the North, the family was limited to the parents and unmarried children; whereas in the South the slaves came to be a characteristic part of the household. Although the majority of Southern families did not possess slaves, the slave owners set the pattern; and

the ideal toward which Southern families aspired was that of a household with Negro slaves to do heavy work and drudgery.

Under the conditions which pioneer families faced, women could not possibly continue in the position they had held in the Old World. Pioneer women stood shoulder to shoulder with their pioneer husbands. They not only bore children (families of twelve or more children were not uncommon), but they spun and wove the material for the clothing of the family, cooked and prepared the food, raised a garden, cared for poultry; during an Indian attack, they defended their home alongside their menfolks. The lot of the pioneer women was hard, but it was not one which made for their subordination or subjection. Furthermore, certain outstanding women such as Abigail Adams, Martha Washington, and a host of others assumed positions of leadership when, for reasons of politics, business, or war, their husbands were away. By their heroism and ability, women often came to receive recognition equal to that given to men.

Another influence which no doubt had considerable weight in the changed rôles and activities of women was the preponderantly male population of the New World. For that reason men competed for white women as wives. The law of supply and demand operates in the matrimonial as well as in the economic world; for it was in the Western States, where the shortage of women was most acute, that the first laws were passed providing political equality for women. As a consequence of the various factors operating in the New World, women in the United States have had greater freedom and more civil rights than in other countries.

b. *Rural family.* With the growth of cities, families came to be differentiated on still another basis, that is, the degree of urbanity. The typical American family has come to resemble more the early Northern family than the early Southern family. The father is still the nominal head of his family, but it is understood that the position of the mother is not basically inferior; in fact, her actual influence may be greater. Within the American family, moreover, children remain a recognized part of the family circle only so long as they are unmarried or not self-supporting.

Although both rural and urban families have these common characteristics, they have certain fundamental differences. The rural family is a unit. First, the father, the mother, and the children are united in the economic activities of the farm. The father does the actual field

labor with the help of sons who are able to work; the wife with the aid of her daughters keeps the house, cooks the food, and performs various housewifely duties; the wife usually raises poultry and may have a vegetable garden to supplement the family supply of food. If the farm includes a home dairy, the care of the milk utensils usually falls to the woman, the care of the livestock and the milking to the man.

Then, too, since the rural family is both closely united by economic interests, and largely isolated from other families, the rural home is generally the recreational center for members of the household. In early pioneer households, home recreation was far more important, but even today rural young people find much of their recreation either in their own homes, the homes of their neighbors, or in pastimes which are planned in and through their homes. In certain rural sections it has been and still is common not only for the young people but also for the adults to participate in recreational activities. During the early years of the present century, for example, in the Rocky Mountain regions, whole families might often be seen driving miles to a community dance. Parents with infants still in arms, adolescent youths, young people — all were loaded into wagons, surreys, and other conveyances. Older members joined in the dance with the young; usually the "calling out" of the formations in the dance was done by some middle-aged man. These festivities usually lasted all night, and a "good time was enjoyed by all." With the introduction of commercial amusement and the urbanization of society, this community and family type of recreation became less common, but examples of it are still to be found in the more remote rural sections.

Among rural families religion plays a very important part. Children receive religious instruction at their parents' knees; stories of the Old Testament become a part of their early experiences and Biblical doctrines become deeply ingrained in their social consciousness. No wonder, then, that it is in rural sections that the dogmas of the established church become so firmly fixed and are so resistant to change.

The rural home has also played an important part in education. Home education is often more enduring than the formal type received in public schools. In the home, peculiar manners of speech become fixed; boys receive practical training in farming, girls in housekeeping; religious beliefs, group customs, moral principles, and ideals become engrained in the young generations through the teachings of parents.

Within rural families, group unity is strongly established and group

responsibility for less fortunate members is keenly felt. Although sons or daughters may leave the parental home, they feel that in case of misfortune they may always return and be received with outstretched arms. Similarly, younger members feel that failure to provide shelter and care for their needy, aging parents would subject them to their neighbors' scorn and to eternal damnation in the world to come. The addition of one or two members in the rural household means only that some potatoes, pork, canned fruit, and vegetables usually available will be put into use sooner than otherwise. Rooms and beds may have to be shared with other members of the household. The new member is usually no great financial burden to the family, since he can work around the farm or the house. An aged father taken into a rural family can do much light work to help pay for his food, and thus will not feel that he is entirely useless nor a burden on son or daughter. An aging mother can also be of great assistance to "her family" by helping to care for the children and to relieve the younger woman of many duties and responsibilities.

c. *Urban family.* The urban family, on the other hand, has little of the economic unity of the rural household. The home has become an economic consuming unit, not a producing unit. The father is away from morning to night engaged in the economic activities of earning a living for himself and his family. The family is not directly interested in the occupation of the father and gives it little thought so long as the regular earnings are received. Often the mother has to work as well as the father, and the young children are then left in the care of a day nursery or some other agency. At night, when the family is together, the father is tired from the daily routine — or he must appear tired, for otherwise he must have a "soft job"; he carries out the appearance of fatigue as effectively as though it were real, so the children are "shooed" to bed or out of the house in order not to disturb him in his relaxation. The children thus grow up without becoming acquainted with their father, and he in turn knows little about their activities, unless they get in trouble and threaten to "disgrace his good name." On the mother rests almost the sole responsibility for rearing the young, except where she also works, and then the children are largely left to their own devices when they are not in the care of some hired attendant.

Under urban conditions there are few opportunities for recreation as a family activity. Instead, each person occupies himself as his environment and inclinations dictate. The children play in the public streets,

the public playgrounds, or wherever they can find space and congenial surroundings. As the children grow older, their contacts with their parents become fewer and less intimate. They are not interested in what their parents are doing, and they resent any close scrutiny of their own activities.

Under urban conditions, religious training is also greatly weakened. Parents do not have opportunity to instruct children in religious beliefs, and although some send their young to religious schools on Sunday, the majority do not even do that. Consequently, many urban children grow to maturity with little or no religious influence or instruction.

Public or private day nurseries, kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools to a very great extent relieve the city family of its educational responsibilities.

When boys or girls of urban homes reach the age of self-support, it is necessary for them to go out "on their own" to make a living. Although, of course, the family will do all in its power to aid grown children who have met with misfortunes, its opportunities to do so are more limited than are the rural family's. There is usually no space for the unfortunate member, and the family is frequently not in a financial position to give much aid. Every additional mouth to feed means additional financial outlay. The average urban family has no preserved fruit or canned vegetables. The food supply is purchased from the near-by grocery store in quantities sufficient for no more than a few days at most. Space is also at a premium, for the typical American urban family lives in a rented house or apartment. As rent is charged in accordance with the number of rooms in the dwelling, the family manages to live in the least space possible for its social position. The addition of new adult members seriously disturbs the spatial arrangement.

The urban family, by the very manner of its living, is reluctant to offer food and shelter to unfortunate relatives, even if it can afford to do so. Urban children feel less responsibility for their aged parents than do children in rural life; consequently, society must accept the burden of providing for the aged.

Under urban conditions children are a financial burden and the married couple without children is likely to be in much stronger financial position than the couple with children to support. In the rural family, on the other hand, children soon reach an age and a stage of development where they can engage in light tasks; in a short time they

serve to lighten the economic burden and even become an economic asset. Naturally then, under such conditions, families in country sections tend to be larger and the birth rate higher than in urban sections.

5. CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY

The family as an institution is rooted in the children resulting from the sexual union. The perpetuation of the group and the continuation of the culture of that group are social needs which are and in all known societies have been met by the characteristic family. For that reason it is desirable to examine the place of children in the family, and to see how they are regarded and treated by their parents.

a. *Primitive society.* Primitive people are often spoken of as "savages." The inference is that they are cruel, bloodthirsty, and inhuman. Such adjectives, however, are not truly descriptive of the way primitive people treat their own children. It has often been remarked that primitive people "spoil their children" and do not discipline them. Corporal punishment of children is almost unknown in primitive society. Missionaries attempting to use discipline in teaching the children of "savages" find great difficulty in dealing with the parents, especially the mothers.

Parental love, especially mother love, is witnessed so frequently in our modern society that it has come to be accepted by many people as an instinctive trait. Certainly it is a trait which appears among all animals, from the lower forms of mammals through the anthropoids to primitive and civilized man. An example of mother love among the monkeys is seen in an account of Mr. Fitzsimons in Robert Briffault's, *The Mothers*:

> The affection of the mother monkey for her baby is so great that it dominates her completely. When dangers threaten, she quite forgets herself in her anxiety for her helpless offspring. I was with a Dutch farmer in Natal one day when we happened to surprise some monkeys in the orchard. They sprang in haste to the ground and made off to the adjacent thorny thicket. The dogs gave chase, and a female with a rather heavy youngster in her arms could not keep pace with the rest, and realizing that it was impossible to reach the safety of the thicket in time, sprang up an isolated tree, and in a moment the dogs were howling at her from below. I tried to dissuade my friend from shooting her, but he was so exasperated by the damage wrought by these monkeys from time to time that he raised his gun and fired. Seeing him in the act of firing, the

mother monkey swung around, placing her body between the gun and her child. She received the charge of shot in her back, and came tumbling down through the branches, clutching vainly at them as she fell. We drove off the dogs, and turning to observe her, we noticed that she was cowering over the young one, still seeking to protect it with her body. Hugging her baby tight to her breast, she regarded us with a world of sadness in her eyes. . . . We forgot for the moment that she was but a monkey, for her actions and expressions were so human that we felt we had committed a crime.

Briffault gives many instances to illustrate the characteristic attitude of primitive people toward their own children:

The manifestations of maternal affection in savage people resemble more closely those of the higher animals. They were more fierce, more impulsive, and probably more shallow and less durable than in civilized mothers.

Among the Indians of Guiana the extreme love of the mothers for their children has been noted, while the father is said to take little notice of them.

Among the Patagonians a child is the object of the whole love of its parents, who, if necessary, will submit themselves to the greatest privations to satisfy its least wants or exactions.

The women of the Orinoco, when their children are ailing, perforate their own tongue with a skewer and cover the child's body with their blood, believing that this will promote its recovery. They will repeat the process daily until the child has recovered or is dead. Similarly, among the aborigines of New South Wales the mothers give their blood to bring about the recovery of their children when they are sick. Among the Omahas it was the practice in war time, when they were overtaken by foes, for the women to dig a hole in the ground, and to conceal their children, covering up the opening. It is related that a mother was overtaken by the enemy after she had placed her children in the "cache," but she did not have time to cover the opening. This she did with her body, pretending to be dead, and allowed herself to be scalped without stirring. . . .

Among the Dayaks of Borneo the children are spoiled; their slightest whim is indulged in. The intensity of maternal affection in the savage is noted in the lowest races which we know, such as the Bushmen, Fuegians, the Seri Indians, the Andman Negritos, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Sakai of the Malaccan forests, the Ainu, the New Hebrides Islanders.[3]

[3] Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, pp. 41–45. Reprinted by permission.

b. *Infanticide.* From the illustrations just given and from many other familiar examples of parental devotion and sacrifice comes the belief that maternal love is instinctive and universal. But there is also the widely spread practice of infanticide, whereby the parents destroy some children at birth. Infanticide is apparently a practice of very ancient origin. It is found as a part of the culture of many peoples, both of primitive societies and of the so-called civilized groups, such as the natives of Africa, the South Sea Islanders, the Todas of India, the Eskimos, the Australian natives, the ancient Greeks, the Romans, the Arabians, and the Chinese. The underlying factor in the practice of infanticide is insufficient food supply. Usually, although not always, girl rather than boy babies are destroyed. Always the decision to destroy or not to destroy the infant rests with the parents, usually the father. Thus it is apparent that group consideration of the current mores is stronger even than so-called parental instinct.

c. *Roman family.* In the Roman family the child, after he had been accepted by the father, was not the undisciplined individual found in primitive society. His discipline was very severe, for corporal punishment was used freely and with severity. He was, in theory, a chattel of his father. He had no legal or other rights, except as they were allowed by his father as head of the household. The lot of the child was not so hard in actual practice as in theory; much depended, of course, on the type of man the father was.

d. *Early American family.* It has been noted that women did not occupy an exalted position among the early Christians. The same was true of children. They were thought to be born of sin and to possess an evil nature from which it was the duty of the parents, the church, and the school to free them. Early American settlers, especially those who settled in New England, accepted the early church view of the evil nature of children. Discipline was consequently very severe and corporal punishment was freely administered as though the adult had a duty literally to "beat the devil out of the child" for his soul's salvation. At the table children never sat to eat with their elders, but stood a little behind them or were seated at side tables. They were not permitted to speak unless addressed directly and their answers were then to be as brief as possible. Since play was thought sinful, work was stressed as a device for occupying time. The textile industries, when introduced into New England, were welcomed as an instrument for employing children and keeping them out of mischief. Idleness, play, and

sin were commonly closely associated in the minds of those responsible for the children's rearing. Only by severe discipline, by strict training in the religious teachings, by attendance at all church services, and by copying the actions of adults could children be raised to a less sinful state. The chief responsibility for the reformation of the children rested, of course, with the parents.

e. *Modern family.* It is Rousseau to whom much credit is given for the change in adults' views concerning the nature of children. According to his theory, children were not originally sinful but were perfect as they came fresh from the hands of God, and grew corrupt only by coming into contact with man and by adopting man's habits and practices. Rousseau's theory was revolutionary and contradicted both the established ideas and practices of his day.

The places occupied by children in modern societies differ according to regions and to various strata of society within the same region. In China, as has already been indicated, the average family is considerably larger than it is in the United States.

> [In the Chinese family] boys are considered of greater importance than girls because a girl will leave the group and carry to some other group all her productive powers. The boys are therefore showered with attention and care, are educated and trained, so that when they arrive at adulthood they may be capable members of the village community and effective producers in the family.... The treatment of girls is not necessarily harsh, for parents become fond of their girls as of their boys. The boys have status because of their future functions in the community.[4]

Among some of the poor families of China, girls are sold as slaves to the wealthier families;

> [for girls consume] rice and need clothes; when they are grown up they leave the home and furnish additional service to the productivity of the family of the group into which the girl is married. The parents in poor families consider it better therefore to get rid of the girl at the first opportunity and thus free themselves of her expenses and at the same time get some cash.... Sometimes baby girls are bought into the poor families to be the future wives of their baby sons. This is known as adopting a baby daughter-in-law. The reasons for this practice are: (a) it is economical; the baby costs less than an adult girl and the wedding ceremonies may be simplified or even omitted; (b) an additional worker is

[4] Daniel Harrison Kulp, *Country Life in South China*, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925, p. 152. Reprinted by permission.

secured for the house; (c) the child is trained into the habits of the family. Sometimes instead of purchase there is an exchange of girl babies between families in which there are infant sons and infant daughters. There are no more mouths to feed under this arrangement and everything put into the prospective wife will be returned to the family later on when she becomes a dutiful wife and an economic producer.[5]

In modern America the place of children in the family is very different from that of Colonial times and from that in the Chinese family. The interests of parents are to a large extent centered in their children. As an English lecturer once said, "I see the American children have their parents under strict control." The old precept of the Colonial period that "children are to be seen and not heard" is not applied in most modern American homes. Children are both seen and heard, almost to the exclusion of everything else.

Modern America seems largely to have adopted the idea of Rousseau that the child in his natural state is perfect, and many parents seem to fear that any form of reproof or control administered to their offspring would ruin that perfect condition. "Self-expression" seems to be the keynote in the rearing of children in many American homes of the present time. It makes no difference how anarchistic, destructive, and distasteful to others that "self-expression" may be. Little Johnnie or Sadie must be allowed to bring out those "hidden reservoirs" of personality by expressing their inner emotions and feelings unhampered by adult restraint. They must be allowed "to think that they can and will think for themselves, even ultimately, if they so decide, to the point of revising or rejecting what we now think."[6]

B. *Summary*

According to the customs of the group, the family may consist of a married couple; a man, his wife and minor children; or it may be a genetic group including a man and his wife or wives, their sons and their sons' wives and children together with their unmarried daughters.

There are maternal families and paternal or patriarchal families. In the maternal family descent is usually traced through the mother line (matrilineal descent); by the avunculate the mothers' brothers are re-

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–166.

[6] William Heard Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, p. 60.

sponsible for the care and support of their sisters' children; and by matrilocal residence the newly married woman continues to live with or near her own parents. The patriarchal family is usually found in societies where there are economic possessions to transmit from one generation to another. In the patriarchal family the father is the recognized head of the household; patrilineal descent is the usual custom; and patrilocal residence the customary practice. Most modern families in the Western World represent modifications of the patriarchal group; so do families in China.

In America the form of family varies according to the place or residence of the group, that is, North or South, rural or urban.

The position occupied by children in the family and the consideration given children by adult members vary in different periods of time and from one region of the world to another. Primitive children are often "spoiled" and are undisciplined; in some modern groups, notably Colonial America, children are subject to severe discipline. Present-day America has changed greatly in its treatment of children and in its attitude toward children.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain how marriage is rooted in the family.
2. Is the American family of patriarchal or maternal origin? Toward which is the trend in modern urban societies most pronounced? Explain.
3. Describe the primitive maternal family; the ancient patriarchal type of family.
4. Explain how geographical conditions in North America influenced family life.
5. In what ways are rural American families different from the urban families?
6. What is the customary position of children in primitive societies?
7. Is the practice of infanticide an indication that primitive people tend to treat their children cruelly? Explain.
8. Compare the position of the child in the American pioneer home with that in the modern urban home.

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CHAPTER 11

Family Disorganization

FAMILY DISORGANIZATION may come about through the death of one or both of the parents, through desertion, divorce, or through demoralization within the family itself.

This chapter deals especially with divorce, and somewhat less with desertion and family demoralization. Divorce, a system or device for dissolving and publicly announcing the dissolution of the marital union, is as old as the institution of marriage.

A. *Divorce*

1. PRIMITIVE DIVORCE

Primitive people display a great variety of customs concerning the dissolution of marriage bonds. Certain primitive groups recognized marriage as a lifetime bond; with them divorce was infrequent, if not altogether unknown. But on the whole, marriage was rather easily and frequently dissolved. Among those who regarded marriage lightly, dissolution of marriage was usually taken just as lightly.

> Among Point Barrow Eskimos marriage is easily dissolved for incompatibility or even on account of temporary disagreements. With the Central Eskimo the slightest pretext suffices for separation. Among the Melanesians, Codrington found divorce easy and common. The Doko people, southwest of Abyssinia, are said to live mixed together; men and women unite and separate as they please.
>
> The young people among the Delawares, Iroquois, and other nations connected with them, seldom have marriages of long continuance, especially if they have not children soon.[1]

Groves says of primitive divorce:

> In the practice of divorce we find, as usual, great diversity. Among some of the lower hunters it is claimed to be unknown or extremely rare. On the other hand, we sometimes find divorce frequent while in other tribes of a similar cultural level it is an occasional happening. In general

[1] Arthur James Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1913, pp. 39–42. Reprinted by permission

we detect the influence of economic conditions. The family remain together so long as it is for their material advantage but have recourse to divorce when it appears otherwise. Contrary to the modern situation, it is more often the man who obtains the divorce than the woman. It is rarely the result of the jealousy that plays so important a part in modern life, but instead it is sought for economic reasons or for personal comfort. Examples of this are divorces for inefficiency in housekeeping, such as bad cooking, accusation of witchcraft, troublesome talkativeness, or merely that the wife is no longer desired. Divorce is not considered a disgrace and does not hinder a second marriage. Sometimes there is a ceremony connected with it, but ordinarily the needful publicity is furnished by rites connected with a second marriage. Barrenness is one of the frequent reasons for divorce.

In interpreting divorce among primitive people we must take care not to assume its frequency merely because it is something easily obtained. We may discover that in some tribe the savage can divorce his wife by simply throwing a kitchen utensil after her as she goes out of the door. This does not mean necessarily that there is nothing to restrain the man from getting rid of a wife. The fact that the purchase price has to be returned leads to a public opinion which may have much influence in limiting divorces. There is also the necessity of a man's having property with which to purchase another wife. The fact that there are children may also tend to prevent divorce just as it does in modern society.

Tribal custom may restrict divorce even when the grounds for securing it seem to the European extremely lax. Although divorce is more often open to the man, it must not be inferred that it is always difficult for the wife or that she never seeks it. Rules governing the division of property and the menace of family feuds also restrain husbands from attempting to break their marriage ties. Generally it may be said that the economic motive has a greater influence in leading to divorce or in preventing it than does the happiness of the individual in the domestic association. The prevalence of divorce does not permit us to classify the state of matrimonial culture, since it is a matter influenced by many economic and social conditions. The position of woman also in any definite group cannot be inferred on the mere basis of the ease of divorce. The question always is not what may be, but what, as the result of public opinion, actually happens. Usually divorce, as is true of marriage, is a private affair which does not extend beyond the concern of the relatives of the man and woman. Sometimes it is in the hands of the chief, the council, or the governing group of old men, the last being more frequent among the Australians.[2]

[2] Ernest R. Groves, *The American Family*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 40–41 Reprinted by permission.

2. DIVORCE IN EARLY HISTORIC GROUPS

Among certain historic people such as the Babylonians, the Hindus, the Hebrews, the Early Christians, the Romans, and the Anglo-Saxons, divorce was regulated by law or by precept.

Among the Babylonians, the Code of Hammurabi, king of Babylon about 2500 B.C., allowed a man the right to divorce his wife without giving any grounds for the separation, but if the wife had borne him a child he was required to provide for her support. She was granted the right to remarry. If the wife had not borne him children, he was required to give her the amount of their marriage settlement and to make good to her the dowry she had brought with her at the time of marriage.

Among the Hindus, marriage was a religious sacrament, and as such it was not dissolved by divorce. Woman had no rights; men could not secure divorce, but could get an annulment of the marriage upon certain grounds. Grounds included barrenness after eight years, disease, deflowerment, or fraud in the marriage arrangements. A man might take another wife to displace a wife who hated him, who drank spirituous liquor, who was ill-tempered, or rebellious.

The Mosaic Law of the Hebrews prescribed that a man might secure a "bill of divorcement" against his wife. No reason for divorce was required of the man other than that the woman was distasteful to him. He was required, however, to give her a bill of divorce so that she should be free to remarry if she desired.

Among early Christians the teachings of Christ were the accepted pattern.

> Hath ye not read, that he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh? So that they are no more two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.... Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her; and if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery.

Certain of the Christians interpreted Christ's statement as granting one exception, divorce on the grounds of adultery. This interpretation, found in the Book of Matthew, was very widely accepted by Christians of early as well as of later periods.

Among early Romans, as has been previously pointed out, the power of *pater familias* was virtually absolute. Consequently, he had virtually

unlimited power to divorce his wife at will. As an actual fact divorce was infrequent, since a man had to reckon both with economic considerations and with public opinion.

Later in Roman history, marriage was based on the mutual consent of the contracting parties. Divorce became the right of either the man or the woman on almost any grounds or pretext, and grew then very much more frequent.

In early England the influences of Roman law, early Germanic customs, and Christian Church were all in evidence. Monogamous marriage was the most widely practiced and the wife was secured through purchase. Divorce, the right of either party, might be arranged through mutual consent or upon the insistence of either individual without any designated statement as to just grounds. Adultery by the wife was a ground for divorce, but adultery by the husband led only to payment of a fine. During the period from the British "conversion" to Christianity, until the reign of Henry VIII, marriage was indissoluble and divorce inacceptable by custom or church law. However, under certain conditions annulment of a marriage might be granted by the Church. Couples also separated as a result of grave misconduct of either man or woman, but this separation was not a legal dissolution of the marriage. The practice of securing divorces by act of Parliament later developed in England.[3]

3. DIVORCE IN AMERICA

In the New World the Christian injunction against dissolving a marriage was taken very seriously. A wife would submit to cruelty, drunkenness, and a life of unhappiness rather than bring upon herself and her family the disgrace of a divorce. Married men and women no longer living with their mates were divided into two classes, widowers and widows (whose wives or husbands were dead), and "grass" widowers or widows (whose wives or husbands were living but divorced). The latter class were held in contempt or ridicule, as is indicated by the descriptive term employed. The established church frowned on divorce, and pastors of most Protestant churches would not perform a marriage service for divorced men or women. Also the legal machinery made divorces very difficult to obtain.

[3] This practice spread to the United States. In the early states divorces were granted by direct act of the state legislature. They were very difficult to secure. A prominent historic instance of divorce secured through the action of a state legislature is that of Andrew Jackson's wife.

TABLE 22. THE RATIO OF DIVORCE TO MARRIAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890 TO 1935 *

Year	Divorces per 100 Marriages	Marriages per 1 Divorce
1890	5.9	16.9
1900	7.9	12.7
1910	8.8	11.4
1920	13.4	7.5
1930	17.0	5.9
1931	17.3	5.8
1932	16.3	6.1
1933	15.0	6.7
1934	15.7	6.4
1935	16.4	6.1

* Adapted from Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1939, p. 441. Reprinted by permission.

A study of the divorce figures in comparison with the number of marriages for the years after 1931 indicate a decline in the number of divorces. Undoubtedly the decline in divorce during 1932 and 1933 was owing to the depression, for as the economic conditions improved in 1934 and 1935 the divorce rate increased but it did not again reach the all time high of 1931.

TABLE 23. VARIATION IN DIVORCE RATES, 1931 *

Geographical Division	Total Population	Divorces per 1000 Married Population
New England States	.96	2.32
Middle Atlantic States	.58	1.35
East North Central States	1.82	4.06
West North Central States	1.69	3.91
South Atlantic States	.91	2.30
East South Central States	1.42	3.47
West South Central States	2.25	5.35
Mountain States	3.55	8.53
Pacific States	2.56	5.61

* James H. S. Bossard, *Social Change and Social Problems* (rev. ed.), Harper & Bros., 1938, p. 624. Reprinted by permission.

a. *Change in attitude toward divorce.* A considerable change has taken place in the United States since the early days of the nation. Not so much stigma as formerly is attached to divorce. Furthermore, organized interests in certain states apparently are in competition in attempting to make divorces easy to obtain. Naturally there has been an increase in the frequency of divorce in this country. In 1930 there was about one divorce for every six marriages performed that year. However, as Bossard says:

> This fact is often interpreted to mean that one out of every six marriages now consummated is destined to end in the divorce court. This is an understatement of the fact, since the divorces granted in 1931 must be compared not with the number of marriages performed in 1935, but with the lower number performed in the years preceding. In other words, since divorces are increasing faster than marriages, the proportion of marriages that will ultimately be dissolved by divorce is likely to be higher than the foregoing ratio.[4]

b. *Regional variation in divorce rate.* The divorce rate in the United States today is the highest found in any "civilized" nation. Furthermore, the rate is not uniformly high in all sections of the country but varies from a low of 1.35 divorces per 1000 married individuals in the Middle Atlantic states to a high of 8.53 per 1000 married people in the Rocky Mountain regions. In other words, the divorce statistics, on their face, indicate that a couple living in New York, Pennsylvania, or New Jersey has over six times as good a chance to have its marriage endure as a couple residing in the Rocky Mountain states. (Actually, of course, the higher divorce rates in the latter states are partly the result of giving divorces to persons from the East who have set up temporary residence in the western states; in other words, the regional differences in divorce rates are smaller than the Table indicates.)

c. *Most divorces granted to women.* It has been noted that among many groups, divorce is a privilege enjoyed only by men. Women are not entitled to secure a divorce. In the United States, however, the situation is reversed, for it is the woman who usually secures the divorce. In 1931 almost three-fourths of the divorces (72.8 per cent) issued in the United States were granted to women. This may be due to several factors. More grounds for legal separation are allowed to women than to men. Women may secure a divorce for non-support, since it is regarded as the duty of the husband to provide for his wife; however, a man would hardly expect to procure a divorce from his wife because she does not supply him with the economic needs of life. It is also very common for a woman to divorce a man on grounds of cruelty, whereas fewer men would publicly request a legal dissolution of the marriage on grounds of cruelty. There is, however, a growing tendency to consider mental as well as physical cruelty, and men are using mental cruelty as ground for divorce. On the whole, most divorces are uncontested, in-

[4] James H. S. Bossard, *Social Change and Social Problems* (rev. ed.), Harper & Bros., 1938, p. 623 Reprinted by permission

dicating that agreement to the separation is mutual, but that chivalry makes the man allow his wife to secure the divorce. A man divorced by his wife is less injured socially than is a woman divorced by her husband.

4. GROUNDS FOR SECURING A DIVORCE

A study of divorce customs of different people shows a variety of grounds upon which legal dissolution of marriage may be consummated. Barrenness on the part of the woman is a very common basis for divorce. However, this basis is not recognized in the United States. Here there are, and have been for many years, five predominant grounds offered for divorce: adultery, cruelty, desertion, non-support, and drunkenness. In earlier American history, adultery and desertion were the most common grounds for divorce, both for men and women; in the twentieth century, adultery has greatly declined as a basis for divorce action; cruelty and desertion have become the most important grounds upon which the dissolution of marriage is now based. In 1932, 35.8 per cent of the divorces granted to men and 45.2 per cent of those granted to women were based on cruelty; whereas only 6.3 per cent of the divorces granted to women and 9.9 per cent of the divorces granted to men used adultery as ground for legal action.

5. CAUSES OF DIVORCE

a. *Social factors.* The grounds upon which legal actions are officially based are often, if not usually, excuses rather than real forces responsible for the marital dissatisfaction. The true bases are usually so personal and so intimate that people do not give them. Furthermore, the most important underlying cause of the marriage failure may be unknown to either of the parties. Probably the most important causes for divorce may be classed as social and individual. The following are among the most important social factors responsible for divorce in the United States: (1) In modern urban society, family life has greatly changed. The unity which formerly characterized American families no longer exists. Birth control has resulted in many childless marriages. Urban conditions make the childless marriage desirable from a purely economic viewpoint. The divorce rate among childless couples is considerably higher than among those who have children. (2) Women engaging in industry and business on an equal footing with men feel independent and unwilling to submit to the self-sacrifice which family life may entail. (3) The growth of the spirit of individualism is an important

cause of the instability of marriage. Two people indoctrinated with the spirit of individualism are not likely to bear and forbear as much as necessary for a congenial and successful marriage. (4) The general weakening of the church is a factor in the increase in divorces. All churches regard the dissolution of the family as a religious as well as a social evil. Urbanism is usually attended with a decline, or at least a change, in the influence of religion.

In brief, from a social viewpoint, a high divorce rate marks a disintegration of the spirit which formerly caused men and women to submit to personal discomforts and hardships rather than to dissolve the marriage bond.

b. *Individual factors.* The following are important underlying causes of marriage failure: (1) Husband and wife may be maladjusted socially, sexually, and intellectually. Their tastes may not be congenial; hence they may find no real companionship in each other's company; life together may become monotonous, if not actually intolerable. (2) Husband and wife may dispute or disagree over finances. (3) Husband and wife may gradually grow apart because of family ties or family connections. The husband may not get along with his wife's mother or father; the wife may object to her mother-in-law's influence over her husband.

6. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIVORCE

Divorce is the culmination, seldom a cause of family disintegration. Even before the divorce, the family is disorganized, broken in spirit, and no longer serving its true function. The legal separation simply indicates, in an objective way, that disintegration has taken place.

A high divorce rate in a country indicates an unsettled and unstable society. Divorce represents failure of the individuals involved, and of the society in which they are a part, to make the adjustments necessary to a successful marriage.

a. *Childless couples.* If the parties are childless, divorce is likely to be attended with serious psychological results to the individuals divorced; with a weakening of their moral code; with a loss of spirit; and, even in present-day America, with a certain loss of status and respect. Practically all people when they marry desire a happy and a successful union. A divorce is a brand of failure to these aims. Groves says:

> It is thought by many that a divorce has little significance for the husband and wife in cases where there are not children or when the children

> have grown up. This assumption, however, cannot be maintained by anyone familiar with the results of some of our divorces, even when the marriage has been childless. Some of these reactions are indeed morbid, but if the divorce trial has received sensational publicity or if one of the parties concerned is particularly sensitive, or if the road that led to marriage was especially bright with promise, thus making the anti-climax of divorce all the more disappointing, the dissolution of marriage injects bitterness into the personality and at times creates anti-social attitudes. It is doubtful whether any couples who have started marriage with genuine affection are left after their divorce free from scar. Those who seek marriage from purely sexual motives (using sexual in its narrowest meaning, void of the psychic element which idealizes and spiritualizes the more mature attraction) escape most lightly the consequences of divorce.[5]

b. *Children in the family.* Families with children are fortunately less likely to be broken by divorce than those without children. Baber points out that 62.2 per cent of the divorces in America are granted to couples without children. He further states that "about 71 per cent of the childless marriages terminate in the divorce courts, whereas only 8 per cent of the marriages with children so end." [6] The most serious consequences result from divorce when there are children to suffer from the separation of the parents. Then the young are torn between loyalty to their father and loyalty to their mother. They feel the slights and gibes of children from united homes. They lose the contact and influence of one of the parents, and they miss the sense of security and well-being which comes from living in a home united by love. This condition may be attended by various types and degrees of maladjustments. The children may become emotionally unstable and as such liable to mental disturbances; or they may become socially unstable and partake in various types of juvenile crimes. Practically all studies indicate a positive relationship between a home broken by divorce and juvenile crime.

7. DIVORCE: A SOCIAL PROBLEM

As has been pointed out, divorce is a symptom of a disease, not a disease itself. Divorce itself is spoken of as a social evil, but it is much more true that conditions resulting in divorce are social maladies. Making divorce impossible or more difficult is like locking the door after the horse is stolen; yet often there are proposals to make divorce

[5] Groves, *op. cit.*, p. 266. [6] Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, pp. 488–489.

more difficult to obtain, and to adopt uniform divorce laws throughout the nation. Within many households divorce is actually necessary or desirable as a way to terminate an intolerable condition. *Divorce is not family disintegration but the result of disintegration.*

This statement must not be interpreted as meaning that uniform divorce laws for the nation might not be desirable. Rather, the laws of the nation should be uniform on both marriage and divorce. At present the states create the laws dealing with marriage and divorce, so that forty-nine different systems of regulations govern marriage and divorce. In South Carolina no grounds for divorce are recognized; in New York nothing but adultery is accepted as a basis for legal action directed toward dissolving marriage. In other states, a variety of grounds are considered adequate; these grounds include mental cruelty, which permits "almost any unpleasant word or deed to be interpreted as cruel, on the assumption that it causes mental suffering"; [7] desertion; non-support; and drunkenness. In the state of Nevada, only six weeks' residence is required of a person seeking a divorce. As a result of the ease with which an individual can secure a divorce in Nevada, Reno has become the divorce capital of the nation, and in Reno about 2.5 per cent of the divorces issued in the United States are granted.[8] The divorce rate in Nevada is about twenty-three times that of New York State.

Although uniform divorce laws seem desirable, uniform marriage laws are even more needed. Were the states united in an effort to prevent hasty and ill-advised marriages, many unions resulting in family disorganization might be prevented without the heartaches which otherwise result. As has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, marriage regulations at present vary greatly among the states. One state may adopt very desirable laws regulating marriage; but the benefits are nullified by the ease with which a couple, desiring to marry, can go into an adjoining state and there secure a marriage without any of the difficulty met in the home state.

As Baber points out, "the big problem is not to keep people who want divorce from getting it, but to keep more people from wanting divorce." [9] This result can best be accomplished by measures designed to prevent hasty and ill-advised marriages.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

[8] William F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions," *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, vol. I, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1933, p. 694.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

B. *Other Forms of Family Disintegration*

1. DESERTION

America, the land of easy divorce, is also a country of many desertions. The National Desertion Bureau estimated, in 1928, that about 50,000 desertions occur each year in the United States. That figure is about one-fourth the number of divorces obtained in a year. There is a likelihood that the number of desertions increased during the period of the depression when the divorce rate was declining. Desertion is often referred to as "the poor man's divorce." Whereas divorce is the means by which the middle and upper classes bring about their marriage dissolution, desertion is the means frequently used by those belonging to the lower economic levels. Anything, such as financial panic or depression, which lowers the average economic income of a large portion of society increases the number of desertions.

Financial position is not the only difference between those seeking divorce and those employing desertion as a solution of their marital problems. Almost three times as many women secure divorces as men; whereas, in the United States, at least, more men desert their families than women. The existence of children within a family works differently towards divorce and towards desertion; fewer divorces occur in families with children than in those without; however, families of the lower economic level with children are more likely to be deserted by the father than are families without children. Another characteristic of desertion, not unlike that of divorce, is that it predominates in urban environment. Few desertions are recorded in rural areas, and most desertions are found in large cities in regions occupied by unskilled laborers.

2. DEMORALIZATION WITHIN THE FAMILY

Examples of this type of family disorganization are found in large urban centers among the foreign-born population and among family groups wherein the culture pattern of the parents differs greatly from that of the surrounding populace. For example, parents who are a product of a foreign culture frequently cluster in certain areas of the city. They maintain their own distinctive culture and often have little opportunity to become familiar with American ways. Their children, however, attend the public schools. Here they are ridiculed by the more Americanized children and by those from native American homes.

Soon they become aware of the differences. They become self-conscious, and try to remodel their ways in conformity with those of the natives. Difficulties at home often result. The children lose respect for their parents and for the culture they represent, often to the point of completely breaking family ties of love and affection. Thomas and Znaniecki, in discussing the families of Polish immigrants in American cities, point out:

> The children brought with the family or added to it in America do not acquire the traditional attitude of familial solidarity, but rather the American individualistic ideals, while the parents remain unchanged, and there frequently results a complete and painful antagonism between children and parents. This has various expressions, but perhaps the most definite one is economic — the demand of the parents for all of the earnings of the child, and eventually as complete an avoidance as possible of the parents by the child. The mutual hate, the hardness, unreasonableness, and brutality of the parents, the contempt and ridicule of the child — ridicule of the speech and old-country habits and views of the parents — become almost incredible. The parents, for example, resort to the juvenile court, not as a means of reform, but as an instrument of revenge; they will swear away the character of their girl, call her a "whore" and a "thief," when there is not the slightest ground for it. It is the same situation we shall note elsewhere when the peasant is unable to adjust his difficulties with his neighbors by social means and resorts to the courts as a pure expression of enmity, and with a total disregard of right or wrong. A case which illustrates typically how completely the father may be unable to occupy any other standpoint than that of familial solidarity. The girl had left home and was on the streets. When appealed to by the court for suggestions and co-operation, the father always replied in terms of the wages of the girl — she had not been bringing her earnings home. And when it appeared that he could not completely control her in this respect, he said: "Do what you please with her. She ain't no use to me." [10]

C. *Social Significance of Family Disorganization*

1. FAMILY DISORGANIZATION AS A CAUSE OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

As has been pointed out, the family is the earliest and most important of all social institutions. In the family are formed the earliest impressions on the mind and emotions of the child. In the family are formed

[10] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. I, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 104. Reprinted by permission.

the qualities which will in a large measure influence and guide the behavior of the individual throughout life. The strongest habits and the most intense feelings are acquired during the early years of childhood. Children reared in a disorganized home have much less chance to become stable, well-adjusted members of society than have those reared in a well-established family. An exceptional mother, or father, or some other relative, or even a friend may step into the breach and serve as substitute mother and father to the children; well-balanced individuals may be developed; but the chances are not good. The disorganized home is likely to be important in bringing about a disorganized society, and is a serious cause for social disintegration and demoralization unless society can organize substitute institutions to assume the important functions of the family.

2. FAMILY DISORGANIZATION AS AN EFFECT OF THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS

One of the most important functions of marriage and of the family is to afford congenial and intimate relationship between husband and wife and between members of the family. Companionship is greatly weakened in a society wherein a considerable portion of the population is required by its occupation to be absent from home for a large portion of the time. In homes where men leave early in the morning in order to reach offices or factories and cannot return until night, less opportunity for a community of interests exists than in households where members cooperate in common occupations at or near home.

When husband and wife are separated by distance and by interests, the chances are always present that one or both will find interests more important to them than their family. As the husband becomes interested in business and business associates, his wife is taken more and more for granted, and the ties binding him to her may come to be regarded as legal shackles rather than as emotional bonds of fellowship and of mutual understanding.

Often the wife as well as the husband is employed. Both meet many other people; frequently the nature of their employment brings them into such close relationship with persons of the opposite sex that the business contacts are likely to cause a breach in family associations.

Modern urban conditions have brought about a great weakening in mores regarding sanctity of the home and bonds of matrimony. Injunctions of the church are taken much less seriously than formerly. In modern urban life an individual has much greater chance than formerly

to violate the mores, and less chance to suffer the consequences of social disapproval.

Work outside the home, frequent association with members of the opposite sex, weakening of the family mores, diminished influence of the church, and anonymity of individual behavior in the city — all have been important factors in reducing the stability of the family.

D. *Summary*

Divorce, as a domestic institution, is apparently as old as marriage. In the most ancient and most primitive cultures, systems of divorce are found. In most cultures of the past and of the present the prerogative of divorce rests with the man rather than with the woman.

The United States has the highest divorce rate of any country in the world, and divorces have been increasing at a rate much greater than that of marriages. In 1931 there was about one divorce for every six marriages performed during the year. Women secure almost three-fourths of the divorces granted in the United States. Legal grounds upon which divorces are most often obtained are: cruelty, desertion, adultery, non-support, and drunkenness. Legal grounds are usually not the underlying causes of divorces, but are excuses used in order to comply with legal requirements for securing divorce. The true causes are often much more basic and deep rooted than the legal grounds imply.

Divorce deserves special consideration, not because it breaks family bonds (already severed before the divorce is granted), but because of the social significance of disorganized family groups. A high divorce rate in a country indicates a disorganized and unstable society. Family disintegration reflects an unstable state of the social order, and at the same time tends to produce still further social disorganization. The unstable family is both a result and a cause of social instability and disorganization.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. According to Groves, is a person entitled to assume that divorces are very common among primitive couples? Explain.
2. To whom were divorces most commonly granted among the Early Historic peoples? Upon what grounds?

3. What was the Early Christian attitude toward divorce?
4. What change in the public attitude toward divorce has taken place in America within the past century? How do you explain this change?
5. How do you account for the regional variations in divorce rates in the United States?
6. How do you differentiate between "grounds" for divorce and "causes" of divorce?
7. Of what social significance is divorce to childless couples, to children of divorced parents?
8. What differences are to be noted between divorce and desertion in (a) social status of couples, (b) sex of the one securing the divorce or deserting, (c) residence of the couple?
9. In what ways are social disorganization and family disorganization related?

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CHAPTER 12

The Economics of the Family

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS of the family has ever been the care of its young and of its other members in need of support and protection. Care in the earliest forms of family organizations meant: (1) protection from enemies who would do bodily harm to children and women; and (2) provision of essential and usual requirements of life within the particular group during the customary period of infancy or dependency. Parents in the society of the American Indians cooperated in a division of labor based on sex to protect and provide for the young. The father defended his family and procured food in the form of flesh of slain animals; the mother did manual work in raising and processing any agricultural products.

In modern Western society, care of children and of women implies not so much protection from external violent forces as provision for physical well-being through provision of food, shelter, clothing, and such "luxuries" as are customary for families of the respective social levels.

A. *Planes of Living*

1. DEFINITIONS

Providing for the physical and other needs of the family requires the earning and spending of the economic income by one or more members of the family. Modern families do not fill their essential needs directly from nature as did early Indian families. Modern needs are satisfied through peoples' economic activities which provide wages, salaries, profits, or other money income; this income in turn can be used to buy the desired goods. Even rural families of European countries and of America depend upon their money earnings to provide them with some of the essentials of life.

The abundance or scarcity of these necessaries of life, together with the usual or unusual luxuries enjoyed by the family, is regarded as a fairly accurate index of the well-being of the family and of the society

of which they form a part. The quantity and quality of goods and services actually consumed by families in a society are frequently referred to as the standards of living of the society; by this interpretation, "standard of living" means the actual consumption of economic goods in the form of acticles of value as food, clothing, shelter, and other things satisfying human wants and needs. On the other hand, "standard of living" more properly refers to an ideal or objective regarded as desirable for families of a society in order to maintain health and self-respect. In this discussion the way people actually live, that is, the type and amount of food, clothing, shelter, and other economic goods consumed by individuals and families, will be referred to as the *planes* of living; whereas *standards* of living will refer to the expected or desired goal of consumption of economic goods.[1]

When a family is prosperous and can secure the food, clothing, shelter, and other desired goods regarded as essential to life within its social group, the plane of living will be about the same as the standard of living. When, however, the earnings fall below a point which permits such expenditures for family living, the plane of living will fall below the standard of living.

2. PLANES OF LIVING AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLE

Among people depending for their immediate wants upon the direct appropriation of natural products, a failure of these products through drought, flood, or unusual natural phenomenon results in famine and disaster wherein only the most hardy survive. Conditions of food and shelter among the most primitive people are not greatly different from those found among the higher anthropoids. Thus *forest Pygmies* of Africa collect the products of nature for their food and shelter. Their food consists of fruit, white ants, bee grubs, honey, wild beans, and the flesh of birds and small animals. Their shelters are rude arbors formed of interlaced branches and plantain leaves. Their requirements for living are but little above those of the gorilla which inhabits sections of central Africa. Little differentiation in status exists among very primitive people. If one member of the group has food, he shares it with all other members. A condition where one individual has an abundance of food and others are starving is unknown.

[1] This conception of standard or levels of living is based primarily on economic or materialistic criteria. Some scholars point out that there are non-material elements that should be included in a system of cultural values or outlook on life or things to strive for in family life.

Among primitive people in a more advanced stage of development, such as the North American Indian in colonial days, food, clothing, and shelter are not in their natural states. They are altered by a form of processing. Meat is dried or cured in various ways and thus preserved for use during the winter. Skins of animals are tanned; textiles are woven into clothing and shelter. Clothing differs among people in different regions of the world. Complete nudity or near-nudity is the custom in some areas. Among the American Indians, clothing of a type was the general rule. The present-day Eskimo fashions his robes by cutting and fitting to his body skins of the animals of his area much as the modern tailor cuts and fits cloth to make a suit. In some regions, clothing consists of a breech or loin cloth with a robe or loose-fitted cape thrown over the body as occasion requires.

Among the Indians, as among many other primitive people, individual accumulation of wealth was not a characteristic culture trait.

3. CHANGES IN THE PLANES OF LIVING ATTENDING ADVANCEMENT IN CIVILIZATION

a. *Money and specialization.* As the level of civilization of a group of people rises, certain changes in the planes of living usually develop also. Production becomes more specialized. Commodities are then exchanged, and some sort of money or medium of exchange is adopted. Individuals work and produce, not for the utility of the articles themselves, but for their value in exchange for other necessary or desirable goods. Money comes into general use, and the ability of the individual and his family to enjoy desired goods depends upon his possession of the established medium of exchange. Social stratification exists within the group. No longer are the group members of relatively equal social rank, but some possess great power and social importance, whereas others have less social importance. Private ownership of property increases; so does the accumulation of individual wealth, associated with greater power, more abundant and better food, shelter, and clothing. There is no longer one plane of living for the group as a whole, but rather planes of living for those who occupy various places in the social and economic pyramids. People with few or no goods of exchange value may suffer from hunger, although warehouses are full of food awaiting the demand of those who have the money to pay.

b. *Living conditions of population.* Another characteristic change attending the advance of civilization is an improved scale of living for

the general population. The causes of the increased supply and improved quality of economic goods are specialization in industry and an improved agriculture with more intelligent cultivation and better grades of plants and domesticated animals. Specialization has usually been attended by an increase in production which in turn has made goods cheaper and more easily procured by the great mass of people.

c. *Supply of goods more certain.* As specialization in production becomes more widely the prevailing practice within a group, there is less and less dependence upon the forces of nature for the immediate needs. People will not be so likely to starve if a drought occurs, for through exchange those who suffer from crop failure may procure the necessaries of life from regions where there was no failure.

d. *Unequal planes of living.* Although a rise in the general plane of living accompanies an advance in civilization, all people do not as a result enjoy better and more abundant food and shelter. In ancient Rome the poor families lived in most depressing conditions; their food was poor in quality and not abundant. Hart says, "The food of the poor in Rome was wine, sour as vinegar, and black bread, eked out with a few cheap vegetables." [2] The shelter for the poor of Rome was in the form of tenements where numbers of people were crowded together in conditions of squalor and filth. The tenements were so flimsy that often buildings collapsed and buried the inmates in the debris, and so combustible that fires often broke out and swept through large sections of the city.

In England and Europe during the Middle Ages, the serfs lived in poor houses without chimneys or windows and with floors of bare earth. Their articles of furniture were very crude and few. Their clothing was home-spun and very coarse. Their food was poor in quality and monotonous in its unvarying regularity. The lord, however, lived in the manor house or castle with the choicest food available, imported clothing, and costly furnishings.

The lord and others in the upper levels of society enjoyed a mode of life undreamed of by the primitive man. The very poor, however, ranking low in the social scale, were probably worse off than the group of people as a whole in primitive society. The medieval poor did not share all the foods of the group, and, if their own individual earnings failed, they were faced with suffering and even starvation.

[1] Hornell Hart, *The Technique of Social Progress*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1931, p. 131

4. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN PLANE OF LIVING

Another consideration in studying the economic conditions of a people is the relative satisfaction attending a particular mode of living. The food supply may be precarious, the food may be poor in quality, the clothing may be meager, the shelter very primitive; but if these conditions represent a common prevailing plane of living for all the people, there will be no dissatisfaction with conditions and the people may be happy or contented. In another society, on the other hand, food, clothing, and shelter may be available in much greater abundance and better quality; but if one part of the group is able to enjoy a plane of living substantially superior to that of another part of the group, dissatisfaction among the latter people is the result. In other words, not only the absolute but also the relative consumption of economic goods affords contentment to individuals; they feel they must enjoy a plane of living superior to or at least equal to that of the group as a whole. As Bossard says:

> Whether the water in a river is high or low depends on a comparison with its customary height. How any particular individual is to be rated in the scale of social well-being depends on the position of the other persons rated.[3]

5. AMERICAN PLANES OF LIVING

a. *Wealth of the United States and its distribution.* The United States is frequently referred to as the "Modern Croesus." It is the richest nation in the modern world and probably the wealthiest of all times in terms of gross national wealth, that is, natural resources and economic goods. The United States, to mention but a few items of its wealth, has more automobiles than all the rest of the world; more telephones and more petroleum than any other nation; more railroad mileage, and more radios than any other country. However, this wealth is unequally divided in regions of the nation and among the population of the land. In 1935 the State of New York possessed 17.3 per cent of the nation's wealth but it had only 10.3 per cent of the population, whereas Mississippi had only 0.5 per cent of the wealth of the nation but had 1.6 per cent of its people. (See Table 24.)

b. *Incomes.* Truly the United States is not a land where all people are equal in the possession of economic goods. But it is the family

[3] James H. S. Bossard, *Problems of Social Well-Being*, Harper & Bros., New York, p. 401 Reprinted by permission.

TABLE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES, BY STATES AND GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1935

Geographic Division and State	POPULATION		WEALTH			INCOME			
	Number *	Per Cent † of U S Total	Total ‡ (millions)	Per Cent § of U S Total	Per Capita ‖	Total ** (millions)	Per Cent †† of U S. Total	Per Capita ‡‡	Per Family §§
United States	122,775,046	100 0	$279,390	100 0	$2,276	$55,040	100 0	$432	$1,840
New England	*8,166,341*	*6 7*	*22,018*	*7 9*	*2,696*	*4,488*	*8.2*	*528*	*2,265*
Maine	797,423	6	1,926	.7	2,415	350	.6	415	1,769
New Hampshire	465,293	.4	1,174	.4	2,523	220	.4	438	1,843
Vermont	359,611	.3	802	.3	2,230	138	.3	365	1,547
Massachusetts	4,249,614	3 5	11,321	4.0	2,664	2,356	4.3	539	2,307
Rhode Island	687,497	.6	1,837	.7	2,672	382	.7	561	2,310
Connecticut	1,666,903	1.3	4,959	1.8	3,086	1,042	1.9	607	2,681
Middle Atlantic	*26,260,750*	*21.4*	*84,821*	*30 4*	*3,230*	*16,044*	*29.1*	*589*	*2,517*
New York	12,588,066	10 3	48,280	17.3	3.835	9,019	16.4	700	2,860
New Jersey	4 041,334	3 3	9,301	3 3	2,301	2,215	4.0	517	2,247
Pennsylvania	9,631,350	7.8	27,240	9 8	2,828	4,810	8.7	478	2,151
East North Central	*25,297 185*	*20.6*	*61,242*	*21.9*	*2 421*	*11,962*	*21.7*	*467*	*1,880*
Ohio	6,646 697	5 4	15,226	5.4	2,291	3,084	5.6	460	1,816
Indiana	3,238,503	2.6	7,652	2.7	2,363	1,379	2.5	402	1,636
Illinois	7,630,654	6.2	19,184	6.9	2,514	3,907	7.1	500	2,025
Michigan	4,842,325	3.9	11,662	4.2	2,408	2,236	4.1	473	1,894
Wisconsin	2,939,006	2.4	7,517	2.7	2,558	1,357	2.5	467	1,906
West North Central	*13,296,915*	*10 8*	*27,011*	*10.0*	*2,090*	*5,011*	*9.1*	*366*	*1,510*
Minnesota	2,563,953	2 1	4 774	1.7	1,862	1,092	2.0	416	1,800
Iowa	2,470,939	2 0	6,371	2 3	2,578	937	1.7	370	1,474
Missouri	3,629,367	3 0	6,723	2.4	1,852	1,433	2.6	366	1,525
North Dakota	680,845	.6	1,452	.5	2,133	182	.3	260	1,255
South Dakota	692,849	.6	1,649	.6	2,380	190	.3	275	1,180
Nebraska	1,377,963	1 1	2,995	1 1	2,173	492	.9	361	1,434
Kansas	1,880,999	1.5	3,947	1.4	2,098	686	1.2	365	1,408

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1938*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 5. Population figures for 1930 were used

† *Ibid*

‡ The National Industrial Conference Board, "New Estimates of the National Wealth and Its State Distribution, 1922–1937," *The Conference Board Economic Record*, October 5, 1939.

§ Based on calculations of figures from "New Estimates of the National Wealth and Its State Distribution, 1922–1937."

‖ Based on 1930 population figures and figures from "New Estimates of the National Wealth and Its State Distribution, 1922–1937."

** Slaughter, John A., *Income Received in the Various States, 1929–1935*, The National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 28.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

§§ Based on calculations of figures from *Income Received in the Various States, 1929–1935*, and from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Vol. VI, Families*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933, p. 33

TABLE 24 (*continued*)

Geographic Division and State	Population: Number	Population: Per Cent of U S Total	Wealth: Total (millions)	Wealth: Per Cent of U S Total	Wealth: Per Capita	Income: Total (millions)	Income: Per Cent of U S Total	Income: Per Capita	Income: Per Family
South Atlantic	*15,793,589*	*12.9*	*$25,725*	*9 2*	*1,629*	*$5,510*	*10.0*	*$326*	*$1,569*
Delaware	238 380	2	624	.2	2,618	151	.3	592	2,555
Maryland	1,631,526	1.3	3,919	1 4	2,402	789	1.4	473	2,048
District of Columbia	486,869	.4	2,405	.8	4,940	574	1.0	966	4,572
Virginia	2,421,851	2.0	5,206	1.9	2,150	804	1.5	305	1,520
West Virginia	1,720,205	1 4	2,684	1.0	1,552	578	1.1	318	1,546
North Carolina	3,170,276	2 6	4,175	1.5	1,317	863	1.6	252	1,340
South Carolina	1,738,765	1.4	1,932	.7	1,111	413	.8	224	1,129
Georgia	2 908,506	2 4	2,802	1.0	963	768	1 4	253	1,176
Florida	1,498 211	1.2	1,978	.7	1,347	569	1 0	352	1,511
East South Central	*9 887 214*	*8.1*	*10,701*	*3.8*	*1,082*	*2,214*	*4.0*	*211*	*974*
Kentucky	2,614 589	2 1	3,257	1.2	1,246	682	1.2	240	1,119
Tennessee	2,616 556	2 1	3.457	1.2	1,321	655	1.2	232	1,090
Alabama	2,646,248	2.2	2,624	.9	992	536	1.0	189	906
Mississippi	2,009,821	1 6	1,363	.5	678	342	.6	170	725
West South Central	*12 176,830*	*9 9*	*16,147*	*5.8*	*1,326*	*3,568*	*6.5*	*281*	*1,244*
Arkansas	1,854 482	1.5	1,415	5	763	363	.7	182	827
Louisiana	2 101 593	1 7	2,457	9	1,169	636	1.2	300	1,310
Oklahoma	2 390 040	2 0	3,199	1.1	1,335	650	1.2	259	1,152
Texas	5 824,715	4 7	9,076	3.3	1,558	1,919	3 5	316	1,390
Mountain	*3,701,789*	*3.0*	*9,889*	*3 5*	*2,669*	*1,506*	*2 7*	*402*	*1,647*
Montana	537 606	4	2,642	1 0	4,914	256	.5	482	1,879
Idaho	445,032	.4	1,207	4	2,712	165	3	345	1,527
Wyoming	225 505	.2	789	3	3,498	122	2	526	2,145
Colorado	1,035,791	.8	2,005	7	1,936	431	8	406	1,612
New Mexico	423,317	.3	652	2	1,540	136	2	321	1,380
Arizona	435,573	.4	906	.3	2 080	103	3	402	1,538
Utah	507,847	.4	1,065	.4	2,097	179	.3	348	1,544
Nevada	91,058	.1	614	.2	6,743	54	.1	545	2,120
Pacific	*8,194 433*	*6 7*	*20,945*	*7.5*	*2,556*	*4,736*	*8.6*	*548*	*2,059*
Washington	1,563 396	1.3	4,008	1.4	2,564	708	1.3	434	1,670
Oregon	953 786	.8	2,567	.9	2,691	397	.7	394	1,491
California	5,677,251	4 6	14,371	5.2	2,531	3,631	6.6	605	2,255

income rather than its possession of wealth which largely determines its plane of living. Incomes are unequally distributed and, although the general American plane of living may be higher than that of any other country in that more Americans have automobiles, more have radios, and more have modern household conveniences than do people in Europe or Asia, there are many families in the United States which do not receive enough income to live decently.

In 1929, a period of great national prosperity, the Brookings Institution found the following distribution of incomes among American families:

> Nearly six million families, or more than 21 per cent of the total, had incomes less than $1000.
>
> About 12 million families, or more than 42 per cent, had incomes less than $1500.
>
> Nearly 20 million families, or 71 per cent, had incomes less than $2500.
>
> Only a little over two million families, or eight per cent, had incomes in excess of $5,000.
>
> About 600,000 families, or 2.3 per cent, had incomes in excess of $10,000.[4]

From the study by the Brookings Institution it appears that 20 per cent of the families received only 4.5 per cent of the total national income, whereas the top 0.015 per cent of the families received 6.6 per cent of the income.[5]

More recently, the National Resources Committee reported a study, made under the direction of several federal agencies, indicating that in 1935–36 more than 10 per cent of American families had an annual income of less than $500 per year; at the same time 75 families received an income of $1,000,000 or more. The 75 high-income families received more gross income than the 1,162,890 families in the lowest income group. (See Table 25.)

(1) *Importance of non-cash income.* The income of the family may be considered as the amount of money or cash received periodically — daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. It may also be considered as the total of money received and goods produced for use by the family — food products, clothing, and so on. The farm family may have a very low income in terms of dollars, but may produce much of its own food,

[4] Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, *America's Capacity to Consume*, George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin, 1934, p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

TABLE 25. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND OF AGGREGATE INCOMES RECEIVED, BY INCOME LEVEL, 1935–36*

Income Level (dollars)	Families			Aggregate Income		
	Number	Per Cent at Each Level	Cumulative Per Cent	Amount (in thousands)	Per Cent at Each Level	Cumulative Per Cent
Under 250	1,162,890	3.95	3.95	135,836	0.28	0.28
250–500	3,015,394	10.26	14.21	1,166,509	2.45	2.73
500–750	3,799,215	12.92	27.13	2,384,017	5.00	7.73
750–1,000	4,277,048	14.55	41.68	3,738,014	7.84	15.57
1,000–1,250	3,882,444	13.20	54 88	4,348,429	9.12	24.69
1,250–1,500	2.865,472	9.75	64 65	3,907,765	8.20	32.89
1,500–1,750	2,343,358	7.97	72.60	3,777,570	7.92	40.81
1,750–2,000	1,897,037	6.45	79.05	3,468.803	7.27	48.08
2,000–2,250	1,420,883	4.83	83.88	3,002,082	6 30	54.38
2,250–2,500	1,043,977	3.55	87.43	2,471,672	5.18	59.56
2,500–3,000	1,314,199	4.47	91.90	3,568,624	7.48	67.04
3,000–3,500	743,559	2.53	94.43	2,385,993	5 00	72.04
3,500–4,000	438,428	1.49	95.92	1,625,887	3 41	75.45
4,000–4,500	249,948	.85	96.77	1,048,368	2.20	77.65
4,500–5,000	152,647	.52	97.29	719,447	1 51	79.16
5,000–7,500	322,950	1.10	98.39	1,900.091	3.99	83.15
7,500–10,000	187,060	.64	99.03	1,605,632	3.37	86.52
10,000–15,000	131,821	.45	99 48	1,496,600	3 14	89.66
15,000–20,000	58,487	.20	99.68	1,013,664	2.13	91.79
20,000–25,000	34,208	.12	99.80	762,240	1.60	93.39
25,000–30,000	22,233	.08	99.88	627,567	1.32	94.71
30,000–40,000	15,561	.05	99.93	560,390	1.18	95.89
40,000–50,000	6,603	.02	99.95	314,689	.66	96.55
50,000–100,000	10,571	.04	99.99	755,017	1.58	98.13
100,000–250,000	3,336	.01	100.00	440,554	.92	99.05
250,000–500,000	699	†	....	200,174	.42	99 47
500,000–1,000,000	197	†	....	110,954	.23	99.70
1,000,000 and over	75	†	....	142,650	.30	100.00
All Levels	29,400,300	100.00	. . .	47,679,238	100 00	....

* National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States, Their Distribution in 1935–36*, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, 1938 p 18

† Less than 0 005 per cent.

make some of its clothing, provide its own fuel, and so live as well as or better than many city families receiving much higher monetary incomes.

In calculating the income of the family, one should include not just the amount of money received in the form of wages or salary, but also actual receipts in the form of goods and services which have a money value in trade. For example, if a family has a wage income of $1000

per year but, in addition, receives free medical care, hospital treatment in case of need, a house to live in, together with electric lights, water, and fuel, it is incorrect to regard that family as having an income of only $1000. Instead, the true income is $1000 plus the value, at prices current in the community, of the things received free of charge. Again, the family might receive a cash income of only $500, but live on a farm where it has a rent-free house, fuel procured from a near-by forest, water from a well on the premises, an abundance of vegetables for the table from its own garden, milk and butter from its cows, and meat and eggs from its own poultry. In addition the family may raise some hogs on the surplus milk and other products of the farm, and so provide themselves with bacon, hams, lard, and fresh pork. Certainly such a family does not receive an income of $500, but $500 plus the amount the other items would cost if the family were forced to purchase them at the prices prevailing in the district. Farm families often fail to recognize that, although they receive little actual money income, their receipts in goods and services may make their incomes higher than the incomes of city-dwellers who receive much higher money incomes.

(2) *Income purchasing power.* Also, in considering the income of an individual or family, it is not enough to take into account only the amount of money earned at different periods of time, for the value of money is not always the same. It is more important to consider the income in the light of the amount of purchasing power received, that is, the quantity of goods which can be secured in exchange. In other words, changes in real wages and incomes are more important than changes in money incomes. Thus, although average money wages in four major industries were about 85 per cent higher in 1918 than they were in 1910, average real wages rose less than 15 per cent during the same period.[6] The data in Table 26 also afford some idea of the differences in the cost of a standard of living occasioned by changes in the prices of consumers' goods.

c. *Levels of income for an American family.* An American family may consist of a man and his wife, or it may consist of a man, his wife, and dependent children. Obviously a family's plane of living depends upon a number of factors, as later pointed out under the discussion of adequacy of income. Different terms have been used by different writers in describing the various planes of living of American families.

[6] Daugherty, C R., *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 153.

TABLE 26. ESTIMATED AMOUNTS OF ANNUAL INCOME NEEDED BY FAMILIES OF VARIOUS SIZES TO MEET THE MINIMUM HEALTH-AND-DECENCY STANDARD OF LIVING *

Year	Single Worker	Man and Wife	Man, Wife and 1 Child	Man, Wife and 2 Children	Man, Wife and 3 Children	Man, Wife and 5 Children	Man, Wife and 8 Children
1910.....	$400	$ 620	$ 800	$ 970	$1130	$1420	$1810
1918.....	650	1010	1320	1600	1860	2330	2970
1929.....	700	1090	1420	1720	2000	2510	3200
1932.....	560	880	1140	1380	1610	2020	2580
1935.....	600	930	1210	1460	1700	2140	2720

* Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 138 Reprinted by permission.

In this text the planes considered are: (1) the poverty planes of living; (2) the subsistence planes; (3) the minimum health and decency planes; (4) the comfort planes; and (5) the luxury planes.

(1) *The poverty planes of living.* At these levels of living, the members of the families are either dependent on public or private charity, or are on the verge of becoming objects of charity. Their incomes in economic goods and services are insufficient to provide them with the actual necessities of life in their particular society.[7] The cessation of the income of people living on these planes pushes them at once into the ranks of the paupers, since it is impossible for them to have accumulated savings for unforeseen disasters.

(2) *Subsistence planes* and (3) *Minimum health and decency planes.* People living on subsistence planes are not dependent on charity, but they are not able to live on a level consistent with health and decency in the United States. They live in crowded quarters of the cities, often in slums or semi-slums. People living on the minimum health and decency planes have a slight reserve above mere physical subsistence. They are able to have food, clothing, and shelter sufficient to maintain fairly satisfactory health standards. People on both planes, however, are unable to set aside savings, so temporary unemployment, accidents, or illness may push them from the minimum health and decency planes to the subsistence planes or from the subsistence planes to the poverty planes.

(4) *The comfort levels.* The comfort levels are usually taken as the

[7] Obviously what would be a poverty level of living in the United States would not be such in a primitive society in Africa, or among the Chinese Coolies.

ideal which is called the American Standard of Living. People living on these levels range from skilled workers to professional men, small-business men, and minor-salaried executives and their families. The range of income for people on these levels is $1500 to $5000. There are variations up or down according to the rise or fall in living costs.

On the comfort levels, people have a choice about the food they eat, the clothes they wear, and so forth. They can have savings and insurance and can give educational advantages to their children. Actually, none of the unskilled-labor group and only a small percentage of the skilled workers of the nation are able to attain the comfort planes.[8]

(5) *The luxury levels.* The luxury levels include the groups of people whose incomes exceed $5000. Though they get approximately 21 per cent of the income received by American families, these families constitute only 2.7 per cent of the families of the nation. (See Table 25.)

d. *Factors in determining adequate income.* Certain factors other than income must be considered in determining the adequacy of the family receipts for maintaining a proper living plane. These factors are as follows:

(1) The size of the family must be taken into account. A family of six requires a greater income than a family of three.

(2) The age of the children must be considered. A boy of 15 years of age is more expensive to a family than one of 5 years, for he eats more food and his clothing is more expensive.

(3) The occupation of the father must be regarded. Thus a family of manual laborers requires a heavier, more nourishing diet than one of "white-collar" workers, but the clothing requirements of the laborer's family are not so expensive. Furthermore, the place of residence of the family is in a measure determined by the occupation of the father, and places of residence range widely in rental costs. If the father's type of work requires his family to live in the "better residential" sections of the city and to wear well-pressed clothes and shirts with "white" collars, his expenses will necessarily be greater than those of the manual laborer; hence income to meet these higher costs is required before any provision for savings can be made.

(4) The skill and efficiency of the mother as a homemaker is of great importance. A careful and efficient buyer can make an income go much farther, and thus bring about a higher plane of living for her

[8] Cf. Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, pp. 133–159.

family, than can the mother who buys with little or no planning nor consideration of values. Also, a housewife who watches the clothing for small tears may, by a small amount of sewing or darning, prolong the life of clothing and thus reduce the expenditures for clothes.

(5) The social level of the family is an important consideration. A family whose social status requires certain items of clothing, a house located in a certain district of an urban locality, and expenditures for education, books, and leisure-time activities, suffers greatly when the income does not permit the customary plane of economic expenditures. An income insufficient to meet the customary requirements of the particular social level is an inadequate income.

(6) The geographical location of a family must also be taken into account, that is, whether it lives in a great metropolis like New York, in a small town, or on a farm. A higher wage income is required for living in a great metropolis because rents and food prices are usually higher. Furthermore, every item required by the family must be purchased out of the cash received. In the small town certain costs such as recreation, clothing,[9] and household furnishings are lower than in the city. The same is true of the farm resident to an even greater extent, as has already been pointed out.

e. *Spending the American income.* The father in most cultures is the head of the family. He is largely the producer of the income — money and goods — upon which the family lives. His efforts may be, and frequently are, supplemented by those of his children and his wife. Although the income is earned by the man in the family, it is largely spent in the United States, by the wife and mother. It is the woman of the house who usually purchases the food, the clothing, and other articles consumed by the family. She decides the porportion of income which will go for food, for clothing, for rent, and for other articles.

From a study of consumer purchases made in New York City under the direction of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year 1935–36, it was found that the food expenditures of families with incomes of from $500 to $749 per year took 42.7 per cent of the total income; whereas for families with annual incomes of $10,000 and more, only 18.6 per cent of the income was required for food. For home mainte-

[9] The actual cost of clothing in the small town may be greater than in the city, but there is not the demand for such a quantity of clothes. In the case of household furnishings, the small town dwellers are not, as a rule, under pressure of sales campaigns to buy articles on the installment plans, nor are the demands for elaborately furnished homes so great as in the cities.

nance, which included housing, household operation, furnishings, and equipment, the lowest income group paid 38.6 per cent of its income, while the highest group paid 32.3 per cent. Thus it can be seen that as the amount of the income increases, a relatively lower proportion is spent for both food and for housing. On the other hand, as the income increases, there tends to be a relative increase in such expenditures as clothing and personal care, transportation, medical care, contributions and personal taxes, and such other items as recreation, tobacco, reading material, and education. (See Table 27.)

f. *Improvement in the American planes of living.* Anyone looking only for defects or shortcomings in any system is likely to fail to recognize anything but deficiencies. In America there has been improvement in the economic conditions of workers, and the people of the United States, in comparison with those of other countries, are very fortunate. Hart points out that for the American population generally the long-time trend has been toward higher standards and higher planes of living.

TABLE 27.* DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY VALUE OF CURRENT FAMILY LIVING BY MAJOR GROUPS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1935–36 †

Income Class (dollars)	Percentage of Money Value of Current Family Living ‡						
	Food	Home Maintenance	Clothing and Personal Care	Transportation	Medical Care	Contributions and Personal Taxes	Other Items
500–749	42.7	38.6	7.0	2.8	1.2	1.6	6.1
750–999	41.1	40.2	7.4	2.1	1.9	1.1	6.2
1,000–1,249	39 6	38.4	7.4	3.4	4.1	1.4	5.7
1,250–1,499	39 3	36.2	8.9	3.5	4.1	1 6	6.4
1,500–1,749	38 0	34 6	9.3	4.4	4.6	2.4	6.7
1,750–1,999	35 5	35.5	9.9	5.5	4.2	2.5	6.9
2,000–2,249	36.7	33.8	10.6	4.5	4.7	2.4	7.3
2,250–2,499	34 2	33 7	10.9	5.9	4.6	3.1	7.6
2,500–2,999	32.8	32.7	11.6	8.0	4.4	3.6	6.9
3,000–3,499	31.1	31.4	12.5	7.1	4.8	5.4	7.7
3,500–3,999	29.0	31.4	13.9	8.4	4.8	4.9	7.6
4,000–4,999	27.6	34.0	12.3	6.6	4.2	5.9	9.4
5,000–7,499	25.2	33.7	12.3	8.1	4.7	7.8	8.2
7,500–9,999	20.4	36.6	10.8	8.0	5.4	9.6	9.2
10,000 and over	18.6	32.3	10.0	7.5	4.2	16.4	11.0

* Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Family Income and Expenditures in New York City, 1935–36*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1939, p. 7.
† For white families only
‡ Includes expenditures and values of goods received without money outlay.

There are automobiles, telephones, radios, labor-saving devices and other indices of improved living conditions.

In comparison with the way people live in some countries of the world, Americans are enjoying a very high plane of living. For example a study by Leila Houghteling of the unskilled laborers living in Chicago showed that 82 per cent lived in apartments of four, five, or six rooms. At the same time, 74 per cent of the clerical workers in Bombay, India, lived in one- or two-room tenements. The Chicago apartments were for the most part equipped with conveniences largely unknown to the Bombay dwellers or to workers who lived in the London slums.

American workers living in semi-slum conditions are much better off than are the workers of many of the great cities of Asia or Europe for food, clothing and less essential expenditures such as victrolas, pianos, telephones, automobiles, and radios.[10]

B. *An American Standard of Living*

One reads a great deal about the high plane of living of the American people. Some Europeans have the opinion that all Americans are rich and consequently live in luxury. Although the majority of Americans do enjoy conveniences and luxuries undreamed of by many European peasants, certainly no one would regard a family of three, four, or more members as living on a high plane when it has an income of $500 or less per year. No one would consider the way the "share-cropper" of the South lives as indicative of a high level of living. His characteristic shelter is a one or two room shack. Often it has no glass windows. The openings used as windows have swinging wooden doors that keep out the wind but allow no light to penetrate into the room. The share-cropper's food consists for the most part of corn-bread, fat pork, molasses, and sometimes green vegetables. His clothing offers his body but little protection against inclement weather. The dwellers in the modern slums of American cities can likewise hardly be regarded as enjoying a satisfactory plane of living. Certainly such planes of living cannot be regarded as the American standard for any segment of society. What then is the American standard of living? What is an adequate income for a family of three or more members? What have such families a right to expect as suitable incomes?

[10] Cf. Hornell Hart, *The Technique of Social Progress*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1931, pp. 140–141.

The American standard of living is not a reality, but an ideal. It is not the same for all Americans of all social levels, but it implies an abundance of nourishing food, comfortable shelter, good clothing, together with funds remaining for such necessary items as savings, medical care, recreational activities, education for the children, occasional holidays, and security against loss of income or old age.

> It would appear that during the period of post-war prosperity it required from $1600 to $2000 to maintain a family of five adequately in American cities. The National Industrial Conference Board placed the cost of maintaining a family of four in 1926 at $1660 in New York and at $1440 in 1927 in Marion, Ohio.[11]

In the American standard of living, according to Kyrk, certain items are rated as very important, whereas others are ranked low in consideration. Formal education, protection of health (everything promoting physical health, bodily vigor, and long life), physical comfort, and bodily cleanliness are stressed in the American culture as of the utmost importance.

Clothing is regarded in America as of greater importance than housing, and the style of garments is stressed above durability or expensiveness. Activities of a gregarious nature are emphasized, particularly in leisure-time pursuits. Labor and time saving devices such as washing machines, vacuum cleaners, telephones, and various electrical equipment are highly regarded. To kill the time which is saved by machines, Americans have "light" literature, movies, radio, chewing gum, rocking chairs, dancing, smoking, and automobile riding.

Of less value in the eyes of Americans are privacy, quiet, and individual taste or variation. Americans are individualistic in their non-conformance to laws, but they are followers of the patterns of the crowd in dress, housing, and leisure time activities.[12]

C. *Summary*

Providing the essential articles of living for its members has ever been one of the chief functions of the family. People in primitive society secure for the satisfaction of their wants food, clothing, and shelter by appropriating the products of nature, either in their original form or as

[11] Hazel Kyrk, *Economic Problems of the Family*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1933, p. 209. Reprinted by permission.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 382–384.

processed by the members of the group. With primitive people there is very little exchange of goods. There is but slight accumulation of wealth, and what there is is by and for the group; individual ownership of anything but the most personal goods is unknown. Ownership is communal. If one member of the group has food, all the group members eat. The supply of food and of articles from which clothing and shelter can be made is uncertain. Little foresight is exercised in providing for the future.

As the state of culture advances, the quantity and quality of economic goods for the members of society increases. There is greater specialization. A surplus of goods is produced. Trade grows. Money comes into use as a medium of exchange. Individual ownership and accumulation of wealth becomes the rule. Society is stratified on the basis of economic possessions.

As society advances further in its civilization, the way people live is improved. They have better and more abundant food, clothing, and shelter. They have greater security of supply of these commodities. In addition they enjoy certain luxuries unknown to primitive man. With individual ownership, however, differences arise in the way people live. Some enjoy luxuries, whereas others can scarcely secure the necessary food for existence.

Associated with the way people live is the feeling of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. A man having poor food and no comforts will yet feel little discomfort if that is his habitual way of living and if his neighbors live in the same way; but if he himself has lived better or if his neighbors enjoy better food, more attractive clothing and a better abode, he will be dissatisfied with his circumstances.

The United States is the richest nation in the world from the standpoint of natural resources and economic goods. This wealth is unequally divided in the regions of the nation and among the population classes. Where some individuals receive very high incomes, others do not receive enough to provide a "decent" living.

In considering the income received by the family, one must take into account not only the money, but also other goods and services which have an exchange value and which the family would be forced to buy if they were not provided otherwise.

Also one must evaluate the amount of income received by individuals and families in the light of purchasing power, which is the amount of want-satisfying goods obtainable by the income received.

American families live on different planes of living. The planes which have been discussed in this chapter are: (1) The Poverty Planes; (2) The Subsistence Planes; (3) The Minimum Health and Decency Planes; (4) The Comfort Planes; and (5) The Luxury Levels.

In considering what is an adequate income for a family one must consider: (1) the size of the family, (2) the age of the children, (3) the occupation of the father, (4) the skill and efficiency of the mother, (5) the social level of the family, and (6) the location of the family residence.

The money received in the form of income is spent in the family by the wife and mother more than by the actual producer — the husband and father.

The amount of income greatly influences its distribution among the several major items of expenditure. Where the family income is low, a greater proportion is spent for food, and much less goes for luxuries and savings than where the amount received is higher.

The standard of living of a people is taken to indicate an ideal toward which they strive. The way people actually live is their plane of living. If the ideal and the way people actually live are the same, the plane of living becomes the standard of living.

The American Standard of Living implies enough nourishing food, a comfortable dwelling and suitable clothing, together with funds for savings, medical care, recreation, educational opportunities for the children, occasional holidays, and security against loss of income from illness, old age, or unemployment.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Differentiate between Planes of Living and Standards of Living.
2. Compare the planes of living of primitive people with those of modern Americans.
3. How has specialization influenced the planes of living of modern families?
4. Why must such factors as habits of groups, and practices of neighbors be considered in discussing the planes of living of groups?
5. In what ways are the American planes of living higher than those of other countries?

6. Can one compare the planes of living of rural and urban families on the basis of the cash income of the two groups? Explain.
7. Explain why the social level of the family must be considered as a factor in determining adequate incomes for the groups.
8. What modern changes have taken place which have tended to place greater responsibility on the wife and mother in spending the family incomes than formerly?
9. What is the American Standard of Living?

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CHAPTER 13

The Nature and Development of Education as an Institution

A. *The Nature of Education*

1. HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND HABIT FORMATION

MAN IS NOT BORN A HUMAN BEING. He becomes one through the process of education — through the formation of attitudes and habits. A child is born merely with certain capacities and aptitudes which will develop if given an opportunity. Formerly, philosophers and psychologists held that much of man's behavior was instinctive — the result of inborn tendencies to react in a certain way to definite stimuli. Now many psychologists deny the existence of instincts in man and explain his behavior on the basis of habits. Practically no psychologist will explain human behavior as the product of instincts alone. All admit the importance of habits. Since habits are learned or conditioned tendencies to react in a certain manner to definite stimuli, it follows that the task of education must be recognized as of much greater significance than it would be if human behavior were directed mainly by inborn patterns.

2. THE NATURE OF EDUCATION

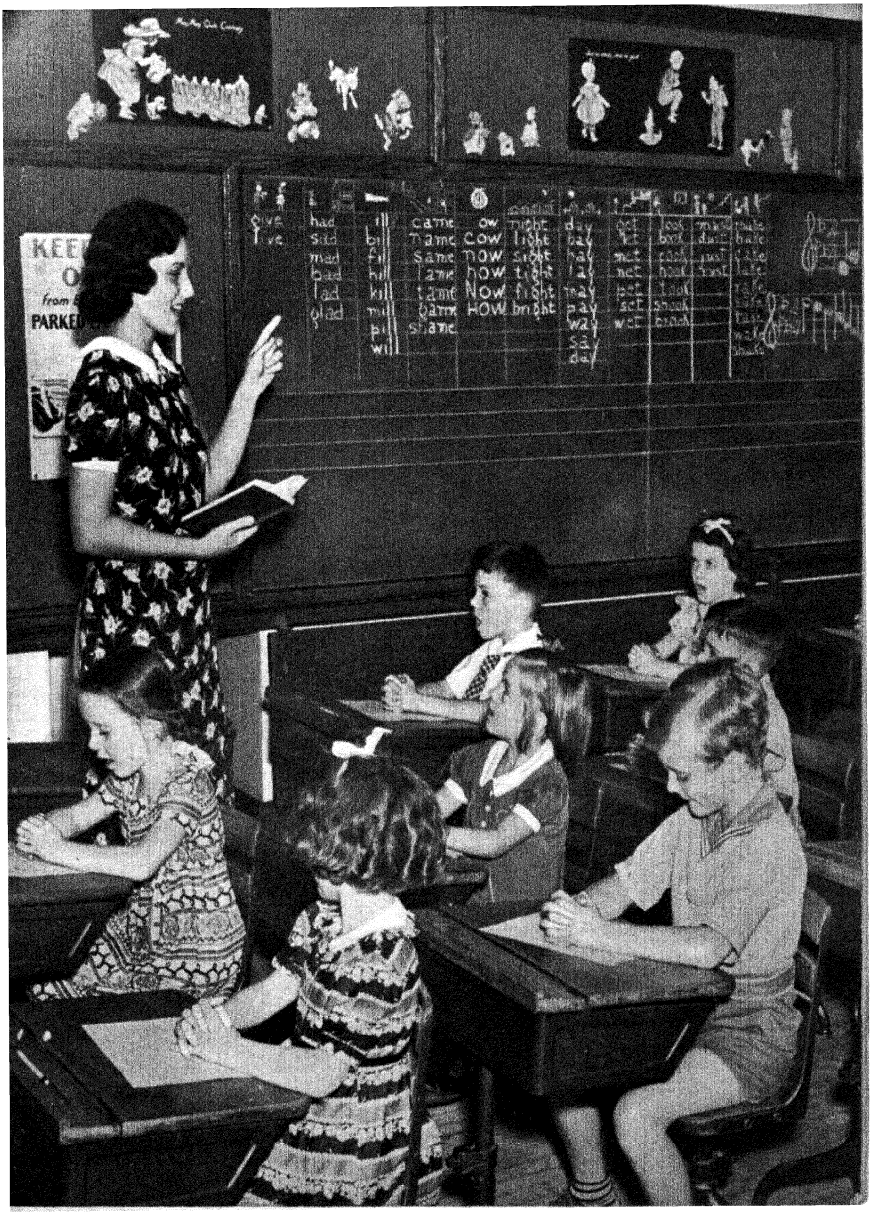
No doubt many human characteristics, habits, attitudes, and beliefs are acquired without any conscious effort on the part of either the developing youths or of the adult members of the groups into which they are born. The young acquire speech habits, attitudes toward others, and certain beliefs through association with their fellows.

Education through individual development is a process which continues as long as anyone has new experiences, for man learns through his experiences. Our immediate interest in education, however, is not

SECTION B:

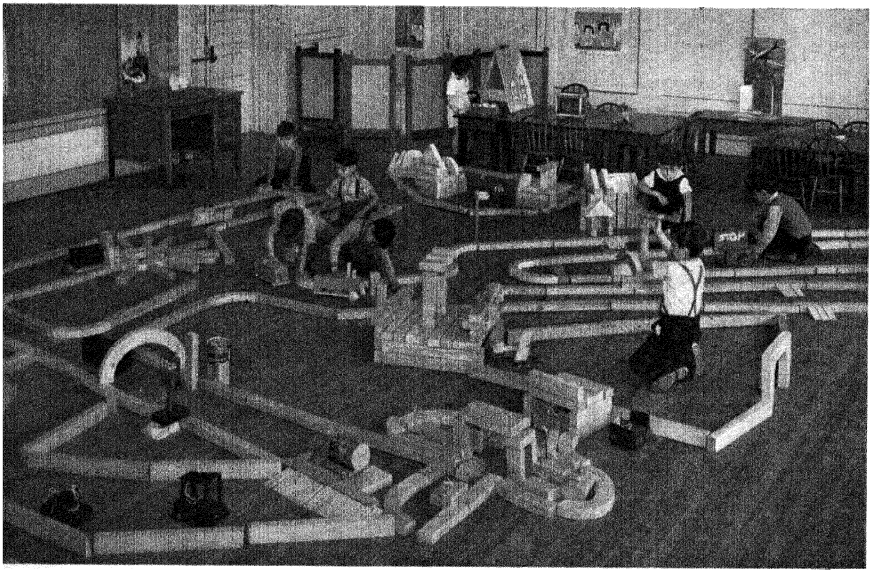
Educational Institutions

Roberts PLATE 11





Acme



Courtesy Visual Education Section, Los Angeles City School District

PLATE 12

Educational agencies can be classed as formal and informal. Although the school, as an example of formal education, is increasingly important, we should not forget such informal educational agencies as the radio, the motion picture, newspapers and periodicals. "What shall the schools teach?" is a question implicit in a major part of this section.

as much in the individual development itself as in the attendant result of that growth on the society of which any man is a member. If a person is well developed, efficient, and well adapted to his social and natural environment, his education will be beneficial both to himself and to society.

3. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF EDUCATION

The process of education should be directed toward social ends, that is, toward the perpetuation, progress, and welfare of the group of which the individual is a member. Through education the culture of the group is transmitted from one generation to succeeding generations, and the beliefs and practices which characterize a particular society are perpetuated. As new ideas and practices develop and are advanced, changes are made in social practices; then progress is made in that the changes can, within limits, be directed toward humanly established goals.[1] Through the process of education the young can become more efficient workers in the activities of the group and thus can become more abundant producers; they can be trained to become well adjusted members of their political society and to support the particular form of government of which they are a part; they can be filled with the religious, economic, political, ethical, and social philosophies of their group to such an extent that they will be willing to sacrifice their lives, if need be, to support and to maintain those principles — in brief, the public welfare, as it is interpreted by the group, can be advanced through the process of education.

B. *The Development of Education*

1. EDUCATION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLE

Education of primitive youth was intended to secure the solidarity of the group. Culture was relatively static, and the aim of the group members in training their young was to mould them into conformity with established practices and beliefs. Much of the training was informal. Especially was that true in the field of practical arts — those activities associated with satisfying the economic wants of the group. The boys followed their fathers or some older men on the hunt and learned how

[1] Economic institutions and practices are sometimes changed with the view of providing for redistribution of the wealth of a people so that more members of the group can enjoy the benefits therefrom. Political institutions are modified to allow for greater or less, as the case may be, participation on the part of the members of society.

to kill game. The girls watched and helped their mothers in the duties assigned to women. In order that the young might learn the skills needed for successful life, certain men and women who were proficient in the arts, such as the making of arrows, bows, spearheads, pottery, baskets, and necessary tools, would sometimes direct certain young people under a form of apprenticeship. Through the process of watching, imitating, and assisting the skilled ones, the young boys and girls acquired the desired techniques. The family or the small genetic group was responsible for the early training of the young.

Although occupational training and skill were emphasized in primitive education, even more were primitive people concerned with the preservation of their customs without change. Their religious and political practices were maintained through the early training given the young. This training in social and moral customs usually took the form of preparation for and initiation into active participation in group affairs. The initiation was attended by impressive ceremonies which often lasted several days. Preparation for these ceremonies may have been in progress under the direction of the parents and the elder members of the group from the young person's childhood up to the time he reached the correct age for initiation into his group — usually at puberty.[2]

The informal nature of the education of primitive youth probably continued until the time of the invention of writing. Even the adoption of a system of agriculture did not require more than an informal apprenticeship such as that mentioned above. With the invention of writing, however, a new art was introduced which was difficult to master. As this system was extended so that written records of the achievements or traditions of the group were made and preserved, a necessity arose that certain individuals, learned in reading and writing, should teach the young who desired or who were required to have that knowledge. Needless to say, this knowledge was not widely diffused. Only a few members of each group were literate and able to offer instruction in reading and writing. Usually they were the religious leaders. Thus at the beginning, formal education became closely aligned with religion.

2. EDUCATION IN GREEK CULTURE

Physical perfection was an ideal toward which all Greeks strove. In Sparta, where war was glorified above all else and government was

[2] Cf. Charles A. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution*, The Century Co., New York, 1927, pp. 237-239.

autocratic, education was directed by the state toward making a good soldier of every male citizen. In Athens, where peace and democracy were much more the ideals, the state supervised education, but did not provide it. Training of the youth was left as a prerogative of the father. The individualistic ideal of Athenian education is to be seen in its ultimate aim, which was the development of the "good life" or the integrated individual. However, education in Athens was not entirely individualistic, for the development of this "good life" involved the development of good citizens for the state.

a. *Sparta.* In Sparta men lived for the well being of the state, and all training was directed toward making each man and woman of greater worth to that state. From birth until the age of seven years the Spartan boy dwelt with his parents and received their instruction. At the age of seven years, the boys were established in boarding schools where they received gymnastic training, played games designed to increase their speed, strength, agility, and cunning, and listened to discussions on moral and state matters. Their training was designed to develop courage, hardihood, shrewdness, patriotism, resourcefulness, and obedience. From eighteen to twenty years of age, the boys spent their time training to become professional soldiers. At the age of twenty, they were sent to some frontier post to serve in the army. Here they remained for ten years. At the age of thirty, if they had met in a satisfactory way all the tests, they became full citizens of the state.

Although the training of girls was not so strict as that of the boys, their development was not neglected. They were also given gymnastic training to make them strong and capable of bearing healthy children for the state.

There was no professional class of teachers in Sparta. Part of each adult's duty to his state was to participate in the training of the youth of his society. In this way the learning of each generation was passed on by the members of that generation acting as teachers of the young. Citizens of Sparta had plenty of leisure and the teaching at Sparta dealt mostly with the manners and customs of the State, and with physical or military exercises which were known to every man. The Spartan youth did not learn to read or write or count.

b. *Athens.* In Athens, as in Sparta, the training of children began in the home. A girl was educated only in her home, where she received training from her mother in the duties she would be called upon to assume as a woman. A boy, however, after reaching his seventh birthday,

entered a private school conducted by professional teachers. The Athenian school consisted of two types of institutions: the physical training school, where time was given to gymnastics and to the playing of games which required physical agility and skill; and the music school.

The ambition of the youth in playing games was not to win;

> the important thing was to do the part gracefully and, for the person concerned, well. To attain to a graceful and dignified carriage of the body, good physical health, perfect control of the temper, and to develop quickness of perception, self-possession, ease, and skill in the games were the aims — not mere strength or athletic prowess.[3]

The music school was not devoted to music alone, but was dedicated to the nine Muses, namely epic poetry, lyric poetry, erotic poetry, tragedy, comedy, sacred hymns, choral song and dance, history, and astronomy. Later pastoral poetry was added. Closely interrelated were reading, declamation, music, and the memorizing of poetry — selections from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and, at a later date, lyric poems.

Up to the time a boy was sixteen years of age, his father was entirely responsible for his attendance at school. Although there is no evidence that the state made school-going compulsory for boys up to sixteen, attendance by the boys was apparently universal. After the son reached the age of sixteen years, however, he was allowed greater freedom, for he could then go and come alone without being accompanied by a *pedagogus* or attendant. He might then also listen to citizens discuss matters on the streets and in the meeting places.

For the sons of wealthy parents, there were the *gymnasia* where rigorous physical training was given, but the sons of poorer parents who were unable to bear the cost of further education left school at the ages of fourteen to sixteen years and engaged in such activities as were open to them.

Athens demanded military service of every youth from eighteen to twenty, no matter what the economic condition of the family. The first year of his service was spent in the neighborhood of Athens where he led the usual life of a soldier. At the end of a year he took an examination in the use of arms and was transferred to some fortress on the frontier. Here he acted as a sort of rural policeman and studied the geography of Attica. At the end of the second year he took the ex-

[3] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *History of Education*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920, p. 32. Reprinted by permission.

amination for citizenship, and when he passed, he became a full-fledged citizen.[4]

From this brief sketch of Greek education, one can see that it was primarily directed toward training young persons to become desirable members of the social order of which they were to be a part.

3. EDUCATION IN ROMAN CULTURE

Before Rome came under the influence of the Greeks, the home was the principal agency of education. The father taught his sons husbandry and such other skills as were deemed necessary for the training of a Roman, and the mother instructed her daughters in their duties. The objectives of education during this period were loyalty and service to the state, and reverence for the customs of society. The Romans were extremely practical people and emphasized the need of utilitarian training of their young. There were very few schools, and parents served as the teachers of the young members of society.

Education in Rome, like almost everything else in Roman life, was greatly modified by contact with Grecian culture. Greek slaves became teachers of Roman children. Rome, with her great organizing ability, systematized education into three divisions or stages: elementary, secondary, and higher learning. Schools were private and never again were so universally attended as they were in Athens. The elementary schools were conducted for the instruction of both sexes, but were chiefly attended by boys. The child entered at the age of seven years. Instruction was given in the arts of reading, writing, and count-

[4] "At eighteen the young man finished his secondary education and was presented by his father as a candidate for citizenship. If it could be shown that he was legitimate and born of Athenians of pure blood, and was up to the physical, intellectual, and moral standards his name was entered upon the register of citizens and he was publicly introduced by the king-archon. He was then armed with spear and shield by his father, or, if his parent had perished in battle, by the state, and was permitted at the shrine of Aglaurus to take the oath of loyalty to the gods, state, and traditions of Athens." The Oath ran as follows: "I will never disgrace these sacred arms, nor desert my companions in the ranks. I will fight for temples and public property, both alone and with many. I will transmit my fatherland, not only not less, but greater and better, than it was transmitted to me. I will obey the magistrates who may at any time be in power. I will observe both the existing laws and those which the people may unanimously hereafter make; and, if any person seek to annul the laws or set them at naught, I will do my best to prevent him, and will defend them both alone and with many. I will honor the religion of my fathers. And I call to witness Aglaurus, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone. The youth now came directly under the laws of the state, but he was considered a novice, and did not share in civic affairs. During this period he was known as an *ephebus* ('youth') or cadet, and for two years continued his education with a course in militia duties." Frank Pierrepont Graves, *A History of Education*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1909, p. 167. Reprinted by permission.

ing. At the age of from ten to twelve years, the youth might enter the secondary school, of which two sorts existed: those in which the Greek language persisted, and those in which Latin prevailed. Language and literature were the subjects stressed in each branch. "Memory was then the principal road to learning, and corporal punishment was generally relied upon to stimulate industry." [5]

The great educational contribution which Rome made to succeeding generations was collecting and preserving the works of other people, notably the Greeks, and in transmitting these through the ages. Roman education was much more practical in its aim or purpose than was that of the Athenians. The Romans stressed physical education as did the Athenians, but for the purpose of developing a robust soldier, whereas in Athens physical education was designed more especially to give to the individual grace and beauty of form and movement. The military side of such training was of secondary importance in the training of the Athenian youth. Unlike the Athenians, too, the Romans stressed oratory so that the students might later attain eminence as lawyers or statesmen.

Toward the latter part of Roman history, education became too formalized and lost vigor and vitality. Learning was not preparation for life but for learning's own sake, and gradually education became an end in itself.

4. EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire — brought about more through decay and demoralization within than by the pressure of barbarians from without — a period of almost a thousand years elapsed, during which time there was a reconstruction of civilization on a new basis. The new basis was fundamentally that of the Christian religion, which attempted to conserve portions of the classical civilization (the Greek and the Roman) and to adapt these portions to the vigor and youth of the so-called barbarians of Northern Europe.

a. *The influence of the Church.* When the story is told of the educational progress of the Middle Ages, students hear largely of the work done by those priests and monks of the Church who preserved the priceless literary treasures of Roman and Greek civilization until the time when they could be better understood and appreciated. It is true that at

[5] Frank L. Clapp, Wayland J. Chase, and Curtis Merriman, *Introduction to Education*, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1935, p. 16. Reprinted by permission.

first the Church did not know just what to do with pagan learning, and the policy was to reject everything classical and heathen except that which could be safely borrowed to further the new religious ideals and objectives. With the passing of time, however, this attitude changed, and religious leaders no longer frowned on many of the pagan and classical works.

The Church not only preserved the best of Roman literature, but also conducted training schools for future priests and monks in order to insure perpetuation of the religious order. Youths were received into the monasteries and nunneries at the age of seven years. Here they were taught to read, to write, and to chant hymns. Reading was necessary so that the future priests and nuns could read the Scriptures. Since books were scarce, writing was taught in order to increase the number of books and manuscripts. Not all children who entered the monastery and nunnery schools remained in the Church, but the chief interest of the instructors was in those who intended to follow the religious life as monks or nuns.

All manuscripts written in the early period of the Christian Era were in Latin; and it was not until the advent of modern times, with the invention of the printing press and with the coming of the Protestant Reformation, that writing in the language of the people, Italian, German, French, and English, became approved in the circles of educated men. Even then many great writers, believing that the Latin compositions were more likely to live, used both Latin and their mother tongue.

Although the work just mentioned was perhaps the most spectacular aspect of the accomplishments of the priests and monasteries, students must not overlook the fact that it was through the missionary zeal of the early priests that the barbarian chieftains and their cohorts were brought under the restraining influence of the Christian religion. Among these barbarian people, monasteries were erected which became centers of educational instruction of a practical as well as of a religious nature. Monasteries established farms and taught agriculture, spinning, weaving, sewing, and various forms of needle work. Although the chief aim in training the masses was to prepare them for the life to come, the Church Fathers felt that development of the practical arts would serve to raise the level of living of the people and would promote their spiritual growth as well.

b. *Education outside of the Church.* Beside the educational work of the Church, there was an informal practical education carried on at home

in the agricultural and domestic arts. There was also a type of industrial or manual education carried on under the apprenticeship system to meet the economic needs of the burgher society. This was the training of the craftsmen by and for the industrial guilds.[6]

Another extra-church type of education grew out of the so-called institution of Chivalry. Here the prospective knight was required to serve a long and trying period of apprenticeship in order to test his courage and honor and to have inculcated within him ideals of morality and virtue. Other aims which the training was designed to attain were military prowess, loyalty to one's leader, respect for women of one's class, and religious zeal.

In general, the training of the Middle Ages may be characterized as authoritarian. People were trained to be passively subjective to a supreme religious authority and to an absolute state or political rule. Two of the principal objectives of monastic education were to repress all physical desires, and to develop an attitude of unquestioning obedience to authority.

c. *Rise and influence of the universities.* During the early part of the Middle Ages, each group was more or less isolated and there was little or no communication between neighboring groups. The Crusades, however, gradually broke down this isolation to some extent. An attitude of inquiry — a desire for further knowledge — began to take root. Students came to be drawn to certain monastic schools by the fame of certain great teachers. From this movement arose the first universities. In the beginning these universities were only congregations of students gathered in convenient locations to listen to the lectures or discourses of their teachers. Instructors and students dwelt in hired lodgings, and the discourses were conducted in rooms hired for that purpose. It is not known definitely when the first university was established. Probably the process was one of gradual evolution rather than of sudden creation. But by the opening of the thirteenth century, universities were found in many places in Europe, notably Paris, Bologna, Salerno, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Universities soon became very popular in Europe, and monarchs vied with each other in founding them. These institutions were international in character rather than national, since they drew their membership, faculty and students, from all parts of the Christian world. All classes of people attended — from the heirs of wealthy or royal

[6] For further discussion of apprenticeship under the guild system, see page 405.

families to the poor youths who performed menial services and eked out a bare existence while enrolled in the institutions.

Religion, with all its ceremonies, had an important place in the life of the students, for most of them were churchmen or hoped to be. Knowledge of Latin was the only prerequisite for entrance. The curriculum consisted of the seven liberal arts — grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music — supplemented by philosophy.

In the universities, teaching was carried on by means of lecture and disputation. Lectures consisted of the methodical expounding of the contents of books or of the opinions of recognized authorities. Disputation involved statement and defense of a proposition made by one master and vigorously attacked by one or more other masters or students.

In summary, the achievements of the Middle Ages in education consisted of the establishment of systems of elementary, secondary, and higher schools; the preservation of many of the literary and artistic treasures of Greek and Roman civilization; the embodiment of ideals of chivalry; the inculcation of certain culture traits borrowed from the Arabs, especially "arabic" numerals; and finally, the development of new literature in the vernaculars — English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

5. THE RISE OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IN EDUCATION

With the slow growth and expansion of education during the later part of the Middle Ages and with the expansion of trade leading to an enlargement of the economic horizon, an intellectual reawakening — the Renaissance — began slowly to manifest itself, first in Italy and later in Europe and the British Isles. Although the universities did not at first welcome this revival of learning, they had been in a measure responsible for the movement, for it was largely the university-trained men who became the teachers and leaders of the Renaissance.

Whereas the training of the Middle Ages was such as to emphasize authority and to minimize almost to the point of extinction the importance of the individual, the Renaissance tended to raise the individual to a new point of prominence. Man became so very much interested in the world in which he lived that he desired to make this life more attractive, and from his point of view, more worth while. Scientific investigation grew in spite of religious objections, and the infalli-

bility of certain religious beliefs which had been unquestioned throughout the medieval period now came in for critical review.

The Renaissance had these further characteristics: (1) a revival of the study of the Greek and the Hebrew languages, and a quickening of interest in the study of the life and the literature of antiquity; (2) splendid creative work in the fine arts and in the vernacular literatures; (3) a rapid growth of individualism and of nationalism; (4) a heightening of intellectual freedom and a developing of a spirit of inquiry. The new ideal tended to emphasize the importance of life on earth and to seek ways by which men could attain happiness in the present instead of trying to prepare only for the life to come. The spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice was supplanted by a desire for self-development and self-expression. New interpretations of life were sought in the classical literature of ancient Greece and Rome.

Since the classics dealt with the problems of man and with the activities of human beings, they were referred to as the *humanities*, and scholars who devoted their time to such subjects were called *Humanists*. The period of the Renaissance is often spoken of as the *Period of Humanism* because the chief interest of scholars was centered in the life and problems of human beings rather than in religious dogmas.

This movement did not direct itself toward the same objectives in all parts of Europe. For instance, among the Italian educators:

> It was, indeed, felt that the humanistic training should lead to symmetrical development and social efficiency, but largely for the sake of the individual's happiness and fame. Whereas the prime purpose of humanism in the North became the improvement of society, morally and religiously, and much less attention was paid to the physical, intellectual, and aesthetic elements in education.[7]

As was pointed out in a previous chapter, the Church has characteristically resisted change. The period of the Renaissance was no exception to the rule: although there was a new light breaking through the darkness which had encompassed the masses for centuries, and although there was a growing spirit of restlessness under the restraint of religious authority, the Church did not sense this change and steadfastly refused to listen to the pleadings of such leaders as Erasmus, Colet, Linacre, More, and others who, while they favored reforming the Church, felt that the reformation could best be accomplished by

[7] Frank Pierrepont Graves, *A History of Education*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915, p. 141. Reprinted by permission.

and within the institution itself. Others with the zeal of crusaders believed a new institution was needed — John Wycliff (1320–1384) in England, John Huss (1373–1415) in Bohemia, and later Martin Luther (1483–1546) in Germany, John Calvin (1509–1564) in France and Switzerland, and John Knox (1509–1572) in Scotland, led in the formation of new religious orders.

All the reformers were in favor of an extension of education which would include many people who had formerly been neglected. The most influential of all the reformers was Martin Luther, whose ideas of reform went much further than the simple molding of the Church. His proposed reforms included a fundamental reorganization of society wherein the individual and the state would have a more important position than formerly. Whereas the Church had held a place of supremacy, at least nominally, Luther wanted to make the state supreme over any church within its boundaries. Education was to be a state responsibility, and every child (boy and girl alike) should be *compelled* to attend a state-supported, free school. Furthermore, education should be more practical in nature than had been characteristic of the monastic and ecclesiastical schools. In his *Address to the Mayors and Councilmen of the German Cities*, he wrote:

> Were there neither soul, heaven, nor hell, it would be still necessary to have schools for the sake of affairs here below, as the history of the Greeks and the Romans plainly teaches. The world has need of educated men and women, to the end that men may properly bring up their children, care for their domestics and direct the affairs of their households.

He did not wish to limit education to the utilitarian aspects of life, however. For the more promising children he planned academic courses to prepare them to become accomplished teachers, preachers, and workers. In Luther's educational program can be found not only the suggestion that educational opportunity should be made available by the State for all children but that the State should also compel school attendance.

More important than the work of Martin Luther in the field of education, as far as America is concerned, is the work of John Calvin. The chief difference in the viewpoints of Luther and Calvin was in the relationship of Church and State. Whereas Luther felt that the Church should be under the authority of the State, Calvin thought that the Church should be supreme. According to Calvin's belief, state and

local governments should function under the direction of religious authorities to maintain the power and influence of the Church. Calvin thought the state should establish and maintain schools for the sake of the Church and under the domination of the Church.[8] Calvin was not as interested in training in the vernacular as was Luther. He thought education of the type advocated by Luther should be restricted to those who were unable to learn Latin. Calvin made no provision for education of girls, or for compulsory training, outside the home.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAL IN AMERICA

a. *Anglican influence.* Since the thirteen original colonies of America were largely settled by Englishmen, it is to be expected that the customs and traditions of England would be transplanted to the New World. In England the ideal of free public education supported by the state had not gained much headway among the members of the Anglican Church. Instead, the aristocratic idea of private schools for the privileged class prevailed. There were the two long established universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which were sustained by endowments and tuition fees, and there were several hundred Latin grammar schools supported by the Church or by private beneficence. The children of wealthier parents received their early training from governesses and tutors in the home or from teachers in petty schools, which were a branch of the Latin grammar schools. The children of less wealthy families were often taught in private schools, some of which were called "dame schools" because they were conducted by women, usually widows, in their private homes. Small classes for children were also taught by the heads of the local church to provide elementary training for a portion of the children of families limited in economic means. For the very poor, there was a system of apprenticeship by means of which children could be bound-out to work for some individuals for periods of years during which time the master was required by law to provide such instruction as was considered necessary. Early America, particularly the southern colonies which were settled mostly by the members of the Anglican Church, therefore received from England the idea that education was for the most part a prerogative and a responsibility of the family rather than of the State.

[8] That explains why the early schools which were established in the New England colonies were organized for the purpose of giving the boys such religious training and preparation for religious service as the church leaders thought desirable.

The majority of Englishmen belonged to the Anglican Church. A comparatively small portion of the population, however, were known as Puritans, because they believed in "purifying" the established church. The Puritans held tenaciously to the ideals of Calvin and felt that education was one of the chief responsibilities of the State as well as of the family, but they felt that all education should be under the direction of the Church.

b. *Sectional differences in America.* Among the Early American settlers there were two distinctly different educational systems corresponding to the different religious beliefs of the population. In Massachusetts, there was the feeling that education should be compulsory and should be maintained by the government for all children. In the Southern colonies, geographic conditions were an obstacle to the Massachusetts type of school — Southerners lived on plantations, separated from their neighbors by considerable distance. Of more significance than this, however, was the fact that the settlers of the Southern colonies were largely members of the Anglican Church. It is not surprising, therefore, that among the people living in the Southern colonies the prevailing pattern of education was the English type: through private schools, through tutors, through apprenticeship, and, in a few cases, through pauper schools supported by public or private charity.

c. *Aims of early education.* Among the early colonies a characteristic type of school was the Latin grammar school which served as a training school for entrance into the universities. The primary aims of all education in this early period of colonial development were: first, to train the individual to read the Bible as a guide to his moral and religious conduct, and second, to train men to become preachers. The education of women was largely neglected. From the educational aims just stated, one can see how closely the Church and the schools were connected.

d. *Development of new ideals in education.* The religious ideal of education continued to hold sway in America until the period of the Revolutionary War. With the founding of a nation based on the ideal of individual equality, certain leaders expressed their conviction that an intelligent citizenship was essential to the very existence of a democratic nation. Washington, in his first message to Congress in 1790, declared:

> There is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness.[9]

[9] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1934, p. 89. Reprinted by permission.

In a letter to James Madison from Paris in 1787, Jefferson wrote:

> Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.[10]

Again in 1816 Jefferson wrote:

> If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be. . . . There is a safe deposit [for the functions of government], but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information.[11]

James Madison, "the Father of the Constitution" and the fourth President of the United States wrote:

> A satisfactory plan for primary education is certainly a vital desideration in our republics.
>
> A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce, or perhaps, both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.[12]

The statements of these national leaders could be carried out only by the establishment of free schools supported by taxation on the wealth of all people, and made available to all classes of society, to those who could pay no taxes, as well as to those who were tax payers. As might be expected, because realization of the democratic educational ideal would cost the aristocratic propertied class large sums of money, a period of bitter resistance followed the suggestion that such a public school system was essential to the very existence of the nation.

However, with the passing of time and through the heroic efforts of early educational leaders, notably Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the democratic ideals of education gradually came to be generally accepted in the United States. The aim was that every boy and girl, rich or poor, wherever located, in the country or in the city, should have an opportunity to develop his or her capacities. Now America has free schools, with free transportation in many localities for rural children who live long distances from the school, and in some of our states even the school books and supplies, paper and pencils, are furnished by the state. All the way through a student's education — from ele-

[10] Cubberley, *loc. cit.* [11] *Loc. cit.* [12] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

mentary school, through high school, university, and professional schools — he may attend free schools which are supported by the state.

C. *Summary*

Education is a life-long process of adjustment of the individual to his physical and social environment. Since the individual lives in a society, his education should be directed toward the perpetuation, progress, and welfare of the group of which he is a unit.

Educational practices and ideals have varied greatly among people widely distributed in time and place. These practices have always been directed toward ends which were conceived to be most important in the eyes of the group. Primitive education was designed to mold young people into strict conformity with the prevailing ideals of their society and to prepare them to fulfill their economic responsibilities. Greek and Roman education was designed to equip the youth for efficient service to the state. During the Middle Ages, education was in the hands of the church and was directed towards religious goals — service to the church or preparation for life hereafter. In Colonial America, education followed the traditional pattern to be found in England — the Puritans with schools conducted under the guardianship of the church, the Anglicans with private tutors, pauper schools, and apprenticeship. After the American Revolution, the importance of education for citizenship was stressed, and schools were reorganized and changed radically to fit into the new pattern of thought.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What does the term education mean? How is education related to cultural transmission?
2. Compare education among primitive people with education in our modern society.
3. How did Greek education differ from that of the Romans?
4. How did the Christian religion influence education in the Middle Ages?
5. What influence did the Crusades, the Renaissance, and the Reformation have on education of a later period?

6. Explain the reasons for sectional differences in educational institutions of Colonial America.
7. In what ways were religion and education related in Colonial America?
8. Explain the new emphasis on education in America following the Revolution.
9. What lessons can Americans draw from the Greek education for citizenship?

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CHAPTER 14

Modern Education and Its Problems

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER the development of education as an institution was noted, and it was pointed out that education is as old as human society itself. Even the most primitive "savage" received a form of education. But the institution of formal education, the school, is of relatively recent origin.

A. *Informal Education*

In modern society, although the school as an instrument for formal education has been of increasing importance, other significant agencies of educational development must not be overlooked. The family, as was noted in a previous chapter, still has a very important place in the education of the youth of our land, especially in the early years of childhood. The church still holds an important position, as can be judged by the fact that according to the 1940 *Statistical Abstract of the United States* the total church membership of the nation in 1936 was 55,872,366 and the Sunday school attendance 18,389,026. The radio has very rapidly assumed an impressive position in American education, for in 1941 over 29 million American homes had radios and there were in addition 8,500,000 automobile radios.[1]

In the field of radio transmission, television also seems likely to become an important educational development. Television was established on a commercial basis in 1939 in New York. Unfortunately the range of transmission has been too short for use in any but metropolitan centers. More recently, however, the range of operation has been much increased, and television offers possibilities of great future development.

Associated with the radio and television is the radio newspaper, printed by a device attached to the radio. Thus the news of the day

[1] *World Almanac*, 1942, p. 859.

can be put into readable form in a very short period of time after it occurs.

The motion picture theatre is another institution which has come to occupy a very significant place in the education of Americans. In 1940 there were in this country over 19,000 motion picture houses with a total seating capacity of more than 11 million persons. The total weekly attendance in 1940 exceeded 80 million people and the average weekly admissions paid during that year approximated 20 million dollars.[2]

Americans make great use of the printed page to communicate their thoughts to their fellows. Each day of the week about 1878 daily newspapers are printed, with a total circulation of more than 41 million copies. In other words, a newspaper is printed each day for every three persons living in the United States. In addition to our daily papers, 7321 weekly periodicals, newspapers, and magazines are printed; the weeklies have a total circulation of more than 75 million copies, more than an average of one for every two people in our population. Furthermore, more than 2000 monthly publications appear regularly, with a circulation of more than 134 million copies, or one for each member of our national society. During the period of a 30-day month there appears in the form of daily, weekly and monthly publications a total of more than two billion copies, or more than 10 for every man, woman, and child living in the United States.[3]

Beside the periodicals which are published daily, weekly, and monthly, something over 9000 new books and more than 1800 new editions of old books made their appearance in the United States in 1940.[4] Furthermore, in 1938, libraries of the United States contained 106,772,777 volumes for circulation among the people of the nation.[5]

These, to say nothing of other forms of activities, such as concerts, little theatres, literary guilds, book clubs, the legitimate stage, and the like, are educational agencies and have a very important part in the development of modern man in America. It is indeed a question whether the school as now organized can influence ideals and moral behavior as much as can the motion picture show, the radio, or the printed page.

[2] *World Almanac*, 1942, p. 864.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 527–528.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 528.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 527.

B. *Formal Education in America*

1. AMERICA'S FAITH IN SCHOOLS

Important and impressive as is the rôle of informal educational agencies in America, the public school is still the "American Road to Culture." Public educational institutions cost the American people more than two and one-half billion dollars each year.[6] Expenditures for public and private schools of the nation in the year 1940 amounted to more than three billion dollars.[7] No other country in the world's history ever went into the business of educating its children on such a gigantic scale.

> Our faith in education has been called by an European visitor the "national religion of the United States." This faith appeared almost simultaneously with the first settlements in the early part of the 17th century and it has grown firmer and firmer as the years rolled by. It has endured wars, business depressions, and other upheavals; it has surmounted every handicap and has always moved to greater heights. It has been buttressed by two beliefs: (1) that the welfare, progress, and perpetuity of society are determined largely by the education of the people, and (2) that the individual can best realize his potentialities in happiness and accomplishments through education.[8]

In 1940, according to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, there were enrolled in the elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions of the nation a total of almost 30 million children and young people under the guidance and instruction of more than one million teachers. Approximately one fourth of the American population is directly engaged in formal educational activities. In 1906 William G. Sumner wrote:

> Popular education and certain faiths about popular education are in the mores of our time. We regard illiteracy as abomination. We ascribe elementary book learning power to form character, make good citizens, keep family mores pure, elevate morals, establish individual character, civilize barbarians, and cure social vice and diseases. We apply school-

[6] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1943*, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1944, p. 218.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Ward G. Reeder, *A First Course in Education*. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, p. 9. Reprinted by permission.

> ing as a remedy for every social phenomenon which we do not like. The information given by schools and colleges, the attendant drill in manners, the ritual of the mores practiced in schools, and the mental dexterity produced by school exercises fit individuals to carry on the struggle for existence better. A literate man can produce wealth better than an illiterate man. Avenues are also opened by the school work through which influences may be brought to bear on the reason and conscience which will mold character. . . . Our faith in the power of book learning is excessive and unfounded. It is a superstition of the age.[9]

That the faith in the value of education to the individual and to society has grown with the passing of years can be seen by Tables 28 and 29. The increase in the enrollment of schools has been far in excess of the increase in population. Whereas, between 1900 and 1940, the population of the nation increased by 72.9 per cent, the enrollment in public and private secondary schools increased 922 per cent.[10] The increase in public secondary schools alone was 1171 per cent; and the expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools increased 990 per cent.

2 ADULT EDUCATION

Educational institutions and governmental agencies have not remained content to train only the children and the youth of the land. Adult education is being emphasized, and millions of adults are, as never before, taking advantage of the opportunities for further training. Many teachers who were without positions have been employed by the federal government as a way of offering social relief which will bear fruit in a better educated adult population.

Through extension courses offered by universities and correspondence schools, many more thousands of adults are given courses of a general or professional nature. In 1938, for example, 371,173 people were enrolled in the extension courses offered by American universities and normal schools. In 1937 429,864 persons were also enrolled in summer schools conducted by universities and normal schools.[11] In cities, night schools are held in which training is offered in academic subjects, professional fields, and the skilled trades.

[9] William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn & Co., 1906, pp. 628–629. Reprinted by permission.

[10] *Statistical Abstract, op. cit.*, 1943, p. 218.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1940, p. 121.

TABLE 28. THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870–1940 *

Year	Population of the United States	Number of Children aged 5 to 17 Years (Inclusive)	Per cent School-age Population Is of Total Population	Number Enrolled in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools	Per cent Enrollment Is of Total Population	Per cent Enrollment Is of Total Number of Children 5 to 17 Years of Age (Inclusive)	Per cent Pupils in Public Secondary Schools Is of the Total Population	Average Number of Days Attended by Each Pupil Enrolled
1870.....	38,558,000	12,055,000	31.3	6,871,000	17.8	57.0	...	78.4
1880.....	50,156,000	15,066,000	30.0	9,867,000	19.7	65.5	...	81.1
1890.....	62,622,000	18,543,000	29.6	12,723,000	20.3	68.6	...	86.3
1900.....	75,603,000	21,404,000	28.3	15,503,000	20.5	72.4	0.83	99.0
1910.....	91,972,000	24,240,000	26.4	17,814,000	19.4	73.5	1.12	113.0
1920.....	105,711,000	27,729,000	26.2	21,578,000	20.4	77.8	1.93	121.2
1930.....	122,775,000	31,571,000	25.7	25,678,000	20.9	81.3	3.63	143.0
1934.....	126,626,000	31,618,000	25.0	26,434,000	20.9	83.6	4.43	145.8
1938.....	130,215,000	30,789,000	23.6	25,975,000	19.9	84.4	5.01	149.3
1940†....	131,892,000	29,805,000	22.6	25,434,000	19.3	85.3	5.00	151.7

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1940*, p. 108.
† *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1942*, pp. 134–135.

TABLE 29. INCREASE IN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND EXPENDITURE 1900–1940

School	Enrollment				Per cent of Increase 1900–1940
	1900*	1920*	1930*	1940 †	
Elementary and Kindergarten	16,224,784	20,864,488	23,588,479	21,044,924	29.7
Kindergarten	225,394	510,949	777,899	651,988	189.3
Secondary	695,903	2,495,676	4,799,867	7,113,282	922.2
Private	110,797	213,920	341,158	457,768	313.2
Public	519,251	2,200,389	4,399,422	6,601,444	1171.3
Higher Institutions (college, normal, professional)	237,592	597,880	1,100,737	1,493,203	528.5
	Expenditures (thousands of dollars)				
Public Elementary and Secondary	214,965	1,036,151	2,316,790	2,344,049	990.4
Public institutions of higher learning	45,786	115,597	288,909	332,592	626.4

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1940*, p. 114.
† *Ibid., 1942*, p. 140.

3. SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Considered from the viewpoint of control and support of the institutions, there are two classes of schools in the United States — public and private. These schools are graded, each grade presumably representing one year of academic work. They are divided into three main divisions: elementary, secondary, and higher educational institutions. Most American public schools of elementary and secondary level are organized on the 8–4 plan, that is, eight years of elementary school training, followed by four years of secondary school training.[12] In recent years there has been a tendency to extend the secondary grade of work in both directions, and so we find the 6–6, 6–3–3, and the 6–2–4–2. The 6–6 simply means six years of elementary school followed by six years of high school work. The 6–3–3 means six years of elementary, three years of junior high school, and three years of senior high school work. The 6–2–4–2 means six years of elementary, two years of junior high, four years of senior high and two years of junior college work. The last group places those students who complete the last two years of public school work in the junior year of college or the university.

In the early Massachusetts settlements the unit for administering

[12] In certain of the Southern States the elementary school period is seven years instead of the usual eight years.

schools was the village. With the extension of education throughout the nation, most early schools became responsible to the local district for their organization, support, and administration. Frequently, state statutes empowered the citizens of a district (usually defined as an area comprising a certain expanse of land and having a certain number of people) to establish a school or schools, to employ teachers, to tax themselves for the support of the school, to decide what should be taught, who should attend school, and how long the school should operate. There was great variation in the schools even of nearby districts. Teachers who had but slight educational qualifications were often employed.

As the large cities developed, each city became an administrative unit for its schools. The advantages to be gained from larger or more populous units became clearly apparent. Furthermore, state legislatures were sometimes brought to realize that regulations governing the schools of the state needed to be on a state-wide basis in order to provide a measure of equality in the financial support of the schools, a degree of uniformity in the textbooks used, and some standardization in the professional qualifications necessary for employment of teachers. States assuming responsibility passed laws providing certain state-wide regulations on such matters as taxation for the support of schools (some states provide a state equalization fund to aid schools in poorer districts), uniform organization of the schools in the state, uniform textbooks for use in teaching certain subjects, and uniform requirements for certificates permitting a person to be employed as teacher.

There has been a gradual movement toward the enlargement of the administrative school unit from the local district to several districts consolidated into one. Thus, in Louisiana, Maryland, Utah, Florida, and West Virginia, the county is the local unit of school administration. But in spite of the economies involved in the consolidation of administrative units, one still finds in most of the states the district school administered by local citizens in the capacity of school trustees under state regulation and supervision. For example, in Illinois there are 12,116 administrative units, employing 3.5 teachers and with an average area of 5.0 square miles; in Mississippi there are 5642 such units, employing 2.7 teachers and with an average area of 8.2 square miles. On the other hand, in Louisiana there are 67 school administrative units, which represent an average area of 688 square miles and an average of 188.9 teachers employed; in Maryland there are 24 administrative units, which represent 414.2 square miles and 359.4 teachers employed.

4. STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCHOOLS

Education has from the beginning of our nation been recognized as a state rather than a federal function; and although the federal government has by grants of land and money encouraged the states to establish schools, in the last analysis it has been recognized that the state, and not the national government, has to be responsible for the schooling of the youth living within its borders.

In order to supervise and enforce school laws made by a state legislature, most of the states have a state board of education. The powers of the state board of education vary and are limited to the execution of the laws made by a state legislature. Six states only — Maine, Nebraska, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and South Dakota — have no such organization. But in all other states the state board is granted certain discretionary powers. State boards may establish standards for schools, provide for certification of teachers, select the textbooks to be used in the schools, and perform other necessary duties in the regulation of the schools.

Usually the state board of education has as its professional head and administrator a state superintendent. In thirty-three states the state superintendent is elected by popular vote, in seven he is appointed by the governor, and in eight he is selected by the state board. The duty of the state superintendent varies from that of an office clerk whose task is largely statistical to that of an active director of the educational policy of the state.

C. *Teachers and Teacher-Training*

"The school is no better than the teacher." In the United States more than a million teachers are employed for the various grades and classes of schools. Instructors in the United States are usually employed for a year's service and must be reappointed at the end of each year. However, some states have teacher tenure laws which provide that after the instructor has served a period of probation — usually three years — his employment becomes indefinite and can be terminated only for cause.

As in other school matters, there is considerable variation in the way teachers are employed. Usually, however, they are selected by the trustees of the local district school. Less frequently they are nominated

by the school, district, or county superintendent and appointed by the school board of the particular administrative unit.

As has been previously stated, teachers of early district schools were poorly equipped academically for the duties of teaching. There has been a growing demand from both the public and from school authorities for a better grade of training for teachers. The academic qualifications established for teachers in public schools are not uniform. In some states, permits to teach are issued to individuals who can pass an examination such as the school authorities prescribe. In others, teacher certificates (which permit the possessors to teach in high schools) are issued to individuals who have passed from one to five years of college work with certain prescribed professional courses. For those who are to teach in elementary schools, two years of collegiate training are usually required, although there are fourteen states and the District of Columbia which require four years of college work. Table 30 gives an indication of the variations in state requirements for the teacher's certificate.

The teacher's certificate may be valid for the lifetime of the holder or for a brief period — one to five years, with the privilege of renewal if the teacher has attended college or in other ways added to his professional training.

TABLE 30. MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHER CERTIFICATES FOR SELECTED STATES, 1942 *

State	College years required for certificate issued upon college credits	Scholarship prerequisites for certificate issued upon examination
Arkansas	1	None specified
California	4	Very seldom employed
Connecticut	4	Not allowed
Florida	2	30 semester hours
Georgia	2	Not allowed
Illinois	2	High school graduation plus one year additional
Kansas	1	High school graduation, including high-school normal training course
Louisiana	4	Not allowed
New York	4	Not allowed
North Dakota	1	None specified
Pennsylvania	4	Not allowed
Texas	1	None specified

* *Teacher Certification in Wartime*, Circular No. 213, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., September, 1942.

D. *Educational Aims*

The aims of education have varied greatly in different groups and at different periods of time. Among primitive people education aimed at molding the youth into the established, rather static, order of society. In Athens the aim was to develop the personality of the individual but to make him a well-developed citizen of Athens. In Sparta the aim was to make an able soldier. In Rome the aim varied; in the beginning emphasis fell on the welfare of the nation and the group; in the later period education was directed more to the satisfaction of individual desires and ambitions. During the Middle Ages the objective was to develop religious leaders and to train the people in church responsibilities. This latter function of education was the chief goal of the New England colonial schools. With the organization of a new nation, the ideal became more largely that of improving citizenship through school training.

The aim of modern schools is not at all uniform throughout the world or even within our own country. Russian education aims at indoctrinating the youth with the ideas and ideals which have been approved by the Council of the Soviet Union. In Russia, as in few other countries, an integrated program of education is in effect. All the formal and informal agencies work together to accomplish the one aim of creating unquestioned acceptance of the ideals upon which the Russian State is now based.

1. EUROPEAN EDUCATION

In European countries generally, educational systems are aristocratic rather than democratic. Not one system, but two systems of schools are in operation. The one system which leads through the university and professional schools is designed to train those children from the upper social orders who show particular ability for positions of leadership in the nation. These are the schools for training in leadership. Schools of the second type are designed for the children of the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water." The education of these children is designed to fit them to accomplish more efficiently the vocational work which they will assume in various trades. After the elementary period of school training, children of this class enter directly into vocational training.

2 AMERICAN EDUCATION

America has an educational system based upon the ideal of individual equality. Every child, however low his social origin, is entitled to educational opportunities equal to those of any other child. The purpose of this educational opportunity is variously viewed. From the standpoint of the statesman and educational philosopher, the aim is to develop a better citizenship. It has been said that "the aim of education is nothing short of the aim of society for itself." [13] In other words, the aim is to develop the child for successfully filling his place in society. The aim is social. By the training of the child, society and the state are benefited.

On the other hand, from the popular viewpoint, the function of the school is to develop the individual so that he can enjoy greater financial, social, or political rewards. In order to popularize education, charts and graphs have often been employed to show the difference in financial rewards of the man or woman who has completed elementary school high school, and college; according to these charts, the difference in financial rewards is due solely to the fact that some students have remained in school, whereas others have not.

Again, too often the objective which certain school authorities and teachers have set has been that of achieving, that is, "passing," certain curricula requirements. In other words, the school has become an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

E. *Results Attributed to Education*

1. EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Great expectations have been built up among the people of this nation against the time when it can boast a universally literate populace. Great claims likewise have already been made for the educational achievements of the nation as it drives forward toward that goal. Recently the National Education Association stated that the schools have been largely responsible for the following achievements:

> (1) between 1900 and 1928, life expectancy increased 18 per cent and the death rate per 1000 inhabitants decreased 32 per cent; (2) illiteracy decreased from 10.7 to 4.3 per cent between 1900 and 1930; (3) national wealth increased fourfold during the same period; (4) the index of the

[13] Harold S. Tuttle, *A Social Basis of Education*, Thos. Y. Crowell, New York, 1934, p. 21

amount of output per worker stands now at about 190 units as compared with 100 units in 1899; (5) the value added to raw materials by manufacturing has increased more than sixfold within the last thirty years; and (6) the per capita circulation of library books is more than twelve times as large as it was in 1876.... Along these and other lines, efficient schools are producing a nation of healthier, more intelligent, and more efficient citizens.[14]

2. EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES

On the other hand, it may be pointed out by the critics of our educational system that some 10 million unemployed are dependent on the city, the state, the nation, or on members of their families for support. The crime rate in the United States is higher than that in any other civilized country of the world, and the greater part of the convicted criminals are young people. In the United States the divorce rate, which is associated with the broken home and often with juvenile delinquency, is the highest of all countries. The rate of illiteracy in the United States, 4.3 per cent in 1930, is higher than that of Finland, Germany, Norway, or Sweden.

3. FACTORS IN A FAIR APPRAISAL

It is impossible to credit public education alone with the material advancement made in the United States. Other factors must be considered — the natural resources of the country (which have been exploited in a manner little calculated to insure the future well-being of our nation); the abundance of manpower, both skilled and unskilled, which has been attracted here by the relatively easily acquired wealth; the inventive genius of certain mechanical, scientific, and economic leaders; and the democratic ideal of social equality which must be credited with its share in the development of a great nation, for without doubt many of our most valuable citizens came to this country originally because of the promise of social equality.

Neither is it fair to blame public schools altogether for the crime rate, unemployment, and other social maladjustments. Other factors in these social problems are the heterogeneity of the population, the individualistic system of economics (private capital), and the urbanization of America with its attendant conditions.

[14] *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association* (January, 1933), vol. XI, p. 3. Reprinted by permission.

F. *Educational Problems*

1. MASS EDUCATION

The United States is attempting mass education, which implies the offering of equal educational opportunities to all. Great attention must be given to organization in order to handle the mass of students with a reasonable number of teachers. America has developed the graded system of schools, with its attendant group instruction and group testing wherein evaluation of the work done by each student is made on the basis of the normal curve of distribution. By its very nature the system acts as a leveling influence — a leveling toward the average of the group. The system does not encourage superior students to exert themselves. On the contrary, the system has the effect of devitalizing the subjects offered in the school; instead of developing interest in scholarship, students are encouraged merely to "pass" or to secure a "good grade," as the case may be. Furthermore, the aim of the instructor must of necessity be to simplify the subject to the level of the weaker students so that not more than 5 or at most 10 per cent of the number will fail to receive a "passing" grade. The attention of school men has been centered more on an efficient organization than on vitalized instruction. Quantity, the number of pupils taught or enrolled in the school, rather than the superiority of scholastic attainments, becomes the proud boast of the school.

The purpose of the school is, or should be, the teaching of successful living. Under mass instruction the assumption is that all individuals are alike in their aptitudes, abilities, and needs. Since this assumption is not psychologically true, the work offered is often of no interest to some students, and often too difficult for others. It follows then that some fail to "pass" and are required to remain another year seeking that which has already been found to be beyond their grasp or outside their field of interest. Until comparatively recently, little or no attempt has been made to adjust or modify the subjects or the organization so that students may form habits of succeeding. This retardation attendant on student failure is not only expensive to the state financially, but is likely to create social maladjustments in individuals who, under desirable conditions wherein their needs, interests, and abilities were considered, might become desirable members of society.

2. SCHOOL TO PREPARE FOR LIFE

The aim of a school should be to prepare the student for complete and successful living in the society of which he will be a part. It is not enough for him to become more efficient vocationally or better versed in the classic lore of the ages; those two aims no doubt have a place in the educational system, but the primary emphasis on education in a democratic society should be to develop through school experiences a better citizen and a better member of society.

The school should be molded to the life needs of the particular children it serves. According to this aim no standardized state-wide or even county-wide educational program can be established which will provide for the needs of rural children and urban children, of those desiring to go to college and of those who will complete their education in the local, village, or city school. The program must be elastic enough to take in the individual and the community development.[15]

3. IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS AND TEACHING

There is great need for an improvement in the character of the teachers employed and in the type of instruction given. Although teachers are often well prepared academically for the tasks they are to perform, too frequently they have no real interest in teaching as a vocation. They have been referred to as "trousseau" teachers whose desire is to teach until they can earn enough money to purchase the necessary clothing to get married or to enter some vocation more to their tastes.

Some localities employ practically no teachers who are not residents of the county or district. The result is "inbreeding" and a narrowing of the outlook of the school. No school should be made up largely of local teachers. Culture is spread by the community members' coming into contact with people from other communities or groups. This type of culture diffusion takes place when children come under the instruction of teachers who have had different and diverse cultural experiences. A recent study of a South Carolina school area showed that 40 per cent — 14 out of 35 — of the elementary teachers had never traveled beyond the limits of their state,[16] and had been born and reared within the county in which they were teaching.

[15] *Cf.* Julian E. Butterworth, "The Interaction of School and Community in a Democratic Society," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. XIV, no. 4, pp. 230–250.

[16] Henry L. Fulmer, "An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area," *Bulletin No. 320*, South Carolina Experiment Station of Clemson Agricultural College, June, 1939, p 32.

Teachers employed in rural communities frequently "commute" from some village or urban center miles away from the school in which they teach. Such teachers have no chance to get acquainted with the children's parents nor with the citizens of the school's locality. A teacher, in order to be a cultural leader of young people, must have opportunities to meet them out of school as well as during periods of instruction and to associate with their parents also.

Further, the training of teachers too often overemphasizes subject matter and teaching technique. Teachers' interests become centered on subject matter, not on the development of the child as a desirable member of society. Many teachers never recognize the social viewpoint of education and have no real understanding of the underlying function of the school.

A great need exists to re-direct educational aims toward the achievement of good citizenship. Certainly the aim must be toward the development of the individual, but his development for the welfare of society should come foremost. If society prospers, the individual's lot will of necessity be happier.

4. FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

It has been pointed out that the state has been responsible for the organization, direction, and support of its public schools. In most states the local district is the educational unit and is responsible for organizing the schools, employing the teachers, and financing the schools. Although the statement "the wealth of the state must educate the children of the state" receives general approval, one finds on close examination that in practice the wealth of the state and nation is not used to provide equal educational opportunity for the children. The economic resources are often not located where the children are most numerous.

Great discrepancies exist in areas where each local school district is held for the financial support of its schools. In some districts of a state the schools have beautiful buildings, highly trained and well paid teachers, and are supported by urban populations bearing a very low rate of taxation for educational purposes; in other districts of the state the schools have very poor plants, badly trained and inadequately paid teachers, and are supported by rural populations burdened by an excessively high educational tax rate. The fault rests, not on the rural dwellers, but on the unequal distribution of wealth in the state and on

the failure of the population in general to recognize that education is a state-wide, even a nation-wide responsibility.

Children of the poorer areas do not always remain there. The population supply of the large cities depends upon rural communities as its source. Many students believe that the wealthy centers owe to the poorer areas an obligation to bear a portion of the burden of school support.[17]

Some states, recognizing the injustice of requiring each local area to finance its own schools, have provided methods of relief by distributing the burden over a wider area. The following are three more commonly adopted plans — some states have adopted all three — for distributing the cost of education more equitably:

a. Consolidating school districts. By this method several small units may be joined together so that the schools will have a wider tax base. In some states consolidation has been carried to the point where the entire county serves as the unit for school support.

b. Providing a state school fund. By this method a state school tax is paid into the state treasury. The funds are then re-distributed to the school administrative units on the basis of the number of children of school age living there. By this method the centers are taxed according to their wealth, but the money is distributed according to the number of children requiring to be educated in the area.

c. Providing an equalization fund. By this method there accrues to the state treasury a sum of money which is distributed to the poorer sections of the state in proportion to their need. The wealthy sections pay a portion of the fund but receive none of it.

In recent years much has been said about the need for federal aid for schools. Advocates of federal aid point out that national wealth is also unequally distributed. The per capita wealth of the state of New York for 1936 was $3885; of the District of Columbia, $4122; of Pennsylvania, $2742; of Illinois, $2580; on the other hand, the per capita wealth of Arkansas was only $770; of Mississippi, $736; and of Georgia, $968.[18] The fact that the per capita wealth in New York is greater than in Mississippi is not as significant as the fact that in Mississippi, with its much lower per capita wealth, the proportion of population which is of school age is larger than in New York. For example, a study of the United States Census reports for 1940 shows that almost

[17] *Cf.* The Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of The Committee*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938, pp. 25–62.

[18] *World Almanac*, 1940, p. 134.

a fifth of the population of the states of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Georgia are children of school age — five to fourteen years. The percentages are respectively 19.6, 18.8, and 18.6. On the other hand, 12.8 per cent of the New York population, 13.1 per cent of that of Illinois, and 15 per cent of the Pennsylvania inhabitants are from five to fourteen years of age. In other words, the average ratio of children is 39.7 per cent higher in the Southern states than in the states of Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. This means that for every one hundred children to be educated in the states of Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania, where the average per capita wealth is among the highest of the states in the Union, about one hundred and forty children of the same age are to be educated in the three states where the wealth to support education is the lowest.

The cost of education — the amount actually spent to support the public schools — for the year 1935–36 in New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania was, respectively, $134.13, $86.06 and $79.70 per pupil. For Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas respectively the cost was $30.96, $27.68, and $24.55.[19] Often when discussing illiteracy in the nation, individuals have pointed out the relationship between low expenditures for schools and high rates of illiteracy; in areas where expenditures are low, illiteracy rates are usually high. The conclusion has been drawn that the South is not interested in operating public schools and is not trying so hard as the more literate but wealthier states. Such a conclusion is wrong. A study of the figures given above indicates that the three Southern states are putting forth greater effort than are the wealthier states in proportion to their ability to support schools. The Advisory Committee on Education reports:

> It is to the credit of the States of low financial ability that with few exceptions they rank at the top in the percentage of the income devoted to schools. Nevertheless, they rank at the bottom with respect to the quality of the schooling provided. Although the States having the least ability to support education tend to make the greatest effort they are unable to support education at anything like the level attained, with less than average effort by the more able States.[20]

The Advisory Committee further recommends:

> The facts presented previously in this report indicate that no sound plan of local to State taxation can be devised and instituted that will sup-

[19] The Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938, p. 225. [20] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

port in every local community a school system which meets minimum acceptable standards. Unless the Federal Government participates in the financial support of the schools and related services, several millions of the children in the United States will continue to be largely denied the educational opportunities that should be regarded as their birthright.[21]

5. SCHOOL USE OF OTHER SOCIAL AGENTS

In order to accomplish the functions of education, as Bolton and Corbally point out,[22] it is necessary for the school to enlist the aid of all other social agencies. The school should work in close cooperation with the home and the church. It should make use of all available informal educational agencies such as the radio, the moving picture, the press, the library. It should also use facilities such as playgrounds, and various organizations as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts. The school should become the educational and recreational center, not only for the children who attend school, but for the entire community. This is especially true of schools serving rural communities. Only as the school rises to its possibilities and becomes a leader in the place to which society has assigned it can one justify the faith America has in it.

G. *Summary*

Education is of two types — informal and formal. Informal education includes the experiences and training the individual receives through life in society — his daily associations, his family life, his church relationship, the radio programs which he hears, the motion picture shows he attends, the books, newspapers, and magazines he reads, together with all other forms of activities in which he participates or of which he is a passive observer.

In America the public school is the established agency through which youthful members of society are expected to receive certain important experiences necessary for their cultural development. School represents the formal type of education. The nation's investment in education places education as one of the major institutions from an economic standpoint. School enrollment has grown much faster within the past thirty years than has the population of the nation.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[22] Frederick E. Bolton and John E. Corbally, *Educational Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1941.

The educational system of the United States comprises two types of schools — public and private. Schools are graded into elementary schools, secondary schools, and higher educational institutions of college or university rank.

In many states the administrative unit of education has been and still is the school district. Large cities are now recognized as administrative units for the education of their children. Although the school district is often a rural school unit for support and control, the state often aids in financing local schools and in exerting a regulating and supervisory control over them. In some states the consolidation or the enlargement of school units has been practiced until the county is the smallest administrative area of education.

The importance of the teacher in the school is recognized generally, and efforts have been made to improve the quality of teaching through raising the educational qualifications which teachers must possess.

Educational aims vary in time and place. There is little agreement among different countries as to school objectives. European aims of education differ as greatly from those most widely accepted in this country as their governmental philosophies differ from ours. American education is mass education, wherein it is assumed that all individuals are entitled to the opportunity of developing themselves intellectually to their utmost capacities.

Various results have been attributed to the free public schools of America. Enthusiastic supporters, ardently favoring the existing system, point to American material progress which has been made within recent years. Critics, on the other hand, point to the great number of unemployed in the nation; to the crime rate, which is the highest to be found among civilized nations; to the divorce rate, highest in the world; and to the fact that, despite the expenditures for schools, America has a higher rate of illiteracy than some of the European nations. A student must be careful not to be too enthusiastic in making claims for the educational system; likewise he must not be too ready to blame on the schools all social maladjustments. Other factors must be considered in both cases.

Many educational problems confront the American school system. One of the most serious difficulties of the present is that of providing a suitable form of education for all classes of society at a cost not prohibitive.

It would seem that the schools must regard education as adjustment

and their function the fitting of the child to live harmoniously and successfully within his community. The needs of all children are not the same. For that reason school programs must be flexible.

There is a serious problem in allotting financial support of schools so as to give rural as well as urban children more equal opportunities. The wealth of the state and nation is not often found in areas where the largest proportion of children have to be educated. A suggestion is often made that federal aid be granted to the poorer states for their schools.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Through what agencies is the modern child in the United States educated?
2. In what sense is "our faith in the power of learning a superstition of the age"?
3. How do you account for the great increase in public school enrollment between 1900 and 1938?
4. Why have schools been standardized and the administrative units enlarged?
5. How are teachers usually trained for their positions? What academic requirements are most common for public school teachers?
6. What are the aims of American schools? Is there a uniformly approved goal for all schools?
7. Differentiate between the European and American schools as to their aims. How does this difference make the American school system more difficult to administer?
8. What are the achievements and the failures attributed or attributable to American education?
9. Explain how the South is in an unfavorable position in education in comparison with other sections of the nation. Is the South less interested in education than the Northeast? Give evidence to support your statements.
10. Is it desirable for the school to enlist the support of other social institutions in its attempts to perform the educational tasks? Explain.

*

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CHAPTER 15

Play and Recreation

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS the educational institutions of primitive people, of early Greece and Rome, of western nations during the Middle Ages, and of America were discussed. Play is in many cultures an inseparable part of the process of education. Plato said, "Education should begin with the right direction of children's sports. The plays of childhood have a great deal to do with the maintenance or non-maintenance of laws." And Aristotle observed, "It is also very necessary that children should have some amusing employment." These statements do not fully express the importance of play and recreation in a society. Play is not only indispensable for youth, but in our modern age of industry and urbanization it is scarcely less important for the adult members of society.

It is desirable to discuss the nature and value of play, to consider play as practiced in primitive and in earlier historic cultures, and to notice the recreational needs of modern society.

A. *The Nature and Value of Play*

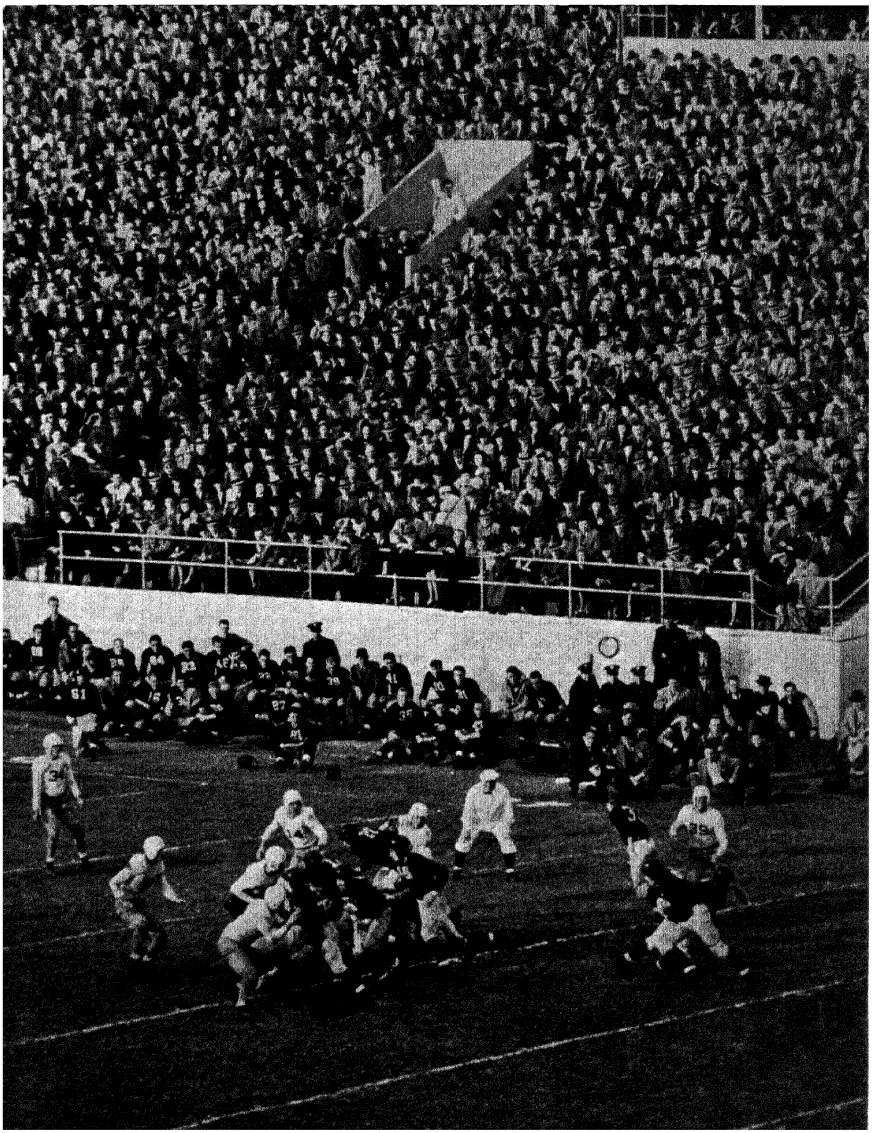
Play is activity that is satisfying and is engaged in for its own sake; that is, individuals or groups of individuals undertake a particular activity for no other reason than pure interest in what they are doing. What individuals desire to do as play varies greatly. One person may prefer fishing to any other form of recreation, whereas to other individuals tennis, golf, or such passive pursuits as listening to a concert or watching a motion picture may be more pleasant. There is no compulsion other than the desire to participate, and the activity furnishes its own reward.

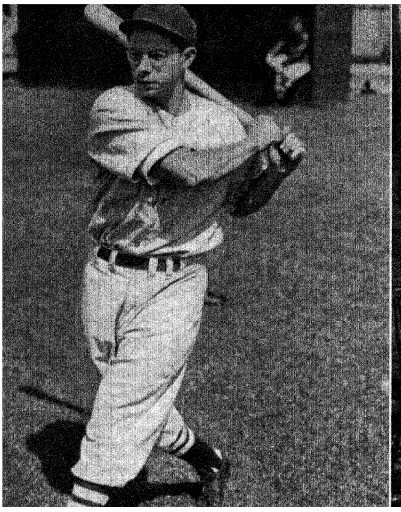
The distinguishing feature between play and work, then, is the motive underlying the activity. Professional baseball players who make their

SECTION C:

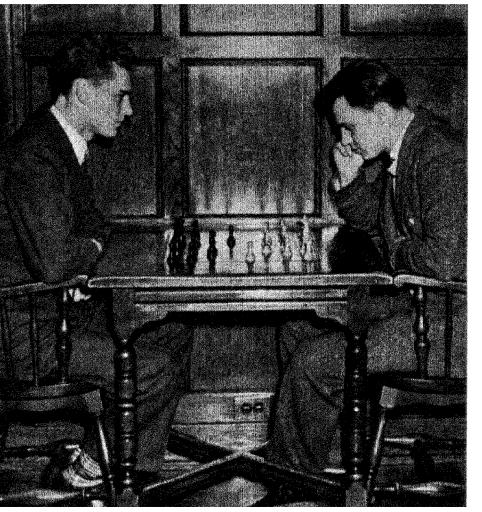
Recreational Institutions

Roberts PLATE 13





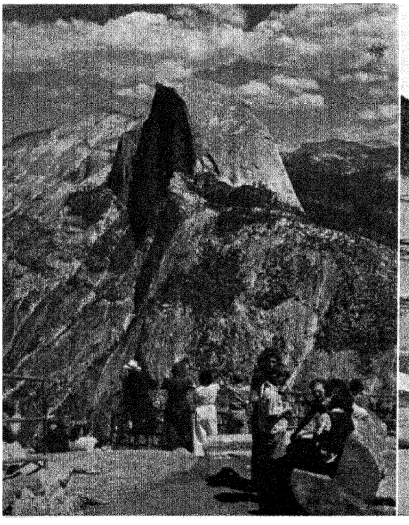
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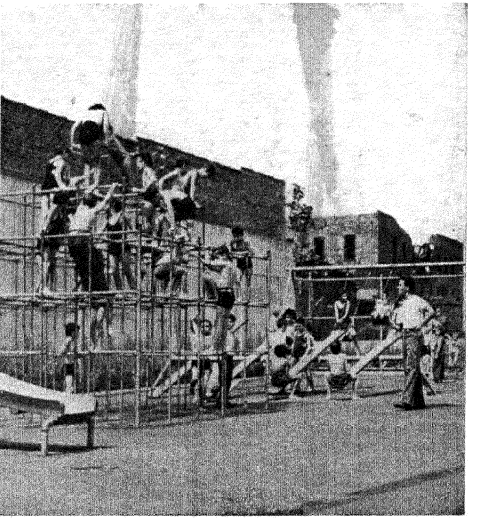
Roberts

PLATE 14

Play implies an activity engaged in for its own sake. It can be active or passive. The baseball player, the chess player, the spectator at a baseball game, the "kibitzer" of the chess game — all are "players" although the degree of their activity varies.



Gendreau



Keystone

PLATE 15

Because, to reach his highest development, an individual must have abundant vitality, and a healthy mind and body, it is in the public as well as private interest to provide recreational facilities.

Dancing, singing, playing group-games, and conversing are all forms of recreation which are commonly engaged in with other people.

2. VALUES OF PLAY

The values accruing from play may be regarded as individual benefits and as group benefits. The values to the individual are physical, social, emotional, educational, and rest benefits.

a. *Individual benefits*

(1) *Physical.* Through the physical activity in which the person engages, within the bounds of his physical prowess, he becomes more robust and has a stronger body. Medical authorities agree that physical activity stimulates growth and is absolutely essential for growing children. Certain forms of recreation result in increased circulation, greater respiratory activity, and better digestion. There are many examples of frail children who through physical activity and play have become strong men and women. Theodore Roosevelt is perhaps the most widely known example in the United States. Glenn Cunningham, the famous mile racer, is another excellent illustration.

(2) *Social.* Play is one of the greatest socializing agents known. A man recently said, "I can really become better acquainted with a man in a game of golf than by hours of conversation in my office." The same could be said of participating in many games such as tennis, handball, horseshoe pitching, and the like. Through play an individual becomes better able to adjust himself to his fellows and to their ways.

(3) *Emotional.* Play is an emotional stabilizer. People who live removed from human association and contact become self-centered and unable to live in harmony with others. Often they become neurotic and "temperamental." Play of any sort which calls for the "give and take" of life with others tends to take a person out of himself and to bring about a change in his emotional attitude toward his associates. It has been stated that if different nationalities and races of people could play together (but not against each other) so that their emotional prejudices could be removed, they would retain little of the bitter feeling which now often exists among them.

(4) *Educational or propaedeutic.* In a sense, all the values already mentioned aid in preparing the individual for later life. He can better perform the activities of life if he is sound of body, socially well-adjusted, and emotionally stable; but, as will be pointed out later, the play life

of most children is closely related to the life duties to be performed in later years. Girls play with dolls and play games related to the domestic life of the group. Boys hunt, play rough games, fight, and engage in contests in imitation of their elders. Through play each child and youth receives indispensable training in the work which will be his.

(5) *Rest.* No better rest from work exists than some form of amusement to bring about complete relaxation from routine activities. This is especially true in modern society and among adults whose productive activities are monotonous rather than physically exhausting.

(6) *Group benefits.* Whatever benefits the individual benefits society, for, although society is more than a mere aggregate of individuals, the individuals do make up the group. Stable, well-adjusted individuals will make a strong, well-integrated society if the members of the group have the ideals of social welfare implanted in their minds. Games and social interaction in the form of pastime activities can do much to establish desirable social attitudes. For that reason, play can be a great unifying social agent. Many group games help build up a spirit of self-sacrifice. Play can remove sectional or urban-rural prejudices and can replace them with sympathy and understanding. Play can build better health habits and lengthen the life-span of the members of society. Play can make a happier people, reduce crime, and increase law enforcement. Play and recreation are social necessities.

B. *Play Among People of Earlier Times*

1. PRIMITIVE PEOPLE

Among primitive people, play was of great importance in preparing the child to assume his place in society. The play of young members of the group was largely an imitation of the activities of adults. Among the American Indians, the ideal was the seasoned warrior who could endure hardship without complaint and suffer without visible expressions of pain. Consequently, games indulged in by boys were often very rough and even brutal; forms of football, endurance contests, shinny, throwing-games, swimming, shooting, hunting, tomahawk-throwing, riding, wrestling, and running were all engaged in. Girls, however, played games related to the domestic life of their sex.

Play among primitive people was not limited to the children. All members of society took part in forms of amusement appropriate to their age and sex. Dancing of various types, accompanied by the rhythmic

Dancing, singing, playing group-games, and conversing are all forms of recreation which are commonly engaged in with other people.

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beat of drums or vocal chants, was and is apparently universal among primitive cultures.

> The more advanced primitives developed dancing to a remarkable degree of perfection and beauty. The white visitor, uninitiated into things Indian, yet familiar with good dancing technique, is amazed, on his first exposure, at the perfection of Indian dancing, and is often startled to find that it is something different from the mere "hopping around" he had supposed it to be. Indian culture reached its pinnacle in Mexico and diminishes in advancement with a few exceptions the farther away from this area one goes. The dancing of the Southwest Indians especially, and to a slightly less degree, of the Plains Indians, is still a spectacle to behold when seen in its original and authentic form. These Indians match the perfection of their intricate and graceful rhythmic motions with amazing showmanship. Their dance embodies vivid colors, beautiful design, waving plumes in the breeze, the stark stagecraft of painted bodies — dancing is a poor name for it — it is drama. The hunting and fighting motion-language of the dance is wonderfully vivid and dramatic. It is color, motion, music, all combined and for no idle purpose, but as worship of the One Great Spirit.[2]

Song is also a characteristic form of recreation among all people, especially among primitive and backward people. The African Negro is famous for his chants, certain elements of which have worked their way into the modern music of America. The American Indians were a singing people. Some appropriate song celebrated every significant event in life — sunrise, sunset, the birth of a child, courtship, festivals, and death.

Story-telling in the form of relating the legends of the past is a part of the play-life of most early people. The early Greeks, Hindus, Romans, Germanic people, and American Indians all had their myths and legends which were related in public gatherings. This relating of stories was a source of much pleasure to the people of all ages.

Various forms of art and decoration are also among the recreational activities of primitive groups. Even the early Cro-Magnon man attained a considerable degree of skill cutting designs on the walls of caves in which he lived.

2. PLAY AMONG THE GREEKS

Among the early Greeks, children's play was very similar to that of modern times. Little girls had dolls, doll houses, toy dishes, tables, and

[2] Elmer D. Mitchell and Bernard S. Mason, *The Theory of Play*, A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1935, p. 4. Reprinted by permission.

pets, while the small boys had wagons, carts, and animals. Children also had swings, hoops, and balls. Games resembling hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, and blind man's buff were engaged in. As the children grew older, their play-life also expanded. Boys engaged in competitive sports, swimming, jumping, wrestling, boxing, discus-throwing, various forms of gymnastics, dancing, and singing.

The sports of the early Greeks were characteristically individualistic, as was their philosophy of government. Group games requiring teamwork never developed to any high degree. The Greeks developed the Olympic games, a national athletic festival which took place every four years in Elis. During the periods between the Olympic games there were other festivals in which contests in running, wrestling, singing, and flute- and lyre-playing were engaged in. While the Olympic contests were in process, all hostilities ceased and the Greeks engaged wholeheartedly in the great religious festival to Zeus. The contestants competed for no prizes of intrinsic value. The reward for winning was a wreath of wild olive. This token of victory was highly prized, and contestants were required to train rigorously for ten months before the festival. Always the Olympic contests were individual events, not games requiring teamwork.

The importance of the Olympic games to Greece can hardly be overestimated. It was the ambition of every Greek boy (women were not permitted to view the games) to witness an Olympic contest during his lifetime. No greater honor could befall a Greek than to win in the Olympic games. Thus the games served to build strong active men and also to spread elements of Greek culture to different parts of the peninsula.

3. PLAY AMONG THE ROMANS

Among the children of early Rome, dolls, little wagons, carts, tops, hoops, balls were common playthings. Pets were also very common, with the dog occupying the most important place in the affection of the children. Games were played which resembled our blind man's buff, hide-and-seek, jack-stones, and see-saw. Besides these, boys enjoyed riding, swimming, and wrestling.

After the passing of childhood, play was no longer a part of the young Roman's life. It is true that he engaged in athletic exercises, running, riding, fencing, wrestling, and the like; but since the Romans were extremely practical, activities and games were not engaged in for

their own sake, but rather for the rewards they might afford in physical strength, skill as a soldier, and stakes for the winners.

The recreational amusements of the adult Romans largely involved watching others engage in certain activities — chariot races, theatricals (especially after the advent of Greek culture into Roman society), fighting of wild beasts, gladiatorial combats, and the destruction by wild beasts of human beings — criminals or others who had been condemned to death. As the population of Rome became more idle and more pleasure-seeking, the rulers found it more and more necessary to keep the masses entertained. As a consequence the mass spectacles came into prominence. The Circus Maximus at the time of Constantius had a seating capacity of 200,000 people, a fact which shows the popularity and importance of the great shows in Rome.

4. PLAY IN EARLY ENGLAND

Early England was, for the most part, made up of rural population living in small villages situated on the manorial estates of nobles. Later these villages disintegrated, and the population formed the kingdom's industrial and commercial towns and cities.

In early times hunting was engaged in as a pastime by all classes of people; later, with the growing power of the nobles, it became the exclusive right of the lords. Great tracts of woodlands were set aside as game preserves to provide sport for these favored people. The sportsmen, on horseback, were usually assisted in the hunt by dogs. Riding was a favored pastime of the higher social classes.

During the period of chivalry, great tournaments were held periodically in which a certain number of men arrayed on opposite sides would engage in mock battle. Usually these contests were engaged in by mounted knights before many admiring spectators. Similar to the tournaments, and sometimes incorrectly spoken of as though they were the same, were jousts. The joust was a mock battle engaged in by two knights, not by a larger number.

Among the peasantry residing in their tiny villages, many forms of pastime were common. Early England has become known as Merrie England largely because of the apparent happiness characteristic of peasant life. Some of the sports were archery, in which even the English women became adept; throwing stones, darts, and bars of iron, from which we have copied our athletic contests of throwing the shot and the hammer; foot-racing, which was universally popular; wrest-

ling, rowing, swimming; and various kinds of ball games, such as handball, football, cricket, tennis, and golf.

Living in villages as they did, the English peasants formed strongly united social groups. They enjoyed playing on the village green, singing in groups, dancing, and listening as some bard or minstrel, usually accompanying himself on a harp, sang songs praising the bravery of a warrior. A description of this round of activity is to be found in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*:

Sweet Auburn! loveliest village of the plain;
Where health and plenty cheered the laboring swain,
Where smiling spring its earliest visit paid,
And parting summer's lingering blooms delayed.
Dear lovely bowers of innocence and ease,
Seats of my youth, when every sport could please,
How often have I loitered o'er thy green,
Where humble happiness endeared each scene.

How often have I paused on every charm.
The sheltered cot, the cultivated farm,
The never-failing brook, the busy mill,
The decent church that topt the neighboring hill,
The hawthorn bush, with seats beneath the shade,
For larking age and whispering lovers made!

How often have I blest the coming day,
When toil remitting lent its turn to play,
And all the village train, from labor free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree,
While many a pastime circled in the shade,
The youth contending as the old surveyed
And many a gambol frolicked o'er the ground
And sleights of art and feats of strength went round.

And still, as each repeated pleasure tired,
Succeeding sports the mirthful band inspired;
The dancing pair that simply sought renown,
By holding out, to tire each other down;
The swain mistrustless of his smutted face,
While secret laughter tittered round the place;
The bashful virgin's side-long looks of love,
The matron's glance that would those looks reprove.
These were thy charms, sweet village! Sports like these,
With sweet succession, taught even toil to please!

5. EARLY AMERICAN PASTIMES

Colonial life in the British colonies of North America assumed two patterns: that of the New England colonies, settled largely by Puritans, and that of the Southern colonies, settled by members of the Anglican church.

As has been pointed out, the British were a pleasure-loving people who enjoyed their play and characteristic amusements. The members of the Anglican church could see no wrong in dancing, song, and recreation to accompany the labor of daily living. Furthermore, life in the Southern colonies, particularly that on plantations where the heavy work was performed by indentured or slave labor, allowed much time for play. Consequently, many English forms of amusement were transplanted and adapted to their new geographic environment. The most common were riding, fox-hunting, dancing, and singing. The social visit, characteristic of the isolated farm type of social organization, became very prominent in Southern life. People of one family would visit for weeks in the home of another. From this custom has come the traditional reputation of the Southern people for their hospitality. The life of the old South was known for its gayety, chivalry, and for many of the traditions of the motherland.

In New England, on the other hand, other forces besides religion moulded and colored the cultural pattern. Life was much harder. Nature was more austere. The early New England colonists were required to struggle constantly against physical forces and against hostile natives. Their hard life and a stern religion left them little opportunity or inclination for levity — play. Life in this world was regarded as a preparation for the life to come. Consequently, there should be no frivolity here, but only an attempt through work, prayer, and religious meditation to prepare for a future life of glory. Play by children was regarded as sinful and was to be repressed. Children were to be kept busy in useful toil for their souls' salvation. With the introduction of the factory system and its attendant child labor, a provision for keeping children busy was found, and was welcomed as a blessing by many prominent men of that day.

Dancing of all kinds was strictly forbidden in New England; even to possess a pack of cards or a set of dice was a criminal offense. Drinking spirituous liquor, however, was tolerated, and intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquors was a characteristic of the age. Theaters and entertainments of all kinds were strictly forbidden. Singing, too, except the

singing of hymns, was at first barred. Group-singing finally became very popular and in the course of time there developed "democratic and semi-religious" singing societies.

The entire life of the early New England Puritans was centered in the church. Consequently, whatever recreation or amusement they were to enjoy was the type that could be indulged in with the church's approval.

As the pioneers moved across the Appalachian Mountains and settled the West, religious severity was greatly modified. The settlements were such that the isolated farm instead of the village or town became the characteristic social unit. Life was hard and lonely; consequently, various types of "gatherings" were held where people would go for miles to help in a "barn raisin'," a "log rollin'," a "spelling bee," a "revival service" (conducted by some itinerant preacher), a community gathering or dance, a "quilting bee," and many another activity associated with the life the people lived. There the young, as well as the old, met, played, and worked.

C. *Summary*

Play is activity engaged in for its own sake. The small boy plays ball for no other reason than that he enjoys the sport. The ball player who engages in the activity for the sake of earning a living is working, not playing.

Play may be active or it may be passive. In active play, the individual engages in recreation as a participant; whereas, in passive recreation, the individual is a spectator or auditor. He watches or listens to others rather than taking part in the activity himself.

Play has value to the individual for its physical, social, emotional, propaedeutic, and rest benefits. Its value to the group — to society — comes through the benefit to individuals and through the social integration of play activities. Desirable social attitudes and ability to work are concomitants of play.

Play has had an important part in the life activities of people in all ages. The primitives, the Greeks, the Romans, the early English, the colonists of America, the pioneers of the West, have all had characteristic pastimes in which the members of their societies took part.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the play of primitive man more active or more passive than that of modern American farmers? of urban dwellers?
2. Explain how play has value in preparing the individual for his adult activities. Give concrete illustrations of how it is employed with such objectives in mind in modern society.
3. Can you cite examples of communities and other social groups being benefited through play?
4. What was the most important objective of play among the ancient Greeks? the Romans?
5. Describe the play life of Early England as pictured in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village.*
6. What was the colonial attitude toward play? Was it the same in all sections of what is now the United States? How do you account for the differences?
7. Explain how pioneer recreation was closely related to the life and work of the times.

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CHAPTER 16

Modern Needs and Types of Recreation

A. *Modern Changes*

DURING THE PAST CENTURY our culture has experienced rapid and extensive changes. To visualize the speed of change let us examine the period shortly after the close of the Civil War.

1. AMERICA IN 1870

In 1870 most of our modern inventions were unknown or not fully developed. Electricity for power or light was unknown; the telephone, the gasoline engine, radio, reinforced concrete for buildings, and many other modern commonplaces had not been discovered. Agriculture had developed beyond the hoe stage into the plow stage of cultivation; but the tractor, the gangplow, and other power machinery for farming had not been invented. Vast tracts of land were given over to buffalo and to the Indians; in fact, some areas which have since become states were entirely undeveloped.

In 1870 the population was overwhelmingly rural; only one-fifth of the people of the United States lived in towns and cities of 8000 population or more. Only one city, New York, had a million inhabitants; and only one other, Philadelphia, passed the half million mark. Farming was the most important industry. The typical American family was the farm family.

2. AMERICA TODAY

Today the majority (56.5 per cent) of American people live in urban centers having 2500 or more inhabitants.[1] Agriculture is no longer the most important industry. Unsettled land suitable for agricultural development has vanished. Inventions have made agriculture to a large extent a mechanized industry, and have released from farming great

[1] Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940.

numbers of people to engage in urban industries or to join the army of the unemployed. Highways have been developed; and with the automobile, America, whose population was always relatively mobile, has become almost a "nation of nomads." Population has been to a high degree concentrated, with almost as many people living in cities of 100,000 population or more as composed the entire population of the nation in 1870. Today five cities have passed the million mark and nine others have more than a half-million people living within their borders.[2]

Hours of labor have been greatly reduced during this seventy-year period. Whereas the working hours of the earlier period ranged from sixty to eighty-four or more per week, at the present time in some fields the weekly working time is no more than thirty-five hours. Seldom does the weekly working time extend beyond forty-four to forty-eight hours. Furthermore, specialization has greatly developed. Men no longer work at general trades or occupations, but in very definite and narrow jobs or segments of industries.

These developments have brought about great social changes such as the following: urban life and congestion rather than rural life with plenty of space; shorter hours of labor and a great amount of leisure or free time; monotonous work which allows little opportunity for the expression of individuality. All these innovations in turn have resulted in the creation of great social problems: how to spend leisure time of which there is so much now; how to relieve laborers from the monotony of their lives; and how to provide a natural or healthy play life for urban children. Where formerly play could be left to the family or to the informal customs of small groups of people, such an arrangement no longer serves adequately.

B. *Modern Recreation*

It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that play — recreation — may assume two forms, the active and the passive. In rural society the active form tends to predominate, although the passive participation in sports as a spectator is not unknown. The games are usually engaged in for their own sakes. In urban society, however, the passive form of recreation assumes a much more important rôle. The majority of people watch plays, games, contests, and the like instead of taking part in them.

[2] *Ibid.*

Business men and organizations were quick to sense the needs of that portion of the American population which lived the confined life of the cities, whose occupational activities were the monotonous routine procedure of the factories, and who had much leisure time at their disposal. These profit-seeking individuals and organizations set about amusing the American urban dwellers for financial rewards. Baseball and other athletic sports have changed from sports to spectacles. Amusement parks, dance halls, pool rooms, bowling alleys, theaters, motion picture shows, cabarets, and similar places of amusement have grown like mushrooms in our cities. Pleasure is closely linked with profit. America has become afflicted with *spectatoritis*. Even our schools and colleges, attracted by the opportunity to make money, have developed athletics to an unprecedented degree. Football, because of its popular appeal, has become the most widely emphasized sport. High-salaried coaches are employed, not to develop strong boys and girls or to provide a healthful form of recreation for those who take part, but to win games. By winning contests the schools can be sure their teams will be liberally supported. A strong athletic team means money for the school both in the direct returns taken in at the gate and in the increased enrollment brought about through the advertisement afforded by a winning team.

1. COMMERCIALIZED RECREATION

The provision of pastime for the multitudes has become one of the great businesses of the age. To seat the thousands who witness football games, prize fights, and baseball contests, great bowls, rivaling the famous Circus Maximus of Ancient Rome have been constructed in various cities. Magnificent motion picture houses have been erected at great cost. Dance halls, cabarets, and similar types of amusement resorts represent great financial investments. Radios are produced by the millions. Nation-wide radio broadcasting chains have been established; high-salaried artists in many fields are employed to bring into the home entertainment along with advertisements of Ivory Soap, Lucky Strike cigarettes, and many other widely known brands of goods. The nation has been spanned by concrete highways for automobile travel, much of it for the sake of recreation. Great automobile companies have manufactured cars by the hundred-thousands.

That these great financial investments are not without adequate reward can be judged by the fact that the estimated annual cost of recreation in the United States is more than ten billion dollars. The greatest

amount is spent for travel — more than six billion dollars — of which more than three billions goes for automobile touring alone. Commercial amusements cost the public more than two billion dollars, more than half of which is spent in motion picture theaters. Games and sports of various sorts cost nearly a billion dollars.

The first radio broadcasting station in the United States began sending out programs in 1920; twenty-one years later, in 1941, 912 stations were in operation. At the same time 56,000,000 radio sets were in use, 29,700,000 of them in American homes.[3]

In 1940 there were in the country 19,032 motion picture theaters, with a total seating capacity of more than 11 million. The probable weekly attendance was more than 85 million people.[4] The amount paid in admissions in a year is more than one billion dollars. The production of motion pictures has become one of the major industries of the country.

Athletics — baseball, prize fighting, football, and the like — as spectacles, earn great financial rewards. In 1940 the attendance at the post-season college football games, the various "Bowl" games, totaled more than 278,000.[5] Attendance at the major professional league baseball games for 1940 was more than 10 million people.

The demand of modern urbanized society is for amusement. Business men have gladly responded to the call, and, like other business enterprises of our time, commercialized recreation has become mass production. People are amused, but in large groups at single times.

2. NEED FOR ACTIVE FORMS OF RECREATION

Although the passive form of recreation may occupy a person's leisure time, it does not ordinarily develop interests or habits which will later be reflected in desirable conduct or activities. Rather it is likely that a person will become satisfied with watching and will thus lose interest in doing. Such a system also tends to make Americans in all parts of the nation alike in speech, thinking, interests, dress, and in many other ways. Americans are apt to become very much alike in their psychological reactions, since they listen to the same radio programs, see the same motion pictures, watch baseball games in spring and summer,

[3] *World Almanac*, 1942, p. 859. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 768.

[5] The Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California; the Sugar Bowl in New Orleans, Louisiana; the Orange Bowl in Miami, Florida; the Sun Bowl in El Paso, Texas; the Cotton Bowl in Dallas, Texas; and the East-West Game played in San Francisco, California.

watch football games in fall and early winter, laugh over the same comics, read or hear the same "standardized news" — sensational accounts of murders, scandals, divorces. A program with this trend may in the end result in the development of a people who will also be willing to watch others operate their governments. It was not through passivity, but by aggressive activity, that America developed as a great independent, democratic nation. A passive people are a people well fitted to be governed by others.

During the recent years there has been a growing attempt to develop urban recreation in an active as well as in a passive form. People will always enjoy reading, listening to music, or watching different spectacles, from contests to theatricals; but they also need to learn active participation in some form of play life. Municipalities, schools, and many other organizations are now taking steps to develop the play life of modern city dwellers.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF PARKS

a. *State and national parks.* With the development of the automobile and improved highways, an ever greater number of people have been able to leave the confines of their city to find space for recreation. States, counties, and some cities have purchased rural areas suitable for parks, or put to use parks already in their possession. In 1926, 43 of the 48 states had state parks or areas used for recreational purposes, with a total of 2,613,271 acres. By 1939, every state had within its borders some such areas with a total expanse for the 48 states of more than six million acres.

In the state parks, game is protected from destruction, and streams are restocked with fish to insure good sport for those interested in fishing. Camping grounds are laid out, and such conveniences as garbage containers and shelter houses are provided. State parks are available to people who enjoy outdoor life, nature study, hikes through the woods, along streams, or over hills and mountains. Usually wardens or caretakers help to enforce rules and to be of assistance to people who use the parks.

Not only are there state, county and municipal parks; but the federal government has also set aside great areas as National Parks for recreation and enjoyment. Usually the National Parks are located in a region of some extraordinary natural phenomenon. Probably the most famous of all National Parks is the Yellowstone National Park in

Wyoming; however, such tracts are set aside in many states. By 1940, the federal government had set aside more than twenty-one million acres of land for twenty-six national parks, four national historical parks, eighty-two national monuments, eleven national cemeteries, four national historic sites, three national parkways, and for the system of National Capital Parks. Within these reserved areas, hunting is entirely forbidden, but fishing is usually encouraged. Here one finds wild animals in their native state, though usually somewhat tamer than those living out of reservations.

b. *Urban parks and playgrounds.* In cities, parks are being laid out not only for their natural beauty or scenic location, but as areas where adults and children can walk in natural surroundings, engage in games, or picnic with friends. In city parks there are tennis courts, playground equipment for children, baseball and softball diamonds, horseshoe courts, skating rinks, swimming pools, lakes for boating and swimming in the summer and for ice skating in the winter.

Public interest in the development of municipal parks has only developed during the past quarter century. As a consequence, many large cities had available no suitable park space without going to great financial expense. Many cities have nevertheless made serious efforts to provide parks either within the areas of the municipality or in the suburbs. Relatively few American cities have as yet been able to meet the recreational needs of their people adequately, either in providing sufficient space for parks and playgrounds or in providing recreational direction, or both.

In considering the matter of adequate space for parks and playgrounds, one must take into consideration a number of factors, such as the size of the town or city, and the density of population. Recreational leaders, however, have set one acre of ground for each 100 population as the minimum standard requirement all towns and cities should meet in providing publicly-owned open space for parks and playgrounds within or immediately adjoining the bounds of the municipality. A study of municipal parks in 1935 showed that 253 cities of varying size had acquired more than one acre of park for each 100 population. Most of these cities also had playgrounds on school property.[6] Although considerable progress has been made in providing recreational facilities for the urban population, a park study made in 1935 showed 209 cities which did not own a single park. Although greater obstacles

[6] *Municipal and County Parks in the United States*, National Park Service, 1935.

are encountered in the large cities, the greatest progress has been made in cities of 50,000 or more. Least has been done in providing parks among the smaller urban centers.

Although parks are very desirable and serve a need in providing open space for play, great numbers of people live in congested districts so far removed from sections of the city where parks are found that the people who most need recreation receive few benefits from the facilities provided. Usually these people do not have automobiles, but they do have children. These children have around their homes no grassy lawns on which to play. Adjacent to their houses they have no open space except what the streets afford. These people need provisions different from those made for children situated in more favored parts of the city. To meet this need, playgrounds are being constructed throughout urban areas, even in downtown districts. At the beginning of the twentieth century very few public playgrounds existed in America; in 1900, only ten cities had established playgrounds, but in 1930 there were 7240. Even with this increase, however, three-fourths of the cities and towns were without playgrounds. Probably since 1930, very few additional playgrounds have been established, and many of those established before 1930 have not been maintained adequately, owing to the financial depression of the period of the thirties. This lowered expenditure is indicated by Table 31.

4. NEED FOR RECREATIONAL LEADERS

The need for public playgrounds in cities is recognized by many people, but it is also seen that playgrounds alone are not enough.

TABLE 31. EXPENDITURES FOR MUNICIPAL RECREATION, 1917–1937 *

Year	Total Expenditures	Expenditures for Land, Buildings and Permanent Equipment	Expenditures for Leadership
1917	$ 6,659,600	$ 2,551,027	Not reported
1922	9,317,048	1,680,383	Not reported
1927	32,191,763	15,184,035	Not reported
1930	38,518,194	12,610,862	$8,135,656
1934	20,668,459	2,314,294	6,406,896
1937	25,794,537	3,403,191	7,469,427

* George D. Butler, *Introduction to Community Recreation*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1940, p. 466. Reprinted by permission.

Men and women are needed to lead the activities of children and young people using the facilities. Leaders may be of two types, the volunteer director and the employed recreational leader. To be properly managed, playgrounds demand the services of well-trained, employed directors. The volunteer deserves credit for his intentions, but he cannot be expected without pay to sacrifice his business and other interests. The work of directing children's play is worthy of full-time employment. Between 1917 and 1930, the annual expenditures for municipal recreational leadership rose from approximately two million dollars to more than eight million. After 1930, however, owing to the depression, the expenditures fell to approximately seven and a half million.[7] (See Table 31.)

5. YOUTH AND LEISURE TIME

The most important recreational problem is to provide suitable places and proper direction for children's play, even though other groups also need help. The young person has leisure time, and play is an essential part of his development. Correct habits formed in a child will greatly influence his subsequent behavior. For these reasons the importance of proper play in the development of a child cannot be overemphasized.

Thrasher in his *Gangs*, a study made of group-life in Chicago, estimated that there were in Chicago in 1927 not less than 1313 gangs, with a membership of not less than 25,000. Not all were criminal groups. Many were groups of children. There can be no doubt that proper direction of the play life of the children in those gangs would result in greatly lessening the rate of delinquency in the city. "Much crime and most juvenile delinquency are undoubtedly the results of perverted play and recreation." [8] The Cleveland Recreational Survey showed:

> Lying, stealing, vagrancy, immorality, known to us as delinquency, have a very distinct and unquestioned relation to the misuse of spare time. A study of juvenile court cases in Cleveland in 1916 reveals a connection between delinquency and habitual misuse of spare time in three out of four cases. Nearly as definite a relation is traceable in the municipal court of

[7] *Cf.* George D. Butler, *Introduction to Community Recreation*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1940, p. 466. Reprinted by permission.

[8] Joseph Richard Fulk, *The Municipalization of Play and Recreation*, Elaflin Printing Co., University Place, Nebraska, 1922, p. 16.

> more mature offenders. . . . From small boys and girls to grown men and women, they are seeking for excitement, pleasure, happiness, and life of the city has so twisted the natural paths to these things that on the way seekers are drawn into delinquency.

Urban life and congestion have so greatly increased the problems associated with providing adequate play life for children that the resources of every agency and institution are needed. The school, the church, the city, county, state and nation, as well as the home — all need to cooperate in their efforts to safeguard properly the child and the adult during their leisure time.

That play is an extremely important factor in a child's development and an inseparable part of his education cannot be doubted. Within recent times schools have recognized their responsibility to society generally, and to the children under their care especially, in providing recreation and amusement. Although inter-school athletics are still emphasized, they do not receive the only or even the major emphasis under the new program of education. Coordinated with educational and health programs is a program of physical education and recreation.

Whereas formerly certain "progressive" schools had extracurricular activities such as band and orchestra work, dramatics, clubs, societies, and athletic sports, the new schools of today do not regard any activity that can serve a useful purpose in developing men and women as an "extra" curricular activity. Schools have not only included these interests in their regular schedule, but they also have playground equipment, play periods, directed play, and activities (such as painting, clay modeling, carpentering and sewing) which may develop avocational interests in the children. In high schools and colleges, activities such as intra-mural athletics, inter-class debates, group singing, social periods where students dance to the music of their own orchestras, school plays and pageants are sponsored as a part of the educational program. Educators realize that young people will play, and that proper play habits are necessary to their complete development.

6. RECREATION IN SMALL TOWN AND RURAL AREAS

Although the modern problem of recreation is properly regarded as associated with urban society, not only a city-dwelling population is urban. Urbanity may be a way of living, a spirit of the group, which, although it has its origin in metropolitan centers, may spread to remote villages. Such is the case in America at present. Dwellers in small

towns and villages, or even in the open country, may be saturated with the spirit of urbanism. The problem of adequate provisions for recreation is not confined to the cities, but may be as acute in small towns. As has already been indicated, less has been done toward establishing playgrounds and parks in small towns than in the great centers of population. The small town and village children often do not have even the commercialized amusement resorts, the picture show, and the amusement parks. From the time school is closed in the spring until it reopens in the fall, there may be little for the village boys and girls to do. They have no playgrounds, parks, organized groups for hiking, nor other recreational facilities usually found in large cities. Truly, their life is drab. Although active Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops are usually found in the large centers, they often do not exist in the villages or small towns; or if they do, they are suffering from "volunteer" guidance or no guidance at all. Under such conditions they soon become lifeless organizations. Often in the small centers, even the schools do not recognize the need of recreation, but devote their time to "educating" the children, that is, drilling them in content or tool subjects, frequently those designed for college entrance rather than for life in the community. Frequently the Puritanic ideas of the adults in the community discourage any effort of the school to direct or supervise the play life of the children. "Play and education won't mix" is an old idea.

7. ADULT CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Organization of adults for fellowship and recreational activities is not a recent phenomenon. Many social organizations had their beginnings many years ago. There is, however, a greater tendency now than formerly for men and women to organize associations such as dining clubs, golf clubs, fishing clubs, tennis clubs, and the like. Many of these are local in character; others such as the United States Golf Association, United States Lawn Tennis Association, Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, National Amateur Athletic Federation, American Olympic Association, Amateur Fencers' League of America, American Canoe Association, National Ski Association, and many others are national in scope. In addition to the clubs and societies devoted to sports, other organizations work to improve local conditions or to direct the attentions of their members to matters other than physical recreation. Civic clubs, parent-teacher associations, federations of

women's clubs, fraternal societies, and luncheon clubs are of the latter type.

Less formal groupings are bridge, poker, and dancing clubs. These groups have been encouraged by the removal of the taboo against dancing and card playing in modern urban society. That card playing has greatly increased can be judged by the fact that the production of playing cards has increased three fold in thirty years.

Fraternal organizations, as leisure-time groups, have had a rather important place in the social life of American people. They seem to have reached their peak in 1925, when they had a total membership of around 35,000,000. Since 1925 membership has declined, interest has dwindled, and meetings have been less attended.

Of more recent growth are the luncheon clubs. This movement was launched in 1910 with the organization of sixteen Rotary Clubs into a federation known as the Rotary International. In 1916 the Kiwanis International was established. In 1917 the Lions International, the Civitan International, and the International Association of Gyro Clubs were formed. In 1930 there were twenty-five luncheon club federations, with a membership of about 500,000. About two-thirds of the total membership is included in the three federations, Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions. Since 1930 the growth of luncheon clubs has been less marked, possibly owing to the financial depression of the period.

The luncheon clubs meet at regular intervals, usually weekly, at some convenient location. At the meeting the members dine together, visit, discuss topics of common interest, listen to addresses on subjects in which they are interested. Occasionally they have "social" meetings to which the wives of the members are invited; then the occasion is devoted to dancing, conversation, or card playing.

With all the recreational facilities which have been developed, there is still a great need for more adequate opportunities for people with the greatest need — those of the lower economic levels, those living in the very congested urban districts, and those living in small towns. Just as with other life necessities, the devices for recreation are most plentiful where the need is less great.

C. *Summary*

The past seventy years have witnessed great social changes within the United States. From a rural society has emerged a great industrial

nation wherein more than half of the population is classed as urban. Highways and improved vehicles of transportation have greatly increased the number of social contacts, but the relationships are of an impersonal nature. Hours of labor have been reduced through mechanized industry, but work is more monotonous and provides less opportunity than formerly for the expansion of individuality or for originality on the part of the worker. The changes which have taken place have created a problem of how to spend the time not taken up by work, school, nor other necessary activities.

With the growth of cities and the development of commercialized forms of recreation, modern America has become afflicted with a passive form of recreation sometimes called *spectatoritis*. Even the public schools and colleges have become interested in athletics for the sake of making money or of advertising the institutions. Certain forms of amusement — motion pictures, the radio, professional athletics — have become great business enterprises.

It is now recognized to some extent that society needs to provide more adequate facilities for active recreation. Parks, playgrounds, tennis courts, swimming pools, and lakes have been constructed to help meet the need. Most of the work of providing parks, playgrounds, and the like has been done by the cities, but the states and the federal government have set aside as state and national parks suitable areas of land.

Not only have the cities established playgrounds and other facilities for recreation, but they have employed trained directors of the activities.

The proper direction of the play of the nation's children and youth is the most serious recreational problem of the day. Child labor laws and the urban way of life have greatly increased the amount of time available for play to the average boy and girl. It is altogether possible that a well-organized and well-directed recreational program for youth would reduce materially the juvenile delinquency of the nation.

The schools are taking steps toward incorporating into their curricula well-planned programs of physical education and of recreation. Not only are athletics included in the new programs, but musical organizations — bands, orchestras, glee clubs, dramatic clubs, and groups with special interests — are also emphasized.

Problems of recreation in the small towns are among the most serious of the present day. Residents of small towns have many of the same problems as those who dwell in the large urban centers; but little has

been done to provide recreation centers or activities for either the children or adults. There are few if any playgrounds, parks, or organized play groups. Often even commercial recreational institutions are not available. Library facilities are sometimes altogether lacking; and the schools recognize little or no responsibility to take a hand in directing or providing recreation for either the pupils or the parents.

Adult organizations of a recreational nature play an important part in providing for leisure-time activities of men and women.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare the recreational needs of the American people in 1870 with those of 1940.
2. What changes in recreation can be noted among American people between 1870 and 1940?
3. Show how economic aims in recreation have in many instances displaced the objectives of play for play's sake.
4. Show how the government has taken steps to provide needed recreational facilities.
5. Examine your school system. Do you find the recreational facilities adequate for the needs of all pupils?
6. Do you think the school should maintain recreational facilities under trained leadership available for all pupils for 12 months of the year? What would be the advantages and objections to such a procedure?
7. Explain why the small town is sometimes called the "recreational desert of America."
8. What devices are found for adult recreation in modern society?

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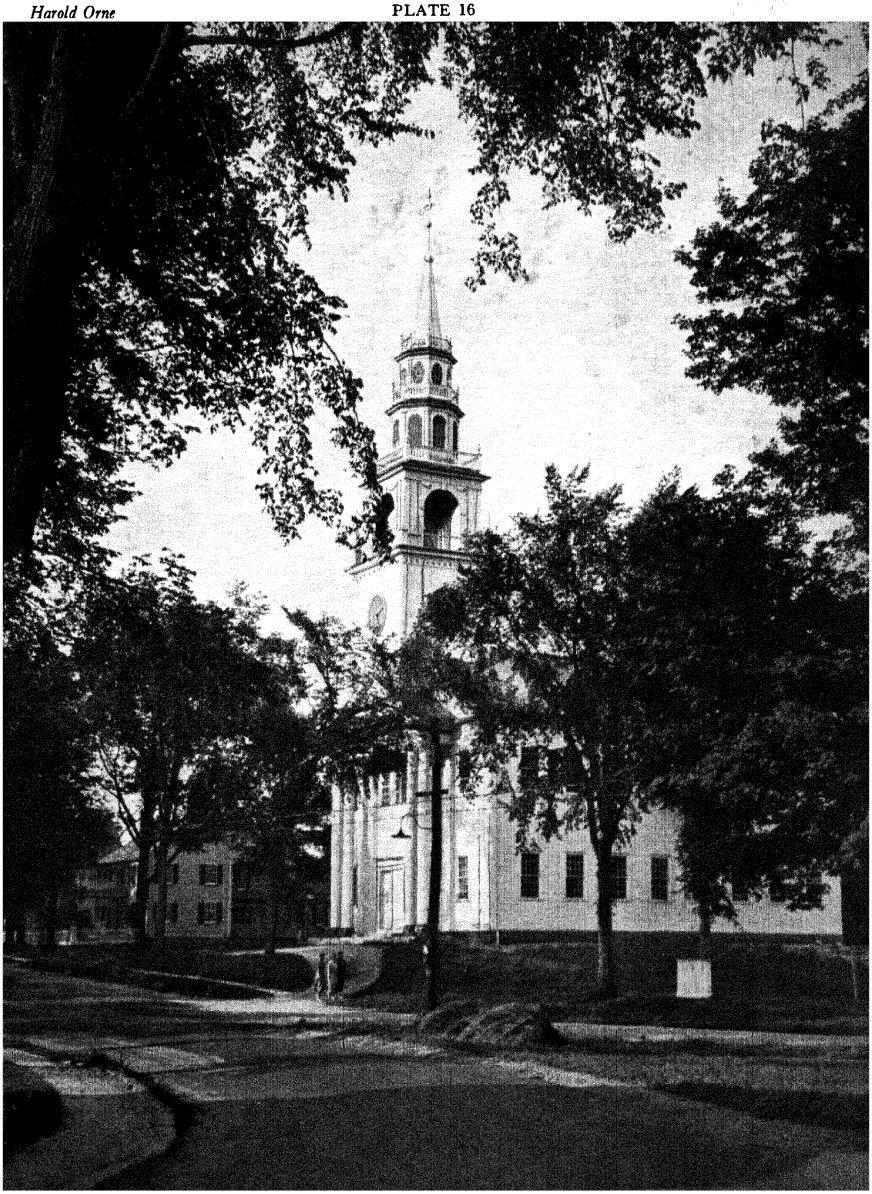
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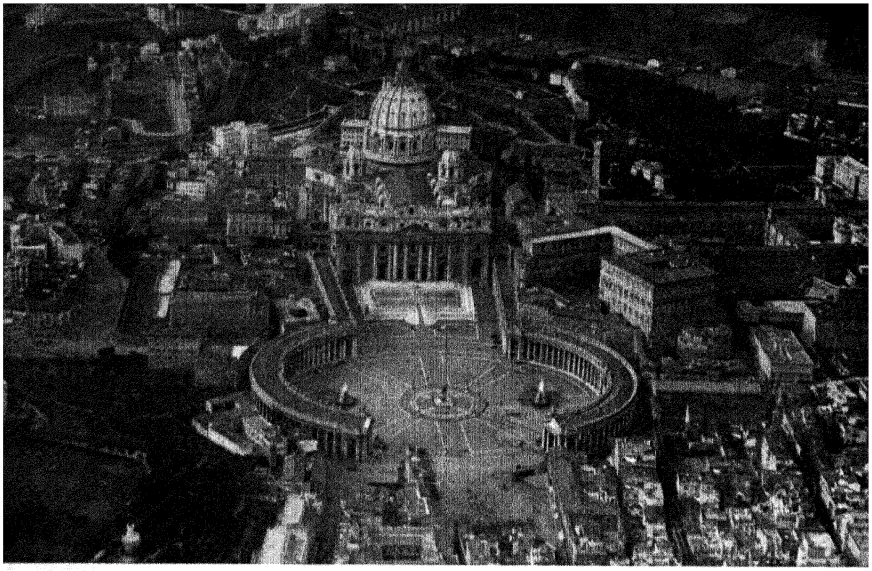
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SECTION D:

Religious Institutions

Harold Orne PLATE 16





Acme



Acme

PLATE 17

No group of institutions has held a more fundamental rôle in human society than religious institutions. The country meeting house, the city church, the Vatican in Rome — all are symbols of strong social unions which have had an immeasurable influence upon human behavior.

CHAPTER 17

The Development of Religious Institutions

IN PREVIOUS CHAPTERS such social institutions as the family and marriage, education and the school, and recreation and play were studied. Each of these classes of social institutions serves a special purpose in society. The family is charged with the responsibility of racial continuance; the school is designed to guarantee cultural perpetuation and growth; and play and recreation are expected to promote the physical and social development of individuals.

It is now time to examine religious institutions — their development and their nature and functions. No group of institutions has held a more fundamental rôle in human society. They have served man by explaining the forces which surround him, and within the influence of which he lives and dies.

A. *Early Forms of Religion and of Religious Practices*

1. PRIMITIVE CONCEPTS OF THE SPIRIT OR SOUL

Primitive man was surrounded by a very mysterious, terrifying, and inexplicable world. He was at all times confronted with powers which he did not understand, yet which worked to his destruction or to his benefit. The sun came up and warmed him and caused trees and other vegetation to grow; but each day was followed by night, and in the darkness dangers lurked on every hand. Summer, a season of natural plenty, was followed by winter when there was a scarcity of food. In some regions most forms of life seemed to disappear from the earth during the cold season, and man and other animals were left in a bleak wilderness. Early man experienced the storms which made the earth tremble with the roar of thunder; and he was terrified by the flashes of

lightning, which sometimes struck trees, and by the hurricanes, which swept across his path, tearing solid objects from their foundations as though they were toys in the hands of powerful spirits. The rain fell and watered the earth, and life flourished and grew, but sometimes the rains became floods and spread death and destruction on the face of the landscape. Droughts occurred and the earth became parched, brown, and dead in appearance. Plants died or stopped growing for lack of rain; animals which fed on the vegetation of the region died of starvation or migrated to areas not so desolated by drought. In short, our early ancestors witnessed the growth and the death of plant and animal life, but they understood the two processes not at all.

In fact, primitive man understood very little of the physical world in which he dwelt. He did not understand man himself. He saw his fellows asleep or unconscious. Their bodies were there, but they would make no response to questions until they awoke or regained consciousness. On awaking, an individual might relate adventures which he had had during his unconsciousness. He might tell of fighting some enemy; of traveling to some distant place; of visiting some departed friend; or of encountering any number of surprising experiences. These exploits were encountered by the individual while his body was lying prone and apparently senseless. How could a man destroy his enemy while his body was quietly reclining in sleep? To the primitive man the only explanation was that man possessed a soul or spirit which could and did leave the body to journey apart. To primitive people the dream was as true an experience as any other in which they took part.

So it is with the primitives of today. The Semang of the Malay Peninsula believe the following:

> The human soul is a miniature replica of its owner, except that it is red — like blood. It can leave the body in dreams and wander abroad. What one sees in a dream, therefore, is the actual experience of one's soul, and its reality is not to be doubted. "If I have dreamed that I killed a wild pig," asserted one Negrito, "it is true. In the morning I tell all the camp and we set out to look for the pig, and we find it, too." [1]

Likewise, certain Indian tribes believe their dream life is as real as their actual life:

> The Iroquois place great faith in dreams. As manifestations of the will of Taronhaiwagon, or as revelations to the soul as it wanders abroad

[1] George Peter Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1934, p. 102. Reprinted by permission.

during sleep, they must be obeyed at all costs, once they are interpreted. Sachems have even been known to resign their offices as the result of dreams, and hunters acquire charms and learn the haunts of game through similar revelations. Individuals receive their guardian spirits through dreams, usually after a period of seclusion and rigorous fasting. If a youth dreams of a muskrat, for example, the spirit of that animal becomes his tutelary genius and thenceforth he wears the skin of a muskrat as his personal "medicine." [2]

The soul or spirit which dwells in the body of man may, according to the belief of primitive people, depart freely from the body when the individual is asleep, but it returns to awaken the body. At death the departure is permanent. Two possibilities then await the spirit. It may go to a place of abode where there is no suffering, to a "heaven," a "Happy Hunting Ground"; or the spirit may return to inhabit some other human being, some other animal, or even an inanimate object. The Ainu of Northern Japan believes the following:

The ghosts of the dead go to an underworld, where they live precisely as do men on earth, though without death or sorrow. They return from time to time to haunt their graves or to help or injure the living, and are consequently propitiated on occasion by their survivors and never mentioned by name. They are invisible to men, though dogs can scent them and give evidence of their presence by howling.[3]

The belief that spirits may return to inhabit other creatures takes many forms:

With many savages a reason for respecting and sparing certain species of animals is a belief that the souls of their dead kinsfolk are lodged in these creatures. Thus the Indians of Cayenne refuse to eat certain large fish, because they say that the soul of some one of their relations might be in the fish, and that hence in eating the fish they might swallow the soul. The Piaroas Indians of the Orinoco believe that the tapir is their ancestor and that the souls of the dying transmigrate into animals of that species. Hence they will never hunt the tapir nor eat its flesh. It may even ravage their crops with impunity; they will not attempt to ward it off or scare it away.[4]

Among many primitive people the spirit of the departed human is believed to take the form of a snake.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 314. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[4] Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, "Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild," vol. II, Macmillan & Co., London, 1925, p. 285. Reprinted by permission.

> Thus when a snake is found in a Dyak house it is seldom killed or driven away; food is offered to it, for it is a guardian spirit who has come to inquire after the welfare of its clients and bring them good luck. Anything that may be found in the mouth of such a snake is taken and kept as a charm. Similarly in Kiriwina, an island of the Trobriands Group, to the east of New Guinea, "the natives regarded the snake as one of their ancestral chiefs, or rather as the abode of his spirit, and when one was seen in a house it was believed that the chief was paying a visit to his old home. The natives considered this as an ill omen and so always tried to persuade the animal to depart as soon as possible. The honours of a chief were paid to the snake; the natives passed it in a crouching posture, and as they did so, saluted it as a chief of high rank." [5]

Some primitive people believe that the spirit immediately or very soon after departing from the human body, enters the body of some unborn or very young infant and begins life anew in the new physical structure.

> Thus the Hurons used to bury little children beside the paths in the hope that their souls might enter the passing squaws and be born again; and similarly some Negroes of West Africa throw the bodies of infants into the bush in order that their souls may choose a new mother from the women who pass by .... these people believe in the reincarnation of the dead. They think that "the only new thing about a child is its body. The spirit is old and formerly belonged to some deceased person." [6]

There is evidence to indicate that some early people even believed that the soul of the departed found residence in inanimate objects such as rocks and trees.

2. ANIMISM AND NATURE WORSHIP

Primitive man often recognizes no distinction between man and other animals insofar as the possession of a spirit is concerned. He believes that as the spirit of man may inhabit an animal, so also may the spirit of a reptile, a bird, a fish, or any living object abide in man.

Since primitive man attributes the power of animals and of men to the spirit dwelling within these living beings, what is more natural than that he would explain the forces of nature and the various phenomena which surround him as the actions of spirits? No basic differentiation is made between animals and men or between animate and inanimate

[5] *Ibid.*, "Adonis Attis Osiris," vol. I, pp. 83–84. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

objects. Thus to primitive man, a spirit dwells in all objects or is capable of inhabiting any and all things. The extinct Tasmanians believed that the universe was populated by many spirits which inhabited caves, hollow trees, and other natural objects. The Ainus believe that not only man but animals, plants, and inanimate objects are endowed with life and are possessed of spiritual doubles or souls.[7]

The belief that spiritual beings abide in all objects, inanimate as well as animate, is called Animism. This belief has been characteristic of practically all primitive people and has been regarded by some scholars as the earliest forerunner of what we call religion.

Closely associated with animism is the early form of nature worship. Since every object was thought to be possessed of a spirit or a power, what is more reasonable than that the natural elements, which ruled animals and men alike, should be regarded as manifestations of superior powers? Practically all primitive people recognized the existence of the stronger forces of nature variously referred to as sky-god, god of the wind, of the rain, of the sun, of the moon, of the sea, or the river, of the snow, of the thunder, and of the mountain.

Early man was, of course, closely associated with nature. Seasonal variations, storms, droughts, rain, and all natural phenomena were vital forces affecting the lives of all people favorably or unfavorably. These occurrences had the effect of making man believe that nature was full of strange powers or spirits, of which, although some might be kindly disposed, others were erratic in their actions, and some consistently unfriendly.

Early man variously personified natural objects — the sun and moon as husband and wife, with the stars as children; rivers as "mothers" or "protectors"; the earth as a "fruitful mother"; thunder as a bird — "the thunder-bird."

It is natural that man could regard nature only in relation to himself, and that those parts of it with which he was more directly in contact were first assumed to be living personages. To the forest-dweller the trees by which he was surrounded were all-important beings. To the dweller in open country, the sun and moon, rain, wind, lightning, and thunder would be more important. The life of the Egyptians has always been closely linked with the Nile River, and so to the early Egyptians the Nile was personified as a man and worshipped as such.

[7] Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

3. TOTEM AND TOTEMISM

Among primitive people distributed in widely separated geographic regions, notably North America and Australia, there is a belief called totemism. Natives of these continents hold that the ancestors of particular groups descended from animals, plants, or from certain natural objects, which are called totems. This belief has been claimed by some investigators, notably Durkheim, to be the earliest form of religion to be found.[8]

> The Arabian legend tells us of small companies of half-human, half-animal individuals of unknown origin, who wandered about in the mythical period. They were possessed of super-human power and became the ancestors of the totemic groups. A great carpet-snake individual gave rise to the carpet-snake group, two Jew lizards gave rise to the Jew lizard group, etc. These individuals wandered about the country performing sacred ceremonies. At certain places they stopped and went into the ground, and a rock or water-pool arose to mark the spot; there also a number of spirit individuals came into being, who became transformed into men and women, — the first totemites.[9]

Since members of primitive groups trace their descent from a common animal, plant, or object, they assume the name of their ancestral totem. Thus one finds the clans of the Raven, the Wolf, the Bear, the Beaver, the Eagle, the Kangaroo, the Plum Tree, the Rock, the Water, the Moon, the Sun, and a host of other animals, plants, and natural objects. The members of a particular clan, since they claim a common ancestry, are regarded as kinsmen. Usually, the objects from which they trace their descent are regarded with particular favor, and usually the members of the group are forbidden to eat that plant or animal. Thus a member of the Deer clan would not be permitted to eat the flesh of the deer, for by so doing, he would be consuming his own ancestor. In some instances, however, this food "taboo" is not practiced or is at least modified. For instance:

> A man may himself shrink from killing his totem animal; he will, however, assist others to do so, as in the case of the euro man who gave a euro churinga to a plum-tree man to assist the latter in his chase for euro. . . . Sometimes a man may kill his totem, but in doing so he must

[8] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915.

[9] A. A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism, and Analytical Study," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIII, 1910, p. 191.

proceed humanely: a kangaroo man must not brutally attack the kangaroo "so that the blood gushes out," but is only permitted to hit it on the neck. Having thus killed the animal, he may eat its head, feet, and liver· the rest he must leave to his friends.[10]

4. GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS

Primitive people believe that everything either beneficial or injurious to man is caused by the activity of good or evil spirits. If a man falls ill, it is because some evil spirit is active against him. Some member of his own tribe or some enemy outside may have directed the operation of evil spirits toward him through the use of magic. If a man dies, that also is the result of the activity of evil spirits. If the hunt is successful, the good spirits are favoring the hunters. If the crops thrive, the spirits are favorable; but if there is a drought or if something prevents proper growth and maturity of the grain, the failure is explained as the result of evil or unfriendly spirits. Since misfortunes appear more frequent than favorable happenings, the assumption is general among primitive groups that evil spirits or demons are much more numerous than benevolent spirits.

No clear distinction or line of demarcation is drawn in the primitive mind between benevolent and malevolent spirits. Their modes of operation are regarded as identical. Spirits may be either beneficent or maleficent as the circumstances may dictate.

The belief in the existence of good or evil spirits, everywhere surrounding man and greatly influencing his life, has been almost a universal characteristic of primitive man and exists in many advanced cultures of our own time. Traces of this idea are easily found among our own beliefs and practices. The early Greeks, the Egyptians, the Romans, all believed in the existence of demons and spirits. The earliest Fathers of the Christian Church affirmed or implied their belief in the existence of good and evil angels. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle are reported to have assented to the belief that all men have demons which accompany them during the whole period of their mortal existence.

> The Stoics were firmly convinced of the existence of demons, which, having like passions with men, and responding to their desires and fears, their pains and pleasures, superintended and directed their fortunes.[11]

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.

[11] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, J. Hasting (ed.), Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1925, vol. IV, pp. 593–594 Reprinted by permission.

Oriental people — the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Hindus — are oppressed with a feeling which might be called "demonphobia," or the belief that they are haunted by evil spirits of all kinds, some malignant fiends, some mischievous elves to whose agencies are attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune.

5. DEVICES FOR CONTROLLING SUPERNATURAL POWERS

Since primitive man found himself everywhere surrounded by forces which he attributed to supernatural spirits that could do him great good or could completely ruin him and even cause his death, it was but natural that he should attempt to influence the direction of these powers to his own advantage and to try to forestall any injurious consequences. The devices for influencing the action of the spirits might either aim at compelling them to act in a favorable manner or at restraining them from working injury to the individual or group. The attempt to influence the supernatural power or powers might be conciliatory or propitiatory in nature. To illustrate:

> Sumatra rice is sown by women who, in sowing, let their hair hang loose down their back, in order that the rice may grow luxuriantly and have long stalks.[12]

> In Swabia among the Transylvanian Saxons it is a common custom for a man who has sown hemp to leap high on the field, in the belief that this will make the hemp grow tall.[13]

It is said that when the beast of a Hessian farmer breaks its leg, the farmer will bind up a broken leg of a table or chair with bandages and splints. The object may then not be moved for nine days since that would interfere with the healing of the broken leg of the animal.

Activities which seem very strange and even amusing to us are to be found in the folklore of all people. Even in rural sections of America, it is thought that hanging a dead snake with its belly up over a fence will cause rain. Many people think that if a barren fruit tree is loaded with horse shoes or has nails driven into it, it will bear fruit. The saying, "knock on wood," has its origin in the belief that striking a piece of wood after making a boastful statement is supposed to ward off evil. Many other "superstitions" of a similar nature remain in our culture as relics of former days.

[12] William I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1909, p. 659.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 660.

Magic is defined as the performance of certain acts which are supposed to result in producing specific physical responses by compelling the intervention of spiritual beings or of causing some superior power to act to control the natural order. In the Winnebago culture one finds an example of compelling the intervention of spiritual beings. If a man makes an offering, such as tobacco, to the Thunderbirds, they must accept it and bestow upon the one making the offering the powers that they, the Thunderbirds, possess. For it is believed that in ancient times a bargain had been made wherein the Thunderbirds were to bestow blessings upon man in return for offerings of tobacco.

Not only is magic invoked to bring about favorable action to the one invoking it, but it may be used to prevent evil spirits from operating against an individual or group. It may also be used to cause illness or disaster to befall an enemy. Among the Aranda of Central Australia "bone-pointing" is a very common form of magic used to bring about an enemy's destruction.

> [a man] mutters incantations and curses over a sharp bone or stick tipped with resin, and points it at his unsuspecting enemy as the latter sits by the campfire. The victim shortly sickens and dies.[14]

Among the Dieri, as soon as a person becomes ill, his friends have a consultation to discover who has "given him the bone." If he continues to be ill, his wife or the wife of his nearest relative is sent to the person suspected. She presents the suspected person with a gift and states that her husband, or so-and-so, has fallen ill and will probably not get better. The offender then knows that he is suspected, and in order to avoid vengeance for injury to the ill man, he tells the messenger he will withdraw all power from the bone by soaking it in water. If the ill one dies, especially if he is a person of importance, the suspected man is certain to be killed.[15]

Magic practices sometimes take the form of wearing simple amulets, such as teeth, bones, hair, shells, gems, or other objects and substances. These charms are supposed to provide protection against diseases and evil powers which might operate against the wearer.

6. ATTEMPTS TO PLACATE, TO THANK, AND TO ENTREAT SPIRITS OR GODS

Besides the practices which are thought to set in operation certain powers favorable to the performer or against some avowed enemy,

[14] Murdock, *op. cit.*, p. 41. [15] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

other practices with no presumption of compulsion attempt to influence the spirits and gods. Desires to conciliate, to propitiate, to thank, and to entreat the spirits or gods of the universe to look with favor upon the supplicant are likewise in evidence among very primitive people. These attempts to conciliate or to secure favor with the unknown powers may take the form of sacrifices, prayers, fasting, and a wide variety of acts. Usually the act assumes the form of giving up something of value or of denying oneself some desired objects or practices. The sacrifice or denial is attended by a form of ritual and a prayer to the spirits or powers to whom the offerings are made.

> Among the Maraves or Zimbas, a tribe of the Upper Zambesi, bordering on the Portuguese territory, it is the custom that first-fruits of all produce must be offered to the spirits of the dead, to whom they attribute all the good and ill that befall them.[16]

> Among the ancient Hindoos the first-fruits were sacrificed to the gods at the beginning of harvest, generally at the new or the full moon.... From the new grain, whether barley or rice, a sacrificial cake was prepared and set forth on twelve potsherds for the two great gods Indra and Agni; a pap or gruel of boiled grain, sodden either in water or milk, was offered to the Visve Devah, that is, to the common mob of deities; and a cake on one potsherd was presented to Heaven and Earth.[17]

The annals of the Ancient Hebrews are filled with the offering of sacrifices to Jehovah. The Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Romans made a practice of offering to their deities sacrifices in the form of animals or products of the soil.

Attendant with the sacrifices was the petition to the divinities to grant the desires of the ones making the offering. Thus among the Winamwanga, a tribe of northeastern Rhodesia, the following prayer attended the sacrifice:

> O ye great spirits, fathers in the spirit world ... and all ye others, bless us now. Here is the food, and here is the offering, call ye all of you each other.... Come all of you and partake of this offering. Ye great spirits, all things of this earth were known to you while yet ye were here. Take care of this your family, and of all these your children. May we ever go in our ways in prosperity. Oh! Ye great spirits, give to us food and all the produce of the land. Drive ye away all illness from your family, ye great spirit; every evil spirit put far away from us, and whatever might seek to hurt us may it fly away on the wind. Cause ye us to abide in peace.[18]

[16] Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 111. [17] *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120 [18] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

The literature of all people is filled with prayers suitable for different occasions.

In some regions of the world the custom of giving sacrifices grew until it included human beings as offerings to the deities. Sometimes the individuals to be sacrificed were prisoners of war. Among the ancient Aztecs the soldiers in battle tried to capture their enemies rather than to kill them. Then the unfortunate victims were used as sacrifices to the Aztec gods. Each year thousands of human beings were offered up to appease the divinities.

Not only are offerings of fruit, grain, animals, and human beings made to the deities and spirits of the group, but also individual or group fasting (refusal to partake of any food or abstinence from certain articles of diet) is practiced for varying periods of time in order to gain favor with the supernatural forces governing certain activities. Individuals sometimes mutilate themselves, slash their flesh with sharp instruments and perform rites which torture the body in order to gain favor with their gods.

Religion attempts to propitiate or to influence the gods and supernatural spirits to look with favor upon a particular individual or group, whereas magic as practiced by the individual or group attempts to compel favorable action on the part of the gods. Among many groups of primitive people one finds both magic and religion operating side by side. Some authorities — Frazer and Thomas — hold that magic is older in its practice than religion. These authorities argue that religion may have arisen when it was apparent that magic as a compelling influence was not infallible. Other authorities argue that the two may have originated at the same time, since they are often found operating so closely together that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other.

B. *Leaders in Religion and in Magic*

Wherever there is an agency for serving mankind, some human agent acts as director or intermediary. In primitive magic and in the religion of early man, superior individuals apparently acted as intermediaries between human and spiritual powers, sometimes to tell what the spirits knew, sometimes to influence the spirits.

1. RELIGION A FERTILE FIELD FOR LEADERSHIP

Human beings have always needed leaders to direct them in their



FIGURE 11. PRIMITIVE RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The belief in the existence of good or evil spirits has been almost a universal characteristic of primitive man. Pictured above is the shaman, an Eskimo leader, exerting great power over his people. *After* RASSMUSSEN, *The People of the Polar North*, p. 150.

activities. What more fertile field for the development of leaders could there have been than that of explaining and of acting to control the forces of nature? To early man nothing was more significant than the forces of nature — the wind, the rain, and the sun — in influencing the abundance of his food, his health, his success in war, and the attainment of any desires about himself or his enemies. Any person who could promise his people control over such vital matters and could win their confidence in his powers could gain a social position second to none in the group.

2. SELECTION AND TRAINING OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Among the most primitive people it is probable that each person invoked the blessings of the supreme spirits for himself by making his own sacrifices, fasting, and following the magical formulae of his group. This custom prevails today among the primitive people who have made the least cultural advancement. In most primitive groups some individuals were doubtless more fortunate than others or could explain

their activities in controlling the unknown so as to call attention to themselves. These individuals probably gained a reputation for success, and others came to them for assistance. The successful individuals by this attention received the thing human beings have always sought — social recognition and improved status. In time, no doubt, some were able to gain such recognition that young men went to them to be taught magic arts and priestcraft. Priestcraft came to be recognized as a profession. Any profession which deals in such momentous questions as the prosperity, the health, and even the life of man would inevitably be granted a place of high social esteem.

In most primitive societies the position of priest [19] was inherited from father by son, in some cases from grandfather by grandson. In other groups the priest could not be self-appointed, nor could he inherit the position, but each individual priest was presumed to have been selected by the supreme forces themselves. Thus a person might have a vision, or in a dream he might have a revelation of the necessary secrets, thus implying that he was in communication with the spirits themselves and hence suited to act as intermediary between man and divine beings. It has already been noted that a period of training was regularly required for the priestcraft. Those who were chosen by divine revelations, however, were not thought to need so much preliminary instruction as the ones who were self-appointed or who inherited their positions.

3. THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Priests in primitive societies — and in some societies which are not recognized as primitive — have in power and influence been second to the members of no other group or class of people. Sometimes they have actually become kings and have served both as priests and as temporal rulers. Sometimes they have been content to allow the kings to retain their positions, but always their influence has been something to be conjured with, and even the strongest temporal ruler has considered well before doing anything which might offend the priesthood and cause the clergy to oppose him.

In some societies, especially where priesthood was hereditary, these leaders developed a special caste and usually the caste of the clergy received social recognition second to none. In India today the highest caste is made up of the religious leaders.

[19] The term "priest" is used interchangeably with "magician," although strictly they are not the same.

In some primitive groups — the American Indians, for example — one finds a magician or medicine-man and also a priest or religious head. This might imply that the functions of the priest and of the magician are different. No doubt in some groups they are. However, the activities of the two — medicine-men and priests — overlap and blend to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to distinguish the work of the one from that of the other.

C. *From Pantheism to Monotheism*

It has already been mentioned that primitive man attributes natural phenomena to the activities of spirits. All animate and inanimate objects are endowed with spirits, souls, somewhat like those which have been attributed to man. These spirits can hardly be considered in the same category as the gods which some other primitive people, who perhaps have risen somewhat in their cultural development, recognize and worship. They may be considered as forerunners of gods or deities.

1. RECOGNITION OF SPIRITS AS GODS

Evidently, in the course of time, certain of the thousands of forces surrounding early man came to be recognized as having greater significance than others in human life, and so received the status of deities. The importance of the sun gained recognition early; so did that of fire, the sea, the mountains, rain, and so forth.

> . . . a pantheon is in process of formation; it is accepted; there are many gods. But they all have, each in his own domain, the mysterious more-than-human power.[20]

2. DEVELOPMENT OF MONOTHEISM

As man still further developed his civilization, one god came to be recognized as superior or as chief of all others. Thus the Greeks recognized many gods, but Zeus was held to be pre-eminent in power. Sometimes the monotheistic trend in religious development did not place one of the many recognized gods in a position of supremacy, but, rather, following the argument that there existed some creative power superior to any or all of the other deities, signaled out that power to be worshipped as the Supreme God. This recognition of one superior God

[20] E. Washburn Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1923, p. 275. Reprinted by permission.

did not necessarily imply monotheism, however. There still existed a host of lesser gods. The development of monotheism — the worship of one God, supreme and alone — was a very slow process. Even the Hebrews, who, earlier than others, recognized one God, Jehovah, repeatedly lapsed into the polytheistic attitude.

> [Jehovah became, first of all, the] national god of Israel by a covenant, on account of which he helps his chosen people. . . . he was his people's shield, their war-god, their savior; a person, dear to, but distinct from, his worshippers. Such a god cannot be conceived otherwise than as a person; he appeals to the people as an individuality. The worshipper feels that in fighting for him, he is fighting for a living God as well as for his country, for his home, for his sanctities; and conversely, in fighting for all that he holds dear, he is fighting for God, a personal objective reality.[21]

Thus slowly from the worship of many gods there emerged the idea of one God to rule, to punish, and to protect his chosen people. The one God originally was limited in recognition to one nation, tribe, or race. He was not conceived as a universal God of all people. That idea developed at a still later period.

D. *Summary*

Religion and magic (the two are very closely related) offered primitive people an explanation of the forces of nature which was satisfying to them in the light of their experiences and their stages of cultural advancement.

Primitive man lived a life directly related to the natural environment in which he dwelt. As a consequence, his religion and his religious practices were designed to influence the forces of nature to his own protection or advantage, or to the disadvantage of his enemies.

The earliest forms of religion are: Animism, Nature Worship, and Totemism. Animism was the attributing to all objects — animate and inanimate — the possession of spirits. Nature Worship, as its name implies, was the worship of such natural objects as sun, moon, river. Totemism was the religion of certain American and Australian groups wherein group ancestry was traced to a mythical animal — a deer, a kangaroo, or a bear. The members of the group revered the animal group of its totem as something to be preserved and honored.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Through the practices of magic, primitive man attempts to direct the forces of nature so that they will aid him in his life. Through religion he admonishes or entreats supernatural powers not to be unkind and unfriendly to him but rather to grant his various petitions for favor or forgiveness of wrongs he has done.

Religious leadership grew out of the need of man for guidance and protection in a world filled with mysterious and destructive forces. Superior individuals who were more intelligent or more cunning than the average of the group sensed the need and offered an explanation of the unknown to the mystified masses. In the course of time these religious leaders became the most powerful individuals of their groups.

The trend in religious development was from a belief in many spirits or gods to a recognition of one Superior God over a multitude of lesser deities. The next step was the belief in one lone and all powerful God for the group, tribe, or nation. The belief in a universal deity, a God of all mankind, was a much later development.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain the primitive explanation of natural phenomena. How do you account for the many ideas about natural causation which appear ridiculous to modern man?
2. What is *animism*? Explain the basis for such a belief.
3. How is animism related to the belief in good and evil spirits?
4. What vestiges do you find in modern culture of devices for controlling supernatural powers? Give some examples of modern practice of magic.
5. How do you explain the origin among primitive people of sacrifices and prayer?
6. Explain how the religious leader became also the political and economic leader.
7. Trace the development of religion from animism to monotheism.
8. How would you differentiate between primitive magic and primitive religion?

CHAPTER 18

Modern Religion

A. *The Nature of Religion*

MAN HAS ALWAYS been surrounded by forces which are capable of spelling failure or success to almost any undertaking. He realized at an early date that those powers were superior to his own and he desired most earnestly to influence them to his own well being. Thus *religion is essentially a recognition by men of powers stronger than their own and an attempt to ally themselves with those powers.*

1. RELIGION BASED ON BELIEF

Fundamentally religion is based on belief — belief in a Superior Being and superior forces which may work either to the advantage or disadvantage of men. Religion differs from science in that science deals with types of phenomena which can be proven, demonstrated, and tested. Religious material cannot be proven. God cannot be placed in a test tube, weighed, or measured. He must continue as an object of belief, of faith. If that were not so, the characteristics of religion would be different.

To say that the subject matter of religion cannot be proven or tested as the material of science is tested does not imply that religion is not real or that it does not represent a real force in human life. Some of the strongest and most vital forces cannot as yet be accurately measured. One can measure to a very high degree of accuracy the physical size of the individual, his height, weight, head size, and so forth; measurement of capacity or ability is as yet very unreliable, and very little has been done in the field of measuring the emotions. Yet no one would deny the power of mind and emotions. A fine physical specimen driven by a weak intellect may be a public menace and a public charge, since he cannot direct his great body to his own nor to society's advantage. Also, a fine body coupled with a good mind that is emotionally unstable may be one of the greatest dangers to society. Uncontrolled emotional natures may express themselves in murders, riots, and in many other

types of outbursts. So religion, although it is based on faith and on belief, may be the mainspring that drives other forces which are proven and demonstrable. In the words of Benjamin Kidd, a British sociologist living in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, our world is governed much more by faith than it ever is by proven fact, by knowledge.

2. EMOTIONAL NATURE OF RELIGION

Another quality of religion is its appeal to the emotions of man. Some of the strongest human emotions support an individual's religious faith. Religion becomes interwoven with all the background of man's childhood and of his previous instruction. An individual may take a very scientific attitude toward most matters — economics, government, international relations and a host of other subjects — but he is rare indeed who can hear his religious beliefs condemned or discredited without losing an objective attitude. Man is governed much more by his emotions than by his reasoning powers. Since religion appeals to the emotions rather than to reason, its hold on man may be very strong. Some of the bloodiest, most vicious wars ever fought were those in which religious principles were involved. Each combatant felt he was fighting for his God.

3. GROUP QUALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO GOD

Religion attributes to the recognized divinity the qualities of the group or the qualities most admired by the group. A people who admire cunning and cruelty would be expected to endow their God with these qualities. A people who admire a stern but just father as the head of his family group attribute to its God the qualities of unrelenting justice, not justice tempered with mercy. On the other hand, where forgiveness and brotherly love are the ideals glorified by a society, its God symbolizes the admired qualities of love and tenderness. Thus the God of a people symbolizes different things to different societies. Always he personifies the qualities most admired by the individual and the group.

4. COMPARISON OF RELIGION AND MAGIC

Religion and magic have common characteristics. Both have priests who act for others as intermediaries between man and the spirits or God. Both have services wherein certain rituals are followed. The

rituals vary greatly, however. Whereas magic is an attempt to put into operation certain forces which will produce the desired results, thus implying compulsion, religion always assumes the attitude of a weaker object — man — seeking from the Deity a favor, a blessing which He may or may not grant. Whereas in magic rites no personal element is involved, in religion the ritual and prayer for a blessing is addressed to personal gods or to a personal God believed to possess the power to answer the petition in a personal way.

B. *The Value or Functions of Religion*

It has been stated above that religion is one of the oldest and most fundamental institutions of man. The following are some of the particular functions which religion serves:

1. EXPLAINING THE UNKNOWN

One of the oldest functions of religion is that of explaining the unknown and the unknowable. Primitive man found life, death, and all the forces of surrounding nature mysteries which he did not understand. Religion offered him an explanation that satisfied him. As his learning advanced forces which he had formerly regarded as incomprehensible became recognized as a part of the natural order of life in his environment, and he no longer needed a religious explanation for them. Formerly mysterious forces have in fact been removed from the realms of the unknown to the fields of knowledge. Today it is a known fact that if a farmer plants good seed in well prepared, fertile soil adapted to the particular crop to be raised, he will have a harvest which will be abundant or not according to the supply of moisture, sunlight, and other necessary elements. Today it is not the province of religion to regulate planting, nor the care and harvest of crops. Science acting in the realms of knowledge has taken the place of religion in this operation. Likewise, we recognize that illness is due to some natural cause. A doctor is summoned, and remedies found by scientific research to be effective in aiding nature are employed to overcome the illness. Before medicine became a science, illness was attributed to evil spirits, and magicians attempted a cure by the operation of magic. Knowledge has removed the cure of illness from the field of religious faith.

Religion and science should always supplement each other. Science deals with the known. Religion treats of the unknown. That does not

weaken the field of religion, for there is and probably always will be a very wide and fertile field for religious beliefs. For example, it is not likely that science will be able to reach into the fate of man after death. Religion will be needed to supplement the important efforts of science to reach that occult realm.

2. AFFORDING HUMAN CONSOLATION

A second function of religion is that of affording comfort or consolation to individuals. Human beings experience many occasions when their own impotence in the face of their surroundings is impressed upon them. The life of primitive man was filled with fear. To him the practices of magic and religion offered a protection, a comfort which he could understand and appreciate. The warrior facing the perils of battle was comforted by the faith that his reward would be a heaven where he could live as his desires dictated. Undernourished, overworked peasants find peace of mind through their religion. Their reward will be hereafter, and they feel that some day they will be in "Green Pastures" where they will have no work and an abundance of food to eat.

The persecuted and oppressed have their religion to sustain and to support them. They find consolation in the thought that perhaps their God is testing them to see if they are worthy of the rewards which they can win. Some people even impose self-persecution — fasting and physical torment — to win the rewards in store for those who suffer. Persecution of any religious faith has usually been attended by a strengthening of that belief among its followers. The Jews have been persecuted for thousands of years, and with the recent revival of Medieval oppression the intensity of the Jewish religion is probably stronger now than at any time in the modern era.

Religion offers to those in trouble a peace of mind which probably no other medium can afford. The Christian who has lost a dear one finds in his religion the assurance that the departed one is happier than he ever was before, and that in a short time there will be a reunion under circumstances much happier than could have ever been possible otherwise. Thus religion affords a sustaining influence such as is offered by no other human institution.

3. INTEGRATING INDIVIDUALS INTO UNITED GROUPS

Religion is a powerful force for social integration. As was pointed

out in the preceding chapter, each early people, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and others, had their own gods. The group was bound together through the belief that their God was their defender and ruler. The Jews have maintained their integrity in the face of persecution and in spite of the fact that they have been forced to adjust themselves to life in all parts of the earth. The integrating strength of religion varies in a large measure as the religious fervor of the people is strong or weak. If the people have become rather indifferent to religion, so that to them one faith is about as good as another, they will exert much less effort to associate with and support those of the same faith.

4. CONTROLLING HUMAN BEHAVIOR

Religion is and always has been a very powerful force for social control, which means that the actions of individuals have been and are largely directed by the religious beliefs of the group of which they are a part and by the religious teaching which they have received.

The early Mohammedans believed that the warrior who fell fighting for his God went immediately to heaven. A soldier with such faith would face dangers which might cause a person not supported by such belief to turn and flee. The Mohammedans naturally made gallant soldiers.

The Christian religion teaches the virtue of charity — giving to the less fortunate members of society. There are many records of individuals giving away their entire store of earthly goods in order that they might find favor with God. The Christian nations have provided for the care of the indigent, sick and afflicted, the old, and the orphans, as probably no other people in the world have.

Our ethical and moral code is inseparably bound up with our religious teachings. Christians are taught not to steal, not to lie, not to commit adultery, and to honor their fathers and their mothers. These and other precepts have become so much a part of our culture that they are seldom recognized as being embodied in our religious faith. However, peoples of other faiths have not always regarded these ethical practices as desirable, necessary, or right. The faiths of some other peoples have, in fact, sometimes fostered very different standards of conduct.

C. *Great Religions of the Present*

1. CONFUCIANISM

The Chinese people have been known for ages as ancestor worshippers. The worship of the departed members of a family has been the most prominent feature of Chinese religion for more than 2500 years. The teachings of the great Chinese prophet, Confucius, or Kung-fu-tze, who lived from 550 to 478 B.C., are popularly thought to have originated the religion so widely followed by the Chinese. But Confucius did not start a new religion. He was very interested in the past and made into a set of five or six books a collection of writings of the more ancient scholars and philosophers. A later disciple of Confucius, Mencius, added a second set of classics. These two compilations of the literary works of ancient writers form the basis of the religion or philosophy of most of the Chinese people.

Confucianism is, in a strict sense, more of a philosophy than a religion. It promises for the individual no heaven after death. Confucianism concerns itself exclusively with life and how life is to be lived. In Confucianism are no shocking cruelties, no sacrifices, fasting, or asceticism. No idols, no priestly class, and no mythology are associated with the religious practice of the Chinese. Religion is regarded as inseparable from daily life. It emphasizes form — the right way to do the right thing at the right time. The ideal is a perfect social order in which the individual masters his own passions and desires. Obedience to authority is one of the cardinal principles.

One may wonder that a nation with nearly one-fourth of the world's population should fall such an easy prey to Japan, a nation with a very much smaller population. However, when one realizes that the Chinese have for thousands of years regarded war and warfare as barbarous and have held the warrior in contempt, it is easy to see why they are not great fighters. Mencius condemned war and warriors alike, and declared that generals are criminals.

Although Chinese, unlike Christians, do not recognize an Omnipotent God, they do worship three classes of deities: (a) Heaven, which, until the monarchy fell in 1912, was a deity considered too sacred for any but the Emperor to worship. By heaven the Chinese meant not what we think of by that term but simply the space above the earth — the sky — which they conceived as a living force; (b) The spirits, all of which are regarded as good; (c) Ancestors, the worship of whom is the customary religion of each individual.

As can be expected among any people who continually direct their attention to the past, the Chinese have not only been content to remain in an almost static condition for over two thousand years, but that they have done so has been their chief pride. They have paid honor to the spirits of their ancestors, who are commemorated by tablets placed in the homes of their descendants. In over 2500 years, Confucianism has not degenerated nor become corrupt, but has remained with but slight change.

2. HINDUISM

The religion of the great majority of the people of India, Hinduism, is unique in that it is not attributed to the work of any one man. Rather, it is the product of centuries of gradual growth. Hinduism is more than a religion, in the popular sense, for it includes not only the theological beliefs and practices of Brahmanism, but the social customs of the great mass of the people of India as well.

Hinduism, apparently, had its origin among the early Aryan invaders. The Vedas — early Sanskrit literature of the Aryan invaders — show the Hindus divided into four main castes, based largely on occupational differences. At the head of this caste system stood the Brahmans, the priestly class of religious devotees. Next in line of rank were the Kshatriyas, or temporal ruling and fighting class. The third caste, the Vaisyas, were those who farmed, the agricultural people. The Sundras, the laboring caste people, stood at the bottom of the system. However, a fifth group made up a much larger body than any of the recognized castes. The fifth group were those who belonged to no caste; they were the outcasts, now popularly known as the "untouchables." Members of the respective castes were required by custom and by religious practice to hold themselves apart from those of other castes. Each caste was an endogamous group[1] into which a person was born and from which it was almost impossible to escape save by death. In the course of time, subdivisions within the castes arose to such an extent that it is now next to impossible to determine to what major caste some of the sub-castes belonged. According to the 1901 census there were 2378 endogamous castes, the members of which claimed a common descent from a mythical ancestor — human or divine.

According to the religious beliefs of Brahmanism, there is one great

[1] The term endogamous group means that individuals must secure their marriage partners within the group of which they are members.

deity, Brahma, which is identified as the "absolute self" in which all real beings reside. The greatest achievement of any being (possible only to those of the Brahman caste) is to be perfectly united with Brahma — to be absorbed into the spirit of the Great God. In order to reach the happy state of Nirvana, complete abandonment of all earthly desires and connections is required of the individual. Until the soul reaches the state of Nirvana, it is condemned to wander over the earth, being incarnated in various forms of life depending upon how it had formerly lived. Thus a person who lives a life according to the principles of Brahmanism may be reincarnated after death in some person of higher caste. On the other hand, if he is self-seeking and selfish, he may be reincarnated in the body of a dog or some other animal of a lower order.

Brahmanism is not a monotheistic religion, for the Hindus recognize — in addition to the Great Spirit Brahma — Vishnu the creator and preserver, and Siva, the destroyer of the universe.

The religion of the Hindus is individualistic in extreme. Each person can reach the state of Nirvana only by his own efforts. He cannot help others and others cannot help him. He must refrain from human association as much as possible. He must withdraw from worldly matters so that by the elimination of earthly interest and desires he can reach Nirvana. As is to be expected, little effort is made to remedy existing injustices in the social order. The ideas of a better social order and of social progress have no place in the religion of the Hindus.

3. BUDDHISM

In the sixth century, contemporaneous with Confucius, the son of a Hindu chieftain, Siddhartha Gautama, although he was married and had a son, became dissatisfied with the "emptiness" of life. At the age of twenty-nine he set forth to lead the life of asceticism in order to learn the "truth." Gautama Buddha — the enlightened one — became the founder of a great religion, which although its principles were based on the beliefs of Brahmanism, threatened to engulf the parent faith. Later, however, Buddhism gave way in India to a renewed Hinduism, and the regions in which Buddhism flourished were Tibet, Mongolia, and the Malay Peninsula.

As is to be expected, Buddhist practices and beliefs varied in the different regions. Only the essential characteristics of the Buddhist practices and faith are mentioned here.

Buddhism, as an early revolt from the practices of Hinduism, denied the existence of castes as a divine principle and maintained the equality of all living objects. Hence, the Buddhists are very careful to avoid killing any animal or even any insect. Buddhism reaffirms the belief in transmigration of souls in somewhat different manner from Hinduism.

> [To the Buddhist] the world is divided into six realms, in one or another of which sentient beings are born and reborn until released from ignorance and desire. These are the *Narakas* or hells, the realm of *Pretas* or hungry ghosts, the animal realm, the human realm, the realm of Asuras or great Demons, and the realm of Devas or gods.[1]

To the Buddhists, Heaven (Nirvana) is that blissful state of mind where one has no desires, no interest in earthly matters.

Buddhism is a religion based on moral sentiment and its external organization. A Buddhist is expected to observe these rules of righteousness: (1) to kill no living being; (2) to take no property belonging to another; (3) to commit no adultery; (4) to speak the truth; (5) to drink no intoxicants; (6) to avoid eating at forbidden times; (7) to abstain from dancing, attending theaters or playing any musical instrument; (8) to use no wreaths, ointments, perfumes, nor personal adornments; (9) to sleep neither in a high nor low bed; (10) to possess no silver nor gold.

Buddhism is a religion without a god; hence priesthood, prayers, and sacrifices are unnecessary. Salvation can be attained only by the individual's efforts.

Although there is no priesthood in the ordinary sense, the countries wherein Buddhism prevails are burdened by great numbers of wandering monks or Lamas as they are called in Tibet and Mongolia.[2] Also there are great "Lamaseries" wherein thousands of Lamas dwell. In Tibet it is estimated that about one-third of the male population are Lamas.

The ideal of Buddhism is self-denial and the destruction of all desire; yet there is no wish on the part of individuals to improve society, to make the world a better place in which to live, nor to rise above the individual's present world status. The world is regarded as evil, and

[1] Horace L. Friess and Herbert W. Schneider, *Religions in Various Cultures*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1932, pp. 141–145. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Burdened because such a large portion of the population live as non-producing members of society supported by the efforts of the workers.

the individual Buddhist wishes to be spared from participating in the evil practices and desires of the world. Withdrawal from earthly matters is the ideal of Buddhists. There is no place for thought of social progress or advancement.

4. MOHAMMEDANISM

Mohammedanism, or, as it is sometimes called, "Islam," is a religion which originated in Arabia and is largely credited to the work of Mohammed. It is the youngest of the great religions, appearing about six centuries after Christianity.

Arabia at the time of Mohammed was inhabited by wandering tribes held together by bonds of kinship. Mecca and Medina were the principal centers of population. The Arabians were acquainted with the doctrines and practices of both Judaism and Christianity, and apparently had much respect for both although they would not adopt them as their religion. There can be no doubt that Mohammed, who in his youth travelled extensively, was acquainted with both religions.

Mohammed was a thoughtful youth and spent much time in meditation. When he was twenty-five years of age, he married a wealthy widow fifteen years his senior. The freedom from financial worries allowed him more time for meditation. His first teaching was in his native city of Mecca. There for ten years he preached the doctrine that there is but one God, Allah, and that He would not tolerate any other gods. Mohammed also denounced idolatry and proclaimed that a Day of Judgment was at hand. Those who refused to heed his call were to be thrown into a fiery hell. After ten years of preaching in Mecca, he had made but slight headway and was driven from the city. He then went to Medina. He changed some points in his doctrine, became a temporal ruler as well as a preacher, and started spreading his religion by the sword. He was unrelenting and bloodthirsty in putting down all opposition to his rule. Mecca at last welcomed him back and he made it his capital. At his death he had plans for a world conquest. Later the religion was spread through Asia Minor, Northern Africa, and Spain, and was halted in its advance into Europe at the Battle of Tours, A.D. 732. Truly, no religion spread with such rapidity as Mohammedanism.

The Koran, the holy book of the Mohammedans, serves them as the *Bible* serves Christians. The idea of the "Day of Judgment" is the starting point of Mohammed's teachings. At that time those who have

not been faithful to the tenets of the faith will be thrown into hell fire. Those who are devout will enjoy the pleasures of a sensuous heaven. The basic idea of Islam is that there is but one God, Allah, the creator of the world, "who neither begot nor was begotten and whom nothing resembles." Mohammed was his last and most prominent prophet. Other prophets which Mohammedanism recognizes are Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, and Jesus. The chief religious commandments, the "pillars of Islam" are: (1) the profession of faith; (2) the ritual prayer; (3) fasting; (4) the payment of the alms tax; (5) the pilgrimage to Mecca. The duty to carry on the holy wars against unbelievers was almost accepted as a sixth pillar.

According to Mohammedan belief, Allah causes all the actions of men; everything in the world happens according to his eternal predestination. At the same time men are capable of free action for which they are rewarded or punished.[4]

Under Islam the position of women is not one of honor or esteem. Polygyny is permitted and approved. Mohammed after the death of his first wife maintained a harem of twelve or thirteen wives. Not only is polygyny practiced, but divorce is easily and frequently obtained.

5. JUDAISM

Judaism is the religion of the Jews. It is probably the oldest religion existing in the world, with a historic record going back to the time of its traditional founder, Abraham. It is the parent of two great religions — Christianity and Mohammedanism — which have encircled the world and have been in a large measure responsible for the great civilizations existing at the present time.

The Jews have a history of persecution and of oppression. They are a people without a national home. Truly their history is a tragic story. Yet it is doubtful if any group of people in all time have contributed as much to human welfare and advancement as the despised Jews. Certainly not the least of their contributions has been the religious background of Judaism, which furnished the basis for all of the religious beliefs of the Western World.

Judaism is the religion which developed from the teachings of the ancient Hebrew prophets and the folklore of the Hebrew people. The

[4] The complaint may be made that these two statements are contradictory. Is the same not true, also, of the belief, held by certain Christian denominations, that "what is to be will be," and which at the same time condemns man to Hell for his "evil" acts?

basic concept of Judaism is that there is one God — Jehovah — creator and sustainer of the universe, and at the same time a just Father, solicitous for the welfare of his children. He is a stern judge but He tempers His justice with mercy. Judaism, unlike Buddhism or Brahmanism, holds that this world is good, and that man, since he is created in the image and likeness of God, who is perfect, is noble like the rest of God's work and is capable of approaching perfection. Since all men are made by God in His image, all men are brothers and should live in a state of peace and brotherly love. Judaism does not hold that man is a passive tool of an all powerful spirit, but a free agent responsible for his own acts. Earthly wealth need not be a curse; it may be a great blessing.

Although Judaism is very strict in its faith, it places much more emphasis on works than upon belief. "It is not a creed or a system of beliefs upon the acceptance of which redemption or future salvation depends. It is a system of human conduct, a law of righteousness which man should follow in order to live thereby." [5]

The sacred books of the Jews are the Old Testament and the Talmud. The Old Testament is a record of the early Jewish people. In it are accounts of their struggles, disasters and triumphs; the prophecies and admonitions of their early leaders and prophets; the poetry, prose, and folklore of their race. The Old Testament not only serves as a sacred book of the Jews but from the standpoint of volume it makes up the greater portion of the Christian Bible and furnishes the historical background of the Christian religion. The Talmud is of more recent origin than the Old Testament; it was written during the second, fourth and sixth centuries of the Christian Era. The Talmud is an encyclopaedia of a period of about one thousand years in Hebrew history. In it are found moral exhortations, discussions of religious rules, of legal matters, of medicine, of hygiene, of agriculture, of natural science, and of customs. In short, the complete life of the Hebrews during the period of time treated is portrayed in its glory and in its meanness. "The Talmud is as great and as small as the life of a people at its best and its worst, as tranquil and as blustering, as peaceful and as aggressive." [6]

[5] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1925, vol. VII, p. 581. Reprinted by permission.

[6] Josef Kastein, *History and Destiny of the Jews*, Garden City Publishing Co., New York, 1936, p. 210.

6. CHRISTIANITY

At such a time when Judaism had become more interested in religious rites and in form than in serving the needs of man, Christianity arose. There apparently was a great need for the new principles, for Christianity spread very rapidly, although it was a religion of peace and love rather than a theology of war and hate.

Christ, whose teachings form the basis for Christian theology, enunciated a philosophy of life which had great appeal to the under-privileged of all nations. Unlike believers of earlier religions, Christians recognized a universal and not a tribal or a national God. To the Christians there were no Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians. All people were "Children of God." To the oppressed, the Christian religion offered a relief from the sufferings of this world in a Heaven where all people would be both equal and happy.

Christ did not advocate revolution by force of arms. Rather his policy was that of submission, non-resistance, with the assurance that everything would be made right by a kind and loving God.

Christianity is a religion which appeals both to the individual and to the social nature of man. To the individual it offers a way of life attended by peace of mind, happiness, and a reward after death of eternal life in a kingdom of complete fulfillment of human desires. Man must not, however, center his thoughts on himself, for his greatest happiness will be attained by helping his weaker "brother." Each man is his "brother's keeper" to the extent that he must be ready to assist the less fortunate. This idea is especially manifest in the zeal of Christians to "enlighten," and "to save" those who have not been converted to the Christian religion. The missionary zeal of the Christians led them to go unarmed and unprotected into regions inhabited by warlike natives anxious to destroy all bearers of an outside culture, into lands where death from the inhabitants, wild animals, or fevers seemed almost inevitable. Hundreds sacrificed their lives in these seemingly futile attempts to spread the "religion of love," and more hundreds stood ready to fill the places made vacant by death.

The Christian missionary has been a civilizing influence in all parts of the world. French priests opened the roads for traders in the North American wilderness. Jesuits spread Christianity throughout the continent of South America and opened that continent to the traders of Spain. Livingston and other missionaries spent their lives in Africa and made known to the world the riches of that dark continent.

Although many terrible abuses followed the Christian missionaries, and religious bigotry and intolerance became the order in some regions, the ultimate outcome of this missionary zeal was the widespread acceptance of Christianity. Today it represents numerically the most powerful religion in the world, and our era has often been referred to as a Christian era.

That Christianity offers freedom of thought and action not usually found as a characteristic of religious faith can be attested by the fact that at present time there are almost four hundred different Christian sects in the United States alone. Various attempts have been made to limit the freedom of religious thought. The Catholic Church of the Middle Ages found it necessary to set forth a rigid religious doctrine to meet the needs of the uneducated people of Europe. Later with the advancement in learning, the Protestant Church broke from the established church and announced a policy of individual responsibility in religion. This attempt at freedom of thought was soon stifled in some quarters by two branches of the Protestant Church, the Puritan Church and the Church of England. These would brook no differences in religious ideas among the people living in regions under their domination.

More recently the Fundamentalists have attempted to restrict change in religious beliefs by insisting on a literal interpretation and strict acceptance of everything in the Bible. This means a complete disregard of all the scientific discoveries of anthropology, archaeology, biology, and geology. Fundamentalists refuse to accept the idea that religion as a social institution must serve human needs by changing as the needs of the times change.

Opposed to the Fundamentalists stand a group called the Modernists. The Modernists hold that Christianity must be interpreted in the light of modern scientific advancement and modern intellectual improvement. To Modernists, those Biblical myths which are known to be scientifically impossible must be accepted as myths, not as factual statements.

It seems that the test of Christianity as of all religions will ultimately be its ability to meet the needs of society. It must either prevent social change as Confucianism was able to do for thousands of years, or it must be ready to change its practices and beliefs to meet the demands of a changed social order. Christianity has never attempted to prevent social change in general. It has encouraged enlargement of the geo-

graphic limits of Christianity, and as a result has produced an expansion of trade, an increase in wealth of mankind (unequally distributed though it is), larger governable areas, increased populations, and many other significant social changes. These changes and the numerous scientific discoveries of the time have resulted in a social order very different from that of a short time ago. For the Christian church to refuse to recognize that the needs of today require a change in religious practices and beliefs must, it seems, lead to a loss of respect and faith on the part of the thinking members of society. The great danger to Christianity is not in the non-religious world but rather in the zeal of the leaders of Christianity who insist that their religious beliefs and practices must remain unchanged and unchanging.

7. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S RELIGIONS

The geographic locations wherein the different religious faiths are to be found have already been indicated during the discussion of leading religions. The prevailing religion of China is Confucianism; of India, Hinduism; of Southwestern Asia and North Africa, Mohammedanism; of Tibet, Mongolia, the Malay Peninsula and certain islands of Southeastern Asia, Buddhism; of Japan, Shintoism; of Europe, North and South America, Australia, and islands and colonies of European and American nations, Christianity. The Jewish religion has followers distributed in all continents. Its members are most numerous in Europe and in North America.

TABLE 32. NUMERICAL COVERAGE OF MAJOR RELIGIONS *

Christians:		
Roman Catholics	331,500,000	
Orthodox (Greek) Catholics	144,000,000	
Protestants	206,900,000	682,400,000
Confucianists, Taoists		350,600,000
Hindus (Brahmanists)		230,150,000
Mohammedans		209,020,000
Buddhists		150,180,000
Animists		135,650,000
Shintoists		25,000,000
Jews		15,315,359
Miscellaneous		50,870,000
Total		1,849,185,359

* Grove Samuel Dow, *Society and Its Problems*, Thos. *Y.* Crowell Co., New York, 1938, p. 456. Reprinted by permission.

Although there is no accurate census of the membership of any religion, it is estimated that the Christian religion has the greatest population coverage with 682,400,000. More than one-fourth of the population of the world is classed as Christian.

In the United States, although the population in 1936 was in the neighborhood of 130,000,000, the church membership was only 55,807,366. In other words, less than one-half of the people of the nation were members of any church. Of those belonging to churches in 1936, 19,914,936 were Roman Catholics, 8,262,287 were Baptists, 7,001,637 were Methodists, 4,641,184 were Jews, 4,244,990 were Lutherans, 2,513,653 were Presbyterians, 1,735,335 were Episcopalians and 1,196,315 were Disciples of Christ, not to mention many other smaller denominations and sects.[7]

D. *Summary*

Religion has been variously defined. For the purposes of this text it is described as a *recognition by men of powers stronger than their own, and an attempt to ally themselves with those powers.*

Religion is different from science; whereas science is based on observed phenomena (facts which have been or are demonstrable), religion is founded on faith and belief. Religion appeals to the emotions of man. Science, based on reason, appeals to the intellectual nature of man.

Religion attributes to its deities the qualities of man which are idealized and are most admired by the members of society.

Religion and magic are often closely associated; however, there are certain fundamental differences. Religion is personal whereas magic is impersonal. Magic implies a cause and effect relationship; a certain act will produce a certain response. Religion presumes no necessity for God or the recognized deities to grant the petition of the person making the request. It implies no power of compulsion over superior or Supreme Being.

Religion serves man in the following ways: (1) by explaining the unknown forces of the universe; (2) by affording comfort, consolation, and hope to human beings who are oppressed and who are in trouble; (3) by binding individuals and groups into strong social unions such as religious groups — Jews, Catholics, Mohammedans, and others; (4) by controlling human behavior to accord with approved standards.

[7] *World Almanac*, 1942, pp. 576–577.

The great religions of the modern world are: (1) Confucianism, the religion of the Chinese; (2) Hinduism, the religion of the greater portion of the people living in India; (3) Buddhism, the religion of the people of Tibet, Mongolia and a great part of the Malay Peninsula; (4) Mohammedanism, the religion of the Arabs and of people living in southwestern Asia and northern Africa; (5) Judaism, the faith of the Jews wherever they dwell; (6) Christianity, the religion of Western Civilization — of Europe, the Americas, Australia, and islands and possessions dominated by Western Culture.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Differentiate religion from science.
2. Differentiate religion from magic.
3. What values can be attributed to religion? Do you think any society can long exist without a religion? Justify your answer.
4. Compare Confucianism with Christianity. What differences and what similarities can be found?
5. It is sometimes claimed that the caste system of the Hindu religion was a device designed to keep a conquered people under subjection. Explain what reasons might be advanced for believing that such a system might have been developed for such a purpose.
6. What is the ultimate goal of Buddhism?
7. Why has Mohammedanism been called a "religion of the sword"?
8. Wherein is Christianity different from Judaism?
9. In what ways have the Christian missionaries been a civilizing influence in the world?
10. Do you agree that religion is an unchanging institution or influence in the world?

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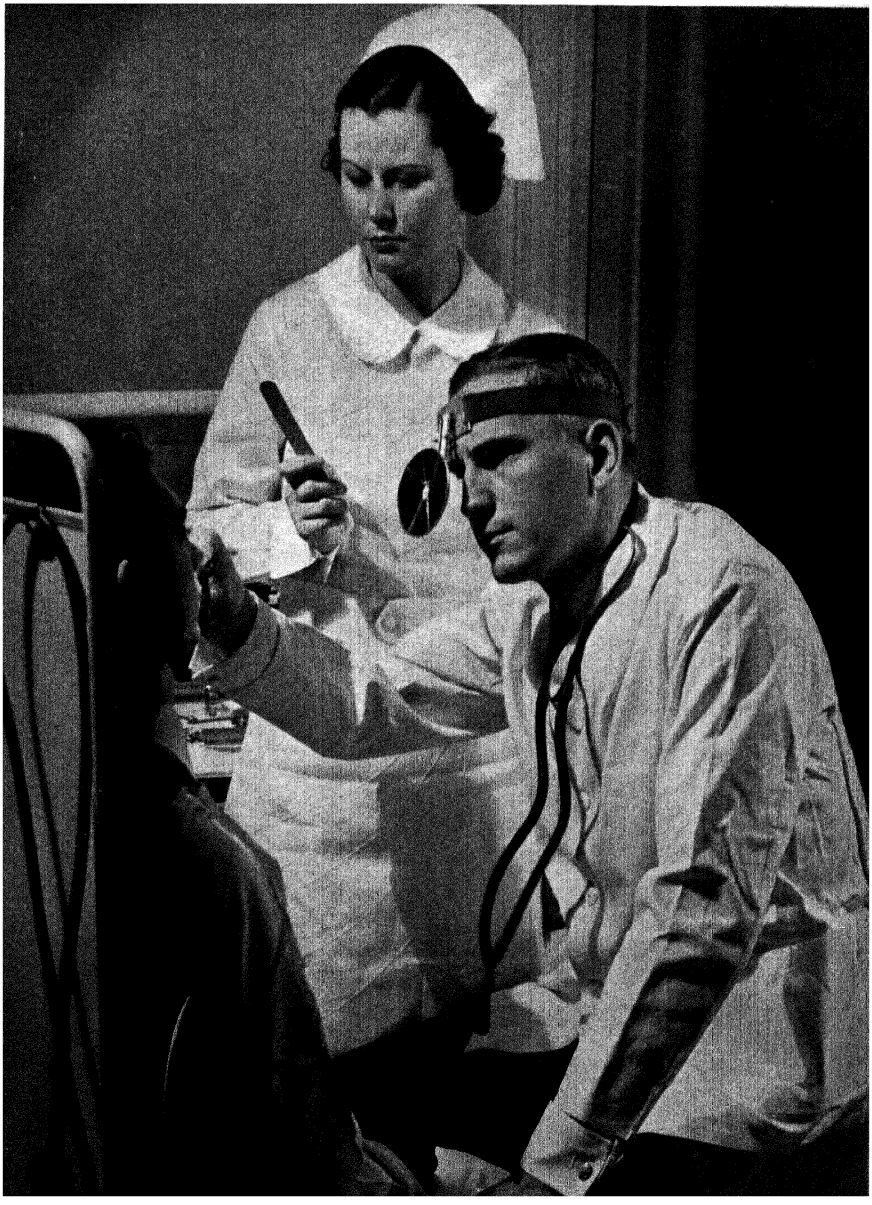
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SECTION E:

Health Institutions

Black Box PLATE 18





Black Star



Black Star

PLATE 19

Modern health conditions have increased the average life span of man in the United States from about thirty-five to more than sixty-three years within a period of one hundred and thirty years. The improvement is due to many causes, from the advance in medical knowledge and skill to the substantial services of clinics and district nurses.

CHAPTER 19

Health

IN ANOTHER CHAPTER it is pointed out that within a period of one hundred and thirty years the average life span of man in the United States has increased from about thirty-five to more than sixty-three years. This increased length of life has come through the reduction of the death rate, especially the rate of infant mortality, and through the conquest of various diseases, particularly those afflicting children and young people. Extensive and concentrated efforts have been made to improve the health and the health conditions of American people.

The subjects of the present chapter are: the values and importance of good health, the health beliefs and practices of primitive people and of those living prior to the advent of modern sanitation, and modern health conditions and problems.

A. *Importance of Health*

1. HEALTH CONTRIBUTES TO HUMAN HAPPINESS

Good health is a blessing which is not often appreciated by those who possess it. Only as a man is confronted with illness and its effects does a realization of the value and importance of being well dawn upon him. The desire of all mankind is to be happy, to live in such a way that each in his own manner will receive the maximum enjoyment from life. As the universal wish of mankind is to be happy, the common dread is illness — disease. Who can enjoy life to its fullest while his body is wracked with pain? Not only is illness a great source of unhappiness for those who are themselves afflicted, but it reflects itself in uneasiness of mind for friends and loved ones. The advent of sickness may cause a previously happy home to become clouded by anxiety; and for every member of the household, pain both physical

and mental may displace joy. If the sufferer is a child, the other members of the family are thrown into a panic of dread and apprehension. If the sufferer is the mother, the home ceases to be a home, and the usual order prevailing there is displaced by uncertainty and chaos. The father must assume a double rôle and in an awkward way carry out the unfamiliar duties of the household. The children are neglected. If the father is the one afflicted, to the anxiety of the other members of the household is added the worry about finances, for the income usually ceases when the worker is ill.

Few individuals and fewer families escape for long periods of time the pain and mental uneasiness of illness. If the ailment or disease is not serious, the period of anxiety and suffering may not be long and no serious effects may result; but during a serious or prolonged illness or during an epidemic, the whole life of the individual and of the family may be altered.

Illness, even though it may not be serious enough to cause one to be confined to bed, often makes life seem a burden and ordinary activities intolerable. Then not only is the afflicted one unhappy but his actions are such that he becomes an annoyance to those around him. He is likely to be irritable and cross. He can see nothing in its true perspective.

2. ECONOMIC LOSS

The economic losses resulting from illness are of two kinds: those which can be measured in terms of money expended or lost, and those which cannot be thus measured. Among the economic losses which can be measured may be listed: (1) loss of earnings through the inability of the earner to work; (2) cost of medical care and treatment; (3) economic losses from preventable deaths. Under costs which cannot be measured one must consider the loss from inefficiency of those who continue to work even though they are ill.

The economic cost of illness, according to an estimate made by W. S. Rankin, is more than ten billion dollars per year.[1] (See Table 33.) This annual cost is divided into: (1) loss of wages, two billion dollars; (2) cost of medical care and treatment, almost two and one half billion dollars; and (3) loss from preventable deaths, six billion dollars. These amounts do not take into account the loss which results when a

[1] W. S. Rankin, "Economics of Medical Service," *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. XIX, pp. 359–365.

TABLE 33. COSTS OF ILLNESS *

Physicians	$450,000,000
Private nurses	210,000,000
Practical nurses	150,000,000
Dentists	150,000,000
Hospitals	750,000,000
Druggists (for medicines)	700,000,000
Other healers	50,000,000
Total	$2,460,000,000
Wage losses	2,000,000,000
Loss from preventable deaths	6,000,000,000
Grand total	$10,460,000,000

* W. S. Rankin, "Economics of Medical Service," *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. XIX, pp. 359–365.

worker is feeling listless, without his usual energy and vim, nor the loss to industry or business from the use of substitute workers who are less familiar with the tasks and hence less efficient. There can be no accurate measurement of the extent of this loss.

Phelps calls attention to the fact that the annual cost for illness amounts to more than one tenth of the annual income.[2] It amounts to a sum about equal to the total investment in the nation for education.

The average per capita cost of illness and preventable death is $20.83 per year.[3] However, its burden is not distributed equally upon the population nor proportionately upon those who are best able to bear it. Instead, the heaviest cost is on those individuals and families who are least able to meet the added financial obligations. Health surveys show that the poor are sick more frequently than the well-to-do and the rich. Barnes points out that disability for a week or even longer because of illness is at a 57 per cent higher rate among people on relief than among the families with incomes of $3000 or more.[4] He further emphasizes that the non-relief families with annual incomes of less than $1000 had twice as high an illness disability rate as the families with an income of more than that amount. Not only are the relief and low-income families sick more often than the well-to-do, but their illnesses

[2] Harold A. Phelps, *Contemporary Social Problems*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1938, p. 162.

[3] Selwyn Collins, "Economic Status and Health," quoted in Bossard, *Social Change and Social Problems*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1938, p. 360.

[4] Harry Elmer Barnes, *Society in Transition*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 437

last longer than the sicknesses of those in better financial circumstances.

Furthermore, it is not in illness alone that the poor suffer more than the well-to-do: the death rate for the forty odd millions of Americans who earn annual wages of less than $1000 a year is twice as high as for the remainder of the population.

3. MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF HEALTH

Wallace in his novel *The Fair God* ascribes the fall of the Aztecs before the Spaniards under Cortez in large part to the ravages of smallpox (which the invaders had brought with them). The extent to which the disease actually did contribute to the downfall of the natives is unknown, but it is certain that in nearly all of the wars which have ever been fought, more men have died from disease than have fallen from the bullets of the enemies. Armies have been decimated by such diseases as cholera, plague, typhoid, typhus, smallpox, malaria, dysentery, and yellow fever. In 1775, the invasion of Canada by Arnold and Montgomery was unsuccessful in part at least because of the great losses sustained by the army from smallpox and dysentery. Napoleon was prevented from accomplishing his plans to establish an empire on the western continent through the loss of a large portion of his army from tropical disease. His retreat from Moscow was a disaster brought on in large part by the ravages of typhus in his army.

Military men now realize that disease is one of the most deadly enemies of men living in congested quarters such as an army camp. The invisible germs of some disease can accomplish what a strong opposing army might fail to attain — the destruction of great numbers of soldiers and the weakening of the morale of the fighting men.

For this reason the sanitary conditions of military camps are carefully safeguarded, and soldiers are given every preventative treatment known to medical science. The good health of the fighters is essential to the winning of wars.

The French, under the great engineer De Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal, were unsuccessful in their attempt to dig the Panama Canal. They finally abandoned the great undertaking, primarily because of the ravages of yellow fever and other tropical diseases. Before the venture could be successfully accomplished, General Gorgas had to make the Canal Zone one of the most sanitary regions on earth; before he could dig and build, he had to conquer the fatal fevers.

4. HEALTH AND SCHOOL PROGRESS

Each year the United States spends more than two billion dollars on the public schools of the nation.[5] Where a child is retarded in his school work, an added economic burden is placed upon the public who support the schools. Reeder in a study of thirty-seven schools found that the average retardation of public school enrollment was 38.8 per cent.[6] That means that about 40 per cent of the children were one or more grades behind their expected rate of progress. The repeating of grades by portions of the pupils creates an overcrowded situation within the grades. This condition can be relieved only by employing more teachers and by otherwise increasing the costs of operating the schools. All studies have shown that retarded children become discouraged and are more likely to drop out of school before completing the full course than are those able to advance with their classes. The social and the psychological effects of retardation and elimination from school are impossible to evaluate. The children are likely to develop a feeling of inferiority, a sense of inability to succeed in the world. They may become satisfied to accept inferior positions, and thus they and the world do not receive the benefits of their full capacities. Society then loses much more than the additional cost of operating schools for retarded children; it loses the wealth which a well developed individual can contribute.

Physical health is indispensable to successful work. The child who is defective in sight or in hearing; who is handicapped by diseased tonsils and adenoids; who has decayed and abscessed teeth; who is suffering from infestation by hook worm or other parasites which sap physical strength; or who suffers from dietary deficiencies such as pellagra, rickets, and malnutrition, cannot be expected to keep pace in educational achievement with those who are not so afflicted. There can be no doubt that many children adjudged mentally defective are in reality suffering from some deficiency of a physical nature.

Realizing the importance of physical health in education, many schools now employ nurses and have clinics to determine the presence of physical ailments among school children and sometimes to provide them with corrective treatment. Unfortunately, few of the rural schools wherein a large proportion of our youth are trained are able to afford such treatment for their children.

[5] See page 237.

[6] Ward G. Reeder, *The Fundamentals of Public School Administration*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, p. 338.

5. SOCIAL PROGRESS AND HEALTH

Social progress is defined as movement toward a human goal. The goal may differ with different nationalities, different groups, and different periods of time. It is the avowed aim of the German nation to strengthen its power to such an extent that it can dominate the world. It is the ambition of Japan to dominate Asia and the Far East. It was the declared objective of the Russians to establish a social order wherein there was no economic inequality among the population. Any movement or change in any country which leads toward particular objectives is social progress.

All countries set as an ideal the establishment of a national organization which is secure and which can withstand any danger from foreign aggression or from internal disruption. The great nations of the past and of the present are those which have been able to make the greatest social progress. However, it has been found that the greatest danger to social progress in a nation is not necessarily a powerful, aggressive foreign enemy, nor even antagonistic social philosophy among the people within the area of the state; the greatest danger may be and often is from the insidious ravages of organisms so tiny that only the powerful microscope can detect them — disease germs.

"Progress," says Binder, "is possible only with a surplus of vitality over the immediately necessary activities of life." [7] A population suffering from some disease cannot engage in efficient work. An undervitalized man may put a great deal of effort into an undertaking and may wear himself out by exertion beyond his physical strength, but he cannot succeed in his endeavors. "Only healthy men have the true impulse for work; only they work efficiently, and only they produce more than is necessary for their own needs." [8]

Historians have explained the cause of the decline and final downfall of Athens as "moral laxity and loss of social purity." [9] Likewise the collapse of the Roman Empire has been attributed to a moral degeneracy on the part of the populace. Binder suggests that the mental and moral degeneracy may have been an effect rather than a cause. A very important factor in the decline and ultimate disintegration of both great civilizations was probably malaria which sapped the physical and mental vitality of the people.

From the dawn of history until the present, there have been repeated

[7] Rudolph Binder, *Health and Social Progress*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1920, p. 77. Reprinted by permission.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 74. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

invasions of favored lowlands in relatively hot regions by people living in mountainous regions and temperate climates. The more numerous, richer, and more civilized people have fallen easy prey to their more aggressive and healthier enemies.

> In almost every part of the world have civilizations sprung up around the latitudes of Cancer and Capricorn, only to flourish for a short time, and perish when conditions were apparently propitious for a higher development. Reasons of various kinds have been assigned for this short life — immorality, luxury, infidelity, degeneracy, political oppression, and almost everything else which the fertile imagination of past and present day writers could conjure up. All the reasons undoubtedly had something to do with the ruin of ancient civilizations, but they operated only indirectly, and were themselves results rather than causes. It is only recently that medicine, with its study of tropical diseases, has revealed the true cause — ill health owing to the inability of former generations to combat disease-breeding parasites. For without physical health no high and no permanent civilization is possible.[10]

6. EXTENT OF ILLNESS

Studies on the extent of illness by the United States Public Health Service indicate that every day one out of twenty people is too sick to go to school, or work, or attend to his customary activities — about six million people; that every man, woman, and child in the United States suffers, on the average, ten days of incapacity every year;[11] that 2,500,000 of the 6,000,000 sick every day — 42 per cent — suffer from chronic diseases such as heart disease, hardening of the arteries, rheumatism, nervousness, and so forth.[12]

The report of the United States Public Health Service Survey for 1938 shows that there are 65,000 who are totally deaf; 1,000,000 who are permanently crippled; 500,000 who are blind; 300,000 who have permanent spinal injuries; 200,000 who lack a hand, arm, foot, or leg; and 75,000 who are both deaf and mute.[13]

B. *Health Practices of Earlier People*

1. PRIMITIVE HEALTH PRACTICES

Primitive man could not conceive of illness as the result of natural

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[11] This average varies according to sex. Women are disabled from illness more often and for longer periods than are men.

[12] Reported in *Time*, 31:22, January 31, 1938. [13] *Ibid.*

circumstances. To him all disease was the work of the unknown, of evil spirits and forces. In order to cure a sufferer from any illness, the evil spirits would have to be driven from the body of the afflicted one by some powerful magic put into operation to counteract the spirits. The medicine man was a very important figure in the village, for he was thought to understand how to work the magic necessary for a patient's recovery. If the victim did not recover, it was then believed that the magic was not strong enough to overcome the power of the malicious spirits.

Since disease was regarded as due to supernatural powers, no ideas of sanitation or disease prevention were present. When there was an epidemic or illness in a village, the individuals who were well invoked the powers of magic. The healthy individuals would wear some magical charms, perform certain rites and dances, make sacrifices and pay tribute to propitiate the evil spirits, or beat loud drums to ward them off or drive them away.

> The Tunguses and Buriats placed before their huts milk, tea, and meat, begging the spirit of smallpox for this service to spare the inmates; and the natives of the Andaman Islands set up in their villages poles smeared with black beeswax, the odor of which was supposed to be distasteful to the demon. Long after the more naïve forms of the demonic theory had been abandoned its vestiges survived in the practices of leaders of science. For protection against malaria Pliny recommended either the dust in which a hawk has rolled, placed in a bag tied with red thread and worn about the neck, or the largest tooth of a black dog or a certain kind of wasp which flies alone and must be caught with the left hand.[14]

2. HEALTH PRACTICES AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The art of healing practiced by the Greeks marks a great achievement in the history of medical science. To them may be given credit for the creation of a science of medicine. The earliest of the Greek medical men was Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine. He mastered the available medical knowledge of his day and added greatly to its advancement. It is to Hippocrates that much credit is given for the development of scientific observation and treatment of disease.

Medical assistance was given to Greek citizens free of charge by doctors who were paid fixed salaries by the state. Public bath houses, for use by men and by women in Greece and in the colonies, were

[14] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, vol. IV, p. 66 Reprinted by permission.

supported by public funds or by private donations. Often these public bath houses were attached to athletic fields. Greek communities offered their citizens facilities for physical training and provided medical attendants when accidents happened. The Greeks emphasized the need for a well-developed, healthy body and made facilities available for the development and maintenance of good health. Medical schools were established in various centers of Greek culture. With the rise of Rome as the center of the world's civilization, the center of medical learning was shifted there.

The advent of Christianity brought new and special emphasis upon sympathy for the sick and afflicted. This Christian charity was exemplified in the building of Basilias — a special city for the care of the sick erected by Basil the Great (330–379). Here patients were nursed and given medical care. The ill were brought to the city, and special houses were built for lepers. In Basilias is thought to have been the first hospital devoted exclusively to the care of the sick.

3. DECLINE IN HEALTH PRACTICES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

After the downfall of Rome, the knowledge of scientific treatment of disease was locked in the centers of learning of the East. The European depended in large part on a Christianized modification of primitive magic. A real understanding of disease was lacking. During this period, Europe was periodically swept by epidemics, the most famous of which was known as the Black Death (bubonic plague). The estimated death toll from these disasters has been put at from one third to one half of the population living in the countries afflicted.

C. *Development of Modern Practices in Health and Sanitation*

Medicine as a curative science, sanitation, and preventative medical practices had no chance to develop as long as disease was regarded as resulting from supernatural influences. Throughout the period of the Middle Ages, there was little understanding of the true cause of disease or of its spread from individual to individual.

1. THEORIES OF DISEASE CAUSATION

There have been three major theories as to the causation of epidemic disease: (1) the influence of evil spirits; (2) the miasmatic theory (originated by Hippocrates and attributing disease to atmospheric con-

ditions such as the exhalations from marshes); and (3) the germ theory, of very recent origin.

2. EARLY QUARANTINE

Even though the real cause of disease was not understood until very recently, contagion through personal contact was recognized in ancient times. During the Biblical periods, the leper was regarded as "unclean" — possessed of evil spirits. He was not permitted to associate freely with healthy people. Isolation of persons suffering from leprosy was begun after the Council of Lyons in 583, an event which in effect launched a campaign against that disease. For centuries after this Council, strict quarantine and segregation of patients in isolation camps, or leprosaria, was practiced.

The isolation of victims of leprosy was so successful that isolation was applied also to the control of plague. In the fourteenth century Venice denied entrance of any plague infected travelers, ships, or freight into the city and port, and Marseilles established the first quarantine station. Here all ships received rigid inspection. Travelers from suspected ships were detained for forty days, and cargoes, ships, and rigging were exposed to the influence of the air and sun.[15] The word "quarantine" is derived from a Latin word meaning forty.

3. ATTITUDE OF MEDICAL MEN TOWARDS QUARANTINE

Medical science has always been very slow to accept new and unproven theories. Medical men at first refused to accept the belief that disease could be spread by personal contact. Next, they accepted that viewpoint for leprosy and smallpox, but refused to agree that plague, cholera, and typhoid fever were thus communicated. These doubting doctors had seen many cases where people were in direct personal contact with sufferers of the maladies and did not contract the diseases. On the other hand these medical men observed that others who had not been in contact with any persons afflicted with the ailments did contract them. For that reason the theory was accepted generally that these diseases were the result of miasma, or disease generated in the air by decaying filth, especially excretal filth. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the acceptance of this belief led to a great sanitary movement. Cities were cleaned up, water supplies and sewerage systems installed, and the ravages of these diseases were reduced — even

[15] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. IV, pp. 68–78.

though as is now known, the miasmatic theory of causation of these diseases was wrong.

4. ACCEPTANCE OF THE GERM THEORY

Louis Pasteur, a chemist, finally made discoveries which in the course of time settled the problem of how diseases are spread. In studying fermentation, he proved that microbes were not accidents in the process but were the agents causing the decomposition. From this discovery, Lister reached the conclusion that there was a similarity between fermentation and the suppuration of wounds. Thus, by means of aseptic techniques for destroying the microbes in wounds, surgery became very much safer than it had formerly been.

The first recognition of the relationship between microbes and the spread of communicable disease came when France was on the verge of having her silk industry destroyed. Examinations made with the use of microscopes revealed that the bodies of the sick silk worms were crowded with microbes like those discovered in fermenting liquids. In 1870 Pasteur concluded that the cause of fermentation and of the disease of the silk worm was the same. Thus the germ theory of communicable diseases was established, and the silk industry of France was saved.

With the demonstration and acceptance that communicable diseases were spread through germs, microbes or viruses, a better understanding of the nature of contagion and infection was possible. It is now understood that disease may be communicated by contact: that is, by more or less direct transfer of discharges from the mouth or nose, by the hands, or by objects which have been recently handled or infected by secretions from the mouth and nose; by infection through a common agent such as water, milk, or any infected article of food and drink; or by the bite of some insect which carries the disease microbe and transmits it to the body of a victim. Smallpox, measles, leprosy, and other diseases are transmitted by direct contact. Typhoid fever, cholera, and many other maladies are spread through the drinking of impure water or milk, and by the eating of food which is contaminated. Malaria, yellow fever, bubonic plague, typhus, and sleeping sickness are contracted through the agency of an insect bite.

5. VACCINATION AND IMMUNIZATION

The greatest problem of medical science is not the cure of a disease

but its prevention. It is in the field of preventive medicine that the greatest strides have been made in modern times.

It was recognized long ago that an actual attack of a communicable disease left the individual with a certain amount of immunity against future attacks. In the East, the practice of providing immunity against smallpox by a form of inoculation under controlled conditions was current for centuries. In 1796 Jenner observed during an epidemic of smallpox in England that the workers in the dairies did not have smallpox. On investigation he found that they did have a very mild attack of a disease known as cowpox. From this he reasoned that if he could infect a person with cowpox, he could thus immunize them against smallpox. His efforts proved successful, and from that discovery has been developed the smallpox vaccination.

Pasteur generalized from the work with smallpox that similar immunization could be effected for other diseases. His first successful work in the field of vaccination for disease was against anthrax. His vaccines were prepared from weakened or killed germs by which he induced against the disease a protective immunization similar to the immunity developed from a true attack of the disease. Later on, successful vaccines against rabies, cholera, typhoid, plague, and many other communicable diseases were prepared.

6. USE OF SERUMS AND ANTITOXINS TO CURE AND TO PREVENT DISEASE

Doctors have discovered that the human body tends to develop antitoxins against certain diseases. These antitoxins tend to counteract or fight the ravages of the disease germs. In some instances the amount of naturally developed antitoxin is not sufficient to prevent or to cure a disease. In 1888 Roux and Yersin discovered that an antitoxin could be artificially developed against diphtheria. By injecting this antitoxin into the body of a person suffering from the disease remarkable cures were accomplished.

Since that time there has been wide extension of the use of serums and antitoxins in the treatment of diseases, both to immunize individuals to attack and to cure those suffering from a malady (by developing enough antitoxins to counteract successfully the attack of the disease).

Serums and antitoxins are now widely used to cure persons having diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, certain types of meningitis, infantile paralysis, and pneumonia. Serums have also been developed

which act to prevent a person's contracting such ailments as diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough, tetanus, rabies, and typhoid fever.

D. *Health Problems of the United States*

1. MOST PREVALENT DISEASES AND CAUSES OF DEATH

Great advancement has been made during the past few decades in the treatment of disease. Some maladies which were formerly the cause of much suffering and many deaths have been almost eliminated or have been reduced to such an extent that they are no longer serious menaces. Smallpox, yellow fever, typhoid fever, and diphtheria formerly took heavy tolls of human lives each year. Today smallpox and diphtheria have been conquered and with proper care on the part of all persons, could be completely eliminated from the earth. Yellow fever has been almost completely, if not entirely destroyed. The frequency of typhoid fever attacks has been greatly reduced, and with proper sanitation especially in rural areas, could be still further reduced. Other diseases, although less frequent and less deadly than formerly, still constitute a serious menace to human health. Thus, the ravages of tuberculosis have been reduced in the past forty-three years — 1900 to 1942 — but the disease still ranks as one of the ten leading causes of death. (See Table 34.)

TABLE 34. LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH DURING THE PERIOD 1900–1942*

Cause of Death	Deaths — 1942		Annual Death Rate per 100,000	
	Number	Per cent	1900	1942
Disease of the heart (all forms)	394,915	28.5	137.4	295.2
Cancer (all forms)	163,400	1.8	64 0	122.1
Intracranial lesions of vascular origin	120,652	8.7	106.9	90.2
Nephritis	96,907	7.0	88 6	72.4
Accidents (all forms)	95,889	6.9	72.3	71.7
Pneumonia and influenza	74,532	5.3	202.2	55.7
Tuberculosis (all forms)	57,690	4.2	194.4	43.1
Premature birth	34,504	2.5	32 4	25.8
Diabetes mellitus	33,971	2.5	11.0	25.4
Syphilis (all forms)	16,345	1.2	12.0	12.2
All causes	1,385,187	100.0	1,719.1	1,035.5

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1943*, p. 80.

On the other hand there are certain ailments which have increased their death tolls since 1900. For instance, in 1942 the death rate from heart disease was 295.2 per 100,000 population or first in the ten leading causes of death, whereas in 1900 the death rate from heart disease was 137.4 and it ranked third as a cause of death at that time. Cancer in 1942 was the cause of 122 deaths per 100,000 people and ranked second as a cause of death, whereas in 1900 the death rate from cancer was but sixty-four or slightly more than half that of 1942. It ranked seventh among the ten leading causes of death in 1900. It should be noticed that the two diseases which have shown the greatest increase in death rate during the past twenty-five years are those usually afflicting people in advanced years — those over forty-five years of age; these diseases are sometimes called "degenerative diseases." As previously pointed out,[16] there has been a tremendous increase in the life span of the present population. That means that there are more people and a larger percentage of our population past forty-five today than in 1900. Consequently, if the same portion of the population beyond forty-five years of age died from cancer and heart trouble now as did in 1900, there would be many more deaths from those ailments than in 1900. One is not justified therefore in making the unqualified statement that the two diseases are actually gaining in their death tolls.

2. PREVENTABLE ILLNESS AND DEATH

a. *Infant mortality.* Infant mortality cannot be considered a single disease. The term refers to the death of infants from all causes. Like tuberculosis, infant mortality has been greatly reduced during the twentieth century. (See Table 35.) In 1900 in some areas the infant death rate among white people was 143.4 per one thousand live births, and among Negroes it was 297.[17] In 1933 the infant mortality had been reduced to 53 per one thousand live births for the whites and to 91 for the Negroes. Great as has been the reduction, however, more can still be done. The countries of Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, and the Netherlands have lower rates of infant mortality than the United States. Dublin and Lotka in *Length of Life* place the goal which may be attained in infant mortality at a rate of 25 per one thousand live births. That is lower even than the present excellent rate of New

[16] See page 115.

[17] George B. Mangold, *Problems of Child Welfare*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, p. 52.

TABLE 35. INFANT MORTALITY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES *

Country	Deaths under one year of Age per 1000 Live Births				
	1920	1925	1930	1933	1936
Europe					
England, and Wales	80	75	60	64	59
Germany	130	105	85	77	66
Italy	127	119	106	100	100
Sweden	63	56	55	50	43
Africa					
Egypt	137	155	151	162	164
Union of South Africa	90	68	67	61	59
Asia					
India, British Province	195	174	181	171	162
Japan	166	142	124	121	171
America					
United States	86	72	65	58	57
Canada	...	92	89	73	66
Argentina	122	122	104	86	97
Chile	263	258	234	258	252
Islands					
Australia	69	53	47	40	41
New Zealand	51	40	34	32	31

* *Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1940, vol. 9, no. 36, p. 409.

Zealand. If the United States could save one half of the infants that now die, approximately 60,000 lives a year would be saved.

Not only is there a great difference in the mortality rates of white and Negro infants, but there is also an inverse relationship between the economic income of families and infant mortality. The lowest income groups have the highest infant death rates. (See Table 36.)

TABLE 36. INFANT MORTALITY AND EARNINGS OF THE FATHER *

Earnings of the Father	Infant Deaths Rate per 1000 Live Births
Under $450	166.9
$450 to $549	125.6
$550 to $649	116.6
$650 to $849	107.5
$850 to $1049	82.8
$1050 to $1249	64.0
$1250 and over	59.1

* Woodbury, R. M., *Infant Mortality*. The Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1926, p 131. Reprinted by permission.
From the data secured by the United States Children's Bureau from seven American cities during the period between November, 1912, and December 31, 1915.

b. *Maternal mortality.* No loss of life is socially more significant than that of a mother or prospective mother through child birth. Not only is a member of society taken during her active period, but the family is broken, and the various members are in danger of becoming socially disorganized — unable to make a satisfactory adjustment to life. Aside from these losses, there is a direct relationship between maternal mortality and the infant death rate. The Children's Bureau found from its studies of infant mortality that among the babies whose mothers died within a year after confinement, the death rate was more than four times as high as among infants whose mothers lived for a year and more after the birth.

Between the years 1920 and 1936 the maternal mortality rate in the United States was reduced from eight per thousand live births to slightly less than six. However, there are still but few of the so-called civilized countries of the world which have as high a death toll among mothers as our nation does. This can be clearly seen by examining Table 37.

The causes responsible for the high maternal mortality rates in this country are, according to Mangold:

> . . . inadequate hospital care of parturient women, lack of medical attention in isolated sections, diseases of women either before or during the period of pregnancy, awkward and inefficient gynecological service, slovenly after-care, abortion, and lack of adequate prenatal care.[18]

c. *Malnutrition and dietary deficiencies.* Diseases due to deficient diet have been very common throughout the ages. In the Middle Ages scurvy took a heavy toll of life each year. The cause of scurvy was found to be the traditional diet of salt meat without fresh fruit, vegetables, and other foods containing the required vitamins. More recently it has been discovered that rickets, pellagra, and beri-beri — a disease common among the rice eaters of China, Japan, India, and other regions — were also due to the deficiency of necessary vitamins in the food. Rickets — a child's ailment — is especially common in congested quarters where there is little sunlight and in households where the food is lacking in "sunlight vitamins." Pellagra is a disease not uncommon in the poor sections of the South where the diet is deficient in fruit and fresh vegetables.

Since the causes of these diseases are now known, there should be no

[18] Mangold, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Reprinted by permission.

TABLE 37. MATERNAL MORTALITY PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS *

Country	1920	1925	1930	1933	1936
Europe					
England	4.3	4.1	4.4	4.5	3.8
Germany	...	5.0	5.4	5.4	4.9
Italy	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.9	3.0
Sweden	2.7	2.6	3.5	3.1	...
Africa					
Union of South Africa	...	5.6	5.3	4.8	4.7
Asia					
Japan	3.5	3.0	2.7	2.7	...
America					
United States	8.0	6.5	6.7	6.2	5.7
Canada	...	5.6	5.8	5.0	5.6
Chile	7.5	6.1	6.8	8.4	8.5
Islands					
Australia	5.0	5.6	5.3	5.1	6.0
New Zealand	6.5	4.7	5.1	4.4	3.7

* *Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1940, vol. 9, no. 36, p. 427.

individuals suffering from such maladies. However, according to the United States Census reports for 1934–1938, there were the following numbers of deaths from these diseases in the year of 1938: scurvy, 30; beri-beri, 42; pellagra, 3205; rickets, 244. These figures do not, of course, take into account the hundreds and thousands who are required to go through life with disfigured limbs and other malformations due to rickets.

More common than the diseases directly caused by deficient diet is malnutrition. In the United States, the richest country in the world, where the complaint has been repeatedly made that too much food is produced, it is estimated that from 21 per cent of the children in New York City to around 10 per cent of those in the smaller towns are suffering from insufficient nourishment.[19] Not only is there malnutrition from insufficient food but also from consumption of food not adapted to the child; the food may be sufficient in quantity but not of the right kind. There is an excess of candy, pickles, cake, and stimulants such as tea and coffee.

The great danger from malnutrition is indirect rather than direct. Handicapped by a weakened body, a child is not only more likely to

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

contract other diseases but has little strength to withstand their attacks. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of children who die each year indirectly because of inadequate or improper diet.

d. *Deaths and injuries from accidents.* As man has become more dependent on the use of power machinery in his production, his travel, his trade, and in his various other activities, the number of individuals who are killed or injured through the use of such machinery has greatly increased. Formerly travel was so slow that there was little chance of mishap Today men dash from place to place at tremendous rates of speed. When something goes wrong in a vehicle traveling so fast, there is great danger to the occupants. Inasmuch as many thousands of individuals work in factories driven by powerful machines, mechanized industry has taken a heavy toll of human life since its adoption.

Not only are there many deaths each year from accidents, but there are even more people who are injured and disabled temporarily or permanently. In 1938 the United States Public Health Service estimated that there are over 10,000,000 accidents each year, serious enough to disable a person for one day or longer. On any day there could be found about 500,000 people who were disabled because of accident. In 1937, 105,348 persons lost their lives from accidents in the United States, 375,000 were permanently injured, and 9,400,000 were temporarily disabled.[20]

Accidents constituted the seventh leading cause of death in 1900, with a rate of 72.3 per 100,000 population. In 1942 the position of accidents had risen to fifth place in the leading causes of death, but the death rate for accidents had fallen slightly to 71.7.

The most dangerous places in the United States are the highways, judging from the number of accidents occurring there. Most of the accidental deaths in traffic result from automobile accidents. In 1937. 37,205 people were killed in automobile accidents. In 1938, this figure had declined to 30,564; and in 1942, the number of people killed in automobile accidents had still further dropped to 28,309.

As a result of concentrated effort made in the United States over a period of twenty-five years, the death rate from factory accidents has declined materially. However, W. H. Cameron, Director of the National Safety Council, recently declared that by the installation of sound safety measures and procedures, there could be such a further

[20] See Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 433; *United States Census Reports*, "Death from Each Cause, United States: 1934–1938," 1940, vol. IX, no. 18, pp. 136–141.

reduction of industrial accidents that the lives of 9000 workmen each year could be saved and injuries to 750,000 others prevented.

Improvements have been made, of course, and accident rates in some occupations and activities have been reduced, but much remains to be done. Accidents are twice as numerous in the United States as in any of the industrial countries of Europe.[21] Certainly many of those who lose their lives through accident might have been saved by proper safeguards of various kinds.

TABLE 38. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM ACCIDENTS 1929–1939 *

Year	Number of Accidents	Rate per 100,000 Population
1929	93,942	80.8
1930	95,379	80.6
1931	93,662	78.7
1932	85,737	71.6
1933	90,932	72.6
1934	100,977	80.1
1935	96,773	78.6
1936	110,052	86.1
1937	105,205	81.7
1938	93,805	72.3
1939	92,623	70.9

* *Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1940, vol. 12, no. 23, p. 405.

3. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE FAMILY AS A FACTOR IN DISABILITY

Earlier in the chapter it was pointed out that the poor are greater sufferers from disease than the rich. The costs of illness fall unevenly, and the ones least able to bear the burden are the ones most heavily afflicted. There may be a number of possible explanations for this condition. The family which is struggling to live on an inadequate income does not feel that they can have medical examinations to treat infections and diseases in the early stages. These families often resort to patent medicines whose beneficial effects are more mental than physical. Only when members of the family are ill enough to be confined to their beds, is a doctor called in. As a consequence, when a physician is summoned, the case is often so far advanced that a long

[21] Phelps, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

period of illness is inevitable. It is but natural that the death rate under such conditions is unnecessarily high.

Studies which have been made show conclusively that there is a direct relationship between the income of the families and the amount of medical care which they receive; those families with higher incomes have more frequent calls by doctors. Furthermore, the poorer areas have fewer physicians than the sections in which people with higher incomes reside.

What is true of medical care is equally true of dental care. The poor cannot afford to have periodic examinations of their teeth and proper attention given to early tooth decay. As a consequence, the dentist is visited only when a tooth begins to ache. By that time, there is often little to be done but to pull the tooth. The most serious danger from improper care of the teeth probably lies in abscesses, for not only are the teeth affected, but the person's whole health is endangered.

4. MEANS USED TO SOLVE THE HEALTH PROBLEMS

a. *Private clinics.* The traditional way of solving the problems of ill health among American people has been through the employment of physicians and through home remedies by individuals and families. As has already been pointed out, the individualistic method has been far from satisfactory in meeting the needs of the poor families. During the recent period of widespread specialization, medical practitioners have specialized as well as industrial workers. The tendency has been growing for doctors to treat one special ailment rather than all forms of illness. In order to avoid the complications which might follow such specialization, doctors have tended to congregate in office buildings which are largely or entirely given over to members of the profession. This movement has gone so far in some places as to create medical centers, the most notable of which is the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City. Individuals who are treated in the medical centers can have the advice and services of specialists. The practice remains a private matter, however, and does not solve the problems of those who cannot pay for the services rendered.

Private group clinics have been established in most of the large cities of the nation. The earliest of the important clinics was the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minnesota, and it still remains the most famous of all such organizations. These medical establishments provide every form of medical treatment. The fees charged are somewhat adjusted

to the individual patients or their families; but even though the medical clinics serve a very important social need, they are still not within financial reach of a great portion of the population.

b. *Voluntary health insurance.* In pioneer society, it was the customary practice for the members of a neighborhood or community to share the losses of other members. If a man's house burned down, the neighbors for miles around would help rebuild the house and restore the lost furnishings. This was a form of collective repairment of the losses.

(1) *Health insurance by regular life and accident companies.* As cities grew and society became more complex, impersonal relations replaced the personal relations of the earlier period. Collective repairments then began to assume the form of insurance. For example, a man who owns a house pays a regular sum of money to some organization — insurance company — for the promise that he will be paid for damages to his house from fire. In this way thousands of people contribute to the fund which is used to repay losses. Many never have a fire, and they pay out a great deal of money for which they receive no material return; however, the protection against vastly greater losses is considered a wise precaution and good business.

Thousands of able-bodied men and women in the very prime of life carry insurance against death, illness, and accident, so that in event of death or disability their dependents will not suffer want. Those who do not have dependents carry other types of insurance such as protection against loss of income, against the cost of medical treatment during periods of disability, and so forth.

(2) *Fraternal health insurance.* Fraternal insurance is another form of voluntary insurance against illness and disability. Fraternal organizations collect sums of money at regular intervals from their members, and in return, promise to provide such individuals with certain medical treatment in case of illness. Insurance through fraternal organizations is widespread among Negro groups in sections of the South.

(3) *Health insurance by groups of private physicians.* In 1929 Drs. Ross and Loos of Los Angeles, California, engaged in a form of voluntary health insurance. These doctors formed an organization — The Ross-Loos Clinic — which entered into a contract with the employees of the city water and power department. Since that time, contracts have been made with other Los Angeles groups until, in 1937, there were over 60,000 persons served on the group payment basis. Each sub-

scriber for a payment of two dollars per month is entitled to medical service at the clinic, at his home, or at a hospital. He may also receive hospitalization and ordinary medicines. Dependents of the members may receive medical services at reduced charges. To receive these medical benefits, the subscribers must first of all be members of the groups entering into contracts with the clinic. The groups contracting for the medical care collect the individual payments.

Judging from the experiences in Los Angeles and in other cities where voluntary health insurance is provided by groups of private doctors, one seems warranted in drawing the conclusion that this form of health insurance can be successfully conducted in large centers of population.

(4) *Group hospitalization.* In 1930 the Baylor University Hospital in Dallas, Texas, entered into a contract with the schoolteachers of that city to provide in return for a fixed monthly payment, such hospitalization as was needed. The plan was adopted by a few other communities during the next three or four years, but in 1934 or 1935 the idea began to spread very rapidly, so that now plans whereby hospitalization is provided to individuals for the payment of regular fees during periods of good health can be found in practically all the larger cities of the nation.

The plans follow a somewhat common pattern. An annual fee of between five and twelve dollars is paid in monthly or quarterly installments, for which the subscriber is entitled to twenty-one days of hospital care with all the usual services such as private or semiprivate room, drugs and dressings, laboratory examinations, X-rays, anesthetists' services, food, and the use of operating or delivery room. Physician's or surgeon's charges are not included in the plans.

Although group hospitalization is a helpful movement, it is not far reaching enough for the reasons that it does not include all forms of medical services, nor provide for a large portion of the wage earners. Since such group plans are voluntary, many people will not enroll.

c. *Medical services afforded through educational institutions.* Many of the colleges and universities of the nation include, as part of their tuition charges, fees for hospitalization and medical services. In some schools, the fees cover illness and ailments which do not require major surgical operations; in other schools, major surgical cases are included. The plans provide for physical examinations, health supervision, and medical care by full or part-time salaried physicians. In many instances, specialists as well as general practitioners are employed.

This type of health service is generally regarded with favor by all concerned, but naturally it reaches a very limited portion of the total population.

d. *Industrial medical services.* Many industrial concerns, ranging from comparatively small companies to great international corporations, have established their own medical facilities and now employ the necessary physicians on a part-time or full-time basis.

The services rendered by company physicians range from treatment of minor injuries and ailments to complete medical care. Where only ordinary medical treatment is provided, some companies bear the entire cost without direct contributions from the employees. In other companies, the employees contribute regularly to the support of the medical services. An example of the latter type of organization is the Standard Oil Refinery in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Here the employees have the Stanocola Employees Medical and Hospital Association, of which about 80 per cent of the employees are members. Each single employee pays a fee of two dollars per month; and those with families or other dependents pay three dollars per month, for which they and their families are provided with almost complete medical care.[22]

e. *State medical services*

(1) *Public health services.* Disease is no respecter of persons, and an epidemic may spread from the slums of a city to the homes of aristocrats. Conditions which menace the health of one stratum of a society endanger the lives of others as well. Many people realize, therefore, that health activities cannot be left entirely to individual efforts.

Movements tending toward government participation in health measures were initiated during the period from 1800 to 1850, when local public health boards were established in certain states of the Union. During the last half of the nineteenth century, the public health movement directed its attention largely to improvement of sanitation and to efforts to restrict the spread of disease through quarantine. Since the advent of the twentieth century, health education has been added as an important part of the public health service. Today there are county, city, and state boards of health which are under the nominal direction of physicians. These organizations do not pretend to treat cases of illness. Their purpose is to prevent disease through improvement of sanitation, through better health education, food in-

[22] *Cf* Louis S. Reed, *Health Insurance*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1937, pp. 181–207.

spection, and other activities. Today many local areas have public health nurses and doctors to minister in an advisory capacity to the needs of the under-privileged classes. Physical examinations are provided, and through the health boards various forms of vaccines can be secured by doctors for public use.

The public health services have done excellent work in many localities, but the officials are often elected by popular vote, and their work is greatly impeded by politics. Often the doctors selected as health officers know more about politics than about medical science. The work of the public health service will, it seems, of necessity be limited to the protection of the public against disease through preventive measures.

(2) *Public charity.* Recognizing the responsibility of the government to its citizens, many cities, counties, and all states have taken steps to provide free medical services for the very poor. Charity hospitals are now to be found in nearly all large cities of the nation. These institutions are financed largely through public funds. Doctors and surgeons often give their services free as their contributions to society; in other cases they are paid by the state, county, or city on a part-time or full-time basis. Young doctors often serve their internship or period of apprenticeship training in charity hospitals.

A tremendous volume of hospital care is provided free. It is estimated that over 95 per cent of all hospitalization of persons with mental afflictions is provided in governmental hospitals; rarely do the patients or their families make any direct payment for the care.[23] Care for patients in governmental hospitals for mental disorders is not regarded as charity since the services are available to the rich as well as the poor.

In addition to the hospitals supported for charity patients by the government, all general hospitals have a rather large portion of their space — sometimes estimated at about one-third — given over to charity patients.[24]

The situation in the United States with regard to hospital and medical care is such that in times of prosperity about 20 per cent and in periods of depression about 50 per cent of the population are forced to depend upon public or private charity during severe illness. While those who are willing to apply for charity can secure medical care in hospitals, others who are unwilling to be branded as charity patients must meet the charges of private practitioners themselves or go without

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 140. [24] *Ibid.*, p 140.

the often badly needed services. Frequently the latter is their only alternative, as their financial conditions do not permit an outlay of money for medical care except when it is almost a matter of life and death.

(3) *Socialized medicine.* A form of health protection variously called "State Medicine," "Compulsory Health Insurance," and "Socialized Medicine" is suggested by many as a solution to the problems of providing health protection to the great masses of workers. This form of protection was first established in Germany in 1883. Since that time it has been introduced into many other countries of the world. (See Table 39.)

TABLE 39. COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE IN THE WORLD

Country	When it was Introduced
Germany	1883
Austria	1888
Hungary	1891
Luxemburg	1901
Norway	1909
Serbia	1910
Great Britain and Ireland	1911
Russia	1911
Rumania	1912
Bulgaria	1918
Portugal	1919
Greece	1922
Japan	1922
Chile	1924
France	1928
Holland	1929
Denmark	1933
British Columbia (Canada)	1936

Under the usual plan of socialized medicine, each worker drawing an income below a certain amount contributes a fixed sum or portion of his earnings to a government fund; the employers are then required to make a similar contribution, and the government adds to the amount

paid by the employees and employers. The workers then, in case of disability to themselves or to their dependents, receive free medical care, and, after a period of time, cash payments to recompense them in part for their loss in earnings during their disability. If death occurs, the funeral charges are borne by the government or by the organization which furnishes the protection.

Under this plan the recipients of medical care do not feel that they are objects of charity, for they have been paying for the "insurance." In America the medical profession has generally opposed the movement toward socialized medicine on the grounds that it interferes with private medical practice and is consequently "Un-American."

E. *Summary*

It is difficult to conceive of anything more important than physical and mental health in the life of man. In this chapter the value of physical health, the extent of illness among our population, and ways of combating disease have been stressed. It has been pointed out that: (1) good health makes life more pleasant and worth-while; (2) good health increases the economic earnings of individuals; (3) conversely, illness causes tremendous economic loss, estimated at a total of about ten billion dollars a year; (4) health of the military forces is essential to the waging of a successful war; (5) school progress of children is seriously impaired by ill health; (6) social progress is greatly hampered and often rendered impossible through the illness of members of society.

There have been in the course of history three widely accepted theories and explanations of the cause of communicable disease. The earliest theory was that illness was the result of activity of evil spirits. Later the supernatural-spirit theory of disease was supplemented by the miasmatic theory that disease was borne in the air and resulted from certain atmospheric conditions. Within very recent times the two earlier theories have been largely displaced by the discovery that germs are the cause of diseases.

Germs may be transmitted to human bodies by: (1) direct transfer of discharges of the mouth or nose by the hands or by objects which have been recently handled or infected by secretions from persons afflicted by the diseases; (2) infection through a common agent such as water, milk, or food; (3) the bite of an insect which acts as a carrier of the disease germs.

Through improvement in sanitation and by the use of methods of immunization and cure of certain diseases (inoculation of individuals with antitoxins and vaccines) the ravages of communicable diseases have been reduced. By these means the fatalities resulting from such ailments have been greatly decreased.

The United States is still confronted with serious health problems. The most frequent causes of death at the present time are diseases usually associated with advanced age — heart trouble and cancer. The maladies which, during the early part of the century, took a high toll of human lives have been eliminated or greatly reduced in their attacks. Examples of such diseases are yellow fever, malaria, typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and tuberculosis.

Infant mortality in the United States has been greatly reduced within recent years, but it is still very much higher than in New Zealand. It could be further reduced so that approximately sixty thousand babies could be saved each year.

Less progress has been made in decreasing the rate of maternal mortality than in other fields of medical practice. The United States has one of the highest maternal death rates of any of the "civilized" countries in the world.

Many people in the nation still suffer from diseases resulting from dietary deficiencies and malnutrition. There are deaths from scurvy, pellagra, rickets, and beri-beri, although the causes of such diseases are known. The most serious problem resulting from inadequate diet is malnutrition. Malnutrition undermines a child's health and makes him unable to withstand the attacks of diseases when they come.

Accidents rank seventh in the nation as a cause of death. Traffic accidents are the most numerous and most often fatal. The average death toll from automobiles each year is well over thirty thousand. Factory accidents within the past quarter century have been greatly reduced. It is estimated that further reductions could still be made. The accident rate in the United States is twice that of any industrial nation of Europe.

It is now recognized generally that all people need proper medical care, including physical examinations at periodic intervals. Under the American system of private medicine, such care and precautions are impossible for the poor.

The following aids to health protection are employed in the United States, in addition to the provisions of various forms of private medical

organizations: voluntary health insurance which includes health insurance by companies, fraternal health insurance, health insurance by groups of physicians, and group hospitalization; medical services afforded by colleges and universities to their students; industrial medical services; and state medical services. Of state medical services the most common are public health services operating through a county, city, or state board of health, and public charity operating through charity hospitals. Many European countries have established forms of socialized medicine which seem to operate with considerable success.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Would you agree that maintaining or attaining good health of the students is as important for the schools of America as imparting good intellectual instruction? Explain.
2. Explain why the burden of illness falls unequally on members of society and that those who can least afford it bear the heaviest burden.
3. How has disease played important rôles in changing world history?
4. Compare the primitive explanation of disease with the modern explanation.
5. What is the miasmatic theory of disease causation? How does it differ from the modern theory?
6. Does the evidence indicate that diseases of the heart are increasing in their death toll in our society? Explain.
7. What diseases and causes of death have decreased within the present century?
8. Is it to be expected that the health of the European population will be better or worse for the next few years than it was during the decades of 1920 and 1930? Explain.
9. Is the accident death toll in America increasing or decreasing? How do you account for this?
10. What means are employed in America to solve the health problems? Give the advantages and weaknesses of each.

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CHAPTER 20

Aesthetics

AESTHETIC INSTITUTIONS might well be treated in connection with recreational activities of man. Art and play have long been regarded as closely related. Both Schiller and Spencer held that art was an adult form of play — a means of taking care of "surplus energy." Art arises, they maintained, from an unfolding of the play instinct. Both those who enjoy art passively and those who engage in art actively find in it a form of recreation, as recreation has already been defined. To many people artistic enjoyment is passive. No form of play or amusement is more enjoyable to them than listening to the music that their tastes approve. Some persons receive much pleasure from looking at paintings and sculpture. Others are delighted to observe the architectural structure of buildings, and some enjoy aesthetic and interpretative dancing more than any other form of artistic expression. Many people also enjoy art in an active way. To such persons enjoyable occupations are painting, drawing designs, carving wood or other materials, playing a musical instrument, dancing, or writing letters and composing other forms of literature.

Aesthetics might likewise be treated in the chapters dealing with education. Many people are trained to enjoy the works of art. They are also taught how to make artistic contributions. The average individual does not innately thrill at a beautiful picture, a symphony, nor a literary composition any more than the untrained individual creates great works of art. The development of aesthetic tastes are a part of the education of man.

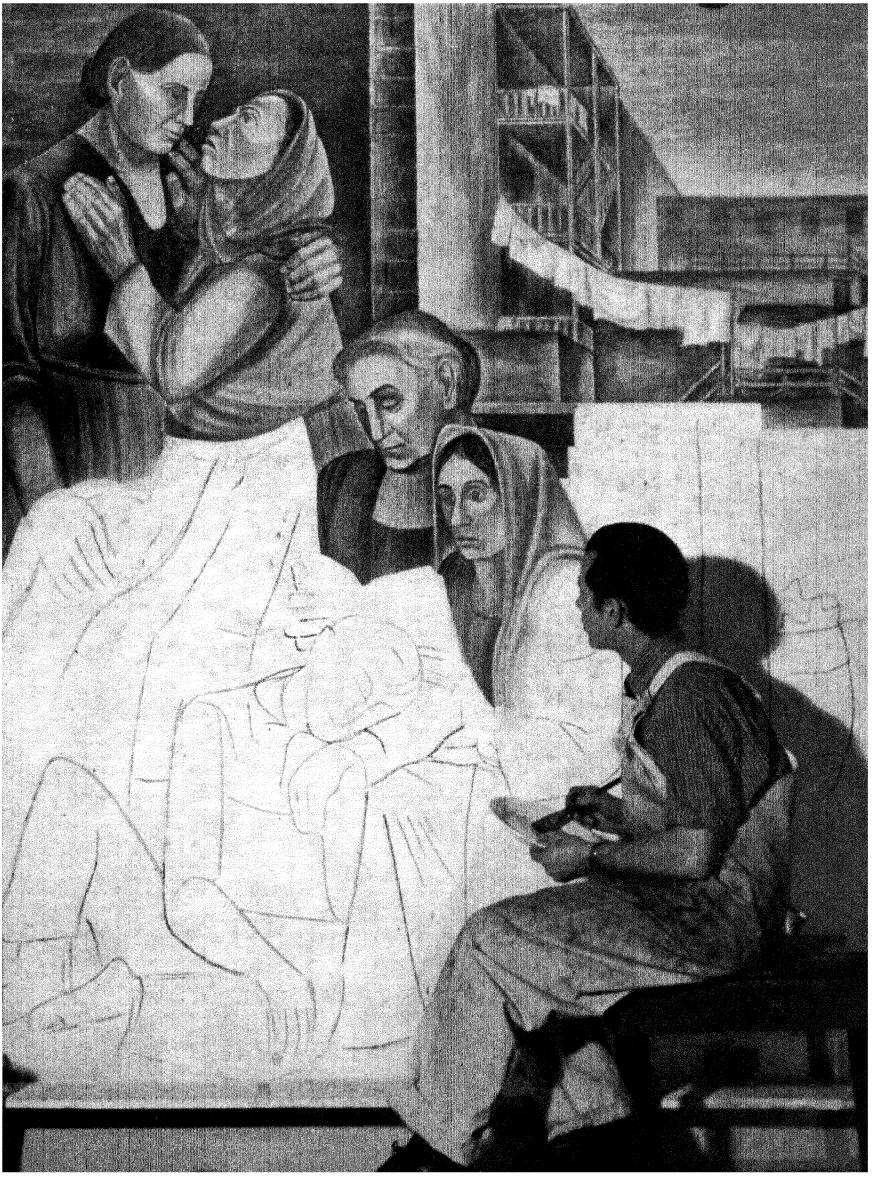
It seems however that the aesthetic institutions are of sufficient importance to warrant their being given special and separate consideration. Aesthetics are in this chapter treated as human activities and behavior patterns closely linked with recreational and educational institutions, but as distinct from either.

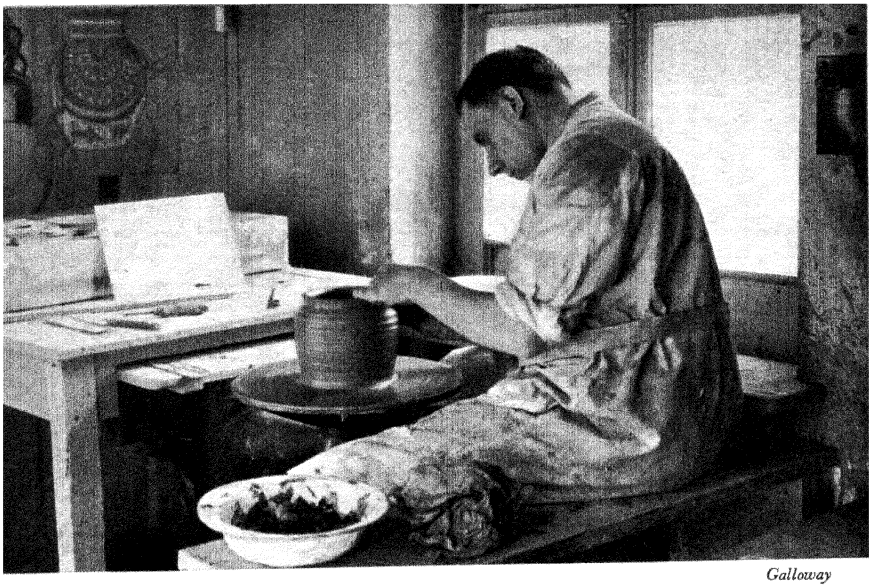
SECTION F:

Aesthetic Institutions

PLATE 20

"Women's Contribution to America's Progress"; a fresco by Edward Millman, Illinois Art Project, in a Chicago high school.





Galloway



Galloway

PLATE 21

The artist who paints the mural on the preceding page and the artists who make pottery and baskets have an important place in society, a place subject to many influences. Geographical, physical, economic, political, and educational conditions determine the status of aesthetic institutions in any country. Would you say that conditions were favorable or unfavorable for art in the United States?

A. *Nature and Value of Art*

1. CLASSES OF ART

Broadly speaking there are two classes of arts — practical arts and the fine arts. The practical arts include man's methods of securing his food, fashioning his clothes, building and equipping his shelter, and supplying his other material needs. The practical arts, in brief, are concerned with securing and changing into a useful form the products of nature — plants, animals, minerals.

The fine arts, on the other hand, are concerned with man's emotional nature. They are intended to satisfy man's soul rather than his stomach.

When man reaches the point at which he is unwilling to erect a house solely for its useful function — shelter — but builds so that the shelter will appeal also to his idea of beauty, he combines the fine art of architecture and the practical art of providing a material structure against the weather. A man requires space, a plot of ground, upon which to build a house. When he levels off land and decorates with green lawns, flowers, and ornamental shrubs to appeal to his sense of beauty he is associating with utilitarian needs, the fine art of landscaping.

The basket maker is interested in making a useful article, but when he decorates it by weaving in fibers of different colors to blend into harmonious and ornamental designs, he is employing in his craft the fine arts of color blending and of design. Craftsmen of all times and in all regions have been interested in making products which are not only useful but which satisfy the aesthetic sense of their associates. The modern automobile is more than a vehicle of transportation. It is an object which in design appeals to the modern individual's sense of beauty as well.

The fine arts are concerned with line, color, and form (architecture, painting, and sculpture), with sound (music), with rhythmic motions of the body (the dance), with exploitations of words for their musical and expressive values (poetry and prose), and with dramatic expression.

Just as the practical arts of primitive man differed from those of his modern successor, and just as the utilitarian activities of the Chinese are different from those of the Americans, so the fine arts of one generation may not appeal to the people of another generation. The sense of beauty of people living in one culture area may not be the same as that of people living in another region. The ornate furniture and architec-

ture of the Victorian Age is not highly regarded now. In Pope's day, the poetic model was the rhyming couplet, such as:

> True wit is Nature to advantage dress'd
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd.

Today literary critics sometimes question whether or not Pope was really a good poet. When modernistic architecture was first introduced, few people regarded it with favor. It was too plain, too lacking in ornamentation. At present it seems to be gaining in popular approval. Few Occidentals find beauty in Chinese music. Van Loon likens it to a "bitterly contested cat fight in the neighbor's back yard." [1] Many individuals appreciate "swing" music more than classical symphonies. The relationship of art to the spirit of an age and to the people of a society is summarized by Irwin Edman in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences:*

> The forms of art are determined and its themes largely conditioned by the social circumstances in which the artist works, the themes that preoccupy the public to which he addresses himself. Thus in many primitive societies the arts of music and of poetry are closely associated with the ceremonial of war, work or religion.[2]

2. WHAT IS ART?

Art is universal in that people of all ages and of all cultures have forms of artistic expression. Art makes up an important part of the culture of the natives of Australia as well as of the dwellers in modern cities. Tolstoi has defined art as follows:

> [art] is a means of human activity consisting of this, that one man consciously by means of external signs, hands on to others feelings that he had lived through and that other persons are infected by these feelings and also experience them.[3]

Stated more concisely, art is *a portrayal of the feelings or emotions of one person in an attempt to arouse similar emotions in others.* An individual sees a beautiful sunset, landscape, or visual image of any kind. He is thrilled by its beauty. He desires to share his joy with others. He paints the

[1] Hendrik Willem Van Loon, *The Arts*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1939, p. 4.

[2] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., 1937, vol. II, p. 225. Reprinted by permission.

[3] Quoted in Frederick A. Bushee, *Principles of Sociology*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1923, p. 485. Reprinted by permission.

image so that all who view it may likewise feel his keen pleasure. He may not paint the picture as an exact image of the sunset or landscape. The likeness may be very poor photographically but it portrays what he sees and wants others to see. The musician composes a symphony or some other musical score in order that those who hear it may enjoy the feelings he experiences. The writer of poetry and of prose, the architect, the sculptor, or, in short, any artist, goes through the same essential process.

3. THE WHY OF ART

Art is as universal in the culture of man as emotions are in his psychological nature. The individual experiencing joy, sorrow, or fear wishes others to feel the same emotions; hence he portrays his feelings in a form which can be understood by those to whom he wishes to appeal. One might say that man has art because he cannot avoid it. He has learned from infancy to respond to others and to share his emotional experiences with others.

a. *Values of art*

(1) *Enjoyment.* Art has certain values to human beings. It adds to the enjoyment of life. The person who has developed an appreciation for art sees beauty which may be unobserved by those whose appreciation is undeveloped. Only as man's emotions have been trained to respond to harmonious blending of colors or sounds does he observe the beauty in nature — the colors of a sunset, the songs of birds, the calls of animals and insects in the woods. Primitive man in his art gives little indication that he observed such beauties. His paintings and designs are related to utilitarian pursuits — war, work, or religion.

One of the apparent defects of American education and of American culture has been the little attention directed in the past toward the development of an appreciation of art's various forms. The average American does not get the enjoyment which might be his from painting, music, and other forms of the fine arts.

(2) *Increased efficiency.* Art increases the efficiency of individuals through increasing their happiness. It has long been known that contented, happy workers are more efficient in their occupations and less likely to have serious accidents than are sullen, morose, and dissatisfied workers. A number of Negroes working together will frequently join in a rhythmic chant. The singing gives unity to their efforts and they work more effectively. The *Song of the Volga Boatmen* depicts

workers singing as they tow the boat up the Volga River. Thus music tends to increase the effort and to ease the discontent with hardship which individuals may be experiencing. During the First World War, leaders were employed to teach the American soldiers to sing, on the theory that a singing army would be a happy army — the men's thoughts would be taken away from their hardships and dangers. A more formidable fighting unit was thus created.

Not only music, but attractive well-lighted, clean surroundings add to the effectiveness of workers. Industrialists today spend great sums of money to make factory interiors and exteriors as attractive as possible in appearance. Attempts are also made to reduce discordant noises to a minimum.

Art — beauty — increases social efficiency also. Naturally residents of squalid urban sections in the North and rural sections in the South often lack ambition and a desire to improve their ways of living and their social status. Such environments are found to be fertile ground for disease, vice, and crime. Attractive, desirable characters can hardly be expected to develop in unattractive surroundings.

(3) *Stimulus to activity.* Art may stimulate a person either to activity or to inactivity. Who, after reading such a book as Hugo's *Les Misérables*, has not felt the desire to emulate the example of Jean Valjean? Is it not natural for a person's pulse to quicken when he hears strains of a great march? Music has long been used to stimulate people to action. Before going to war, the American Indians held war dances accompanied by rhythmic beating of the tom-toms and chanting of the war songs of the tribe. The religious evangelist knows that the opportune use of music to stir the emotions of his congregation will result in a more abundant harvest of "sinners" than will his words of logic and reason. Literary compositions which appeal to the emotions stir readers to activity more than do objective presentations of facts. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* aroused the North to attack the institution of slavery more than an objective presentation of facts and figures about slavery in the South could have done. Dickens' novels, such as *Oliver Twist*, stirred the English people to do something about the work houses for poor children. The *Grapes of Wrath* has called to the popular attention of Americans the plight of the dispossessed farmers, whereas scientific publications dealing with the same problems have gone unnoticed.

Totalitarian states recognize the power of art to arouse people to activity. In order that only that form of reaction which they desire

may be provoked, they severely regulate artistic production of all kinds. In *America in Midpassage* Beard says:

> Finally Hitler and his advisers fiercely censored artistic expression, removed at will finished canvases and statues from German galleries, began to demolish synagogues, and set up canons of taste they deemed strictly fitting for the insurgency of brawny men under arms.[4]

(4) *Group unity.* Art serves to unify the group. Art is a social product. It is the expression of an individual whose personality has been molded through the influence of his society. All art is an image of the culture of a people at a particular time. Not only is it the product of social influence, but it in turn strengthens the existing bonds. Human beings who are subjected to the same stimuli become more and more alike in their ways of acting and of thinking. Since art appeals to the emotions of man, it therefore acts as a stronger influence in binding people to a cause, an order, or to a particular social group than does reason.

When revolution occurs in a country, the leaders attempt at once to bind the followers in loyalty to the new regime. As an aid to strengthening the new bonds, songs are composed to portray the glories of the new order. The French national anthem — *La Marseillaise* — was written to glorify the Revolution.

Bushee[5] observes that although art may depict national achievements and ideals in such a way as to increase the populace's feeling of patriotism, it also frequently has such a universal appeal that bonds are formed which extend beyond national lines. They may be world wide in scope. Although Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and *Ivanhoe* are British, they have been a source of interest to people in far distant countries.

B. *Art in Primitive Society*

1. PRIMITIVE FORMS OF ART

Among the most primitive peoples of contemporary society, one finds attempts to decorate not only inanimate objects but the bodies, limbs, and faces of individuals in ways which appeal to the observers' sense of beauty or which arouse their awe and fear. The efforts of the primitives include the making and wearing of elaborate head-dresses; the

[4] The Macmillan Co., New York, 1939, vol. II, p. 758. Reprinted by permission.

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 498–503.

painting of faces and bodies; and the tattooing and otherwise adorning of legs, arms, ears, and noses with rings and other "ornamental" objects and devices.

Examples of ornamentalism as applied to the practical arts of primitive man are very numerous. His pottery is formed into various shapes and figures, and it is often colored in conformity with his aesthetic ideals. His implements of the chase and of war are decorated — sometimes very elaborately. His garments are often covered with colored beads and embroidery arranged in various designs.

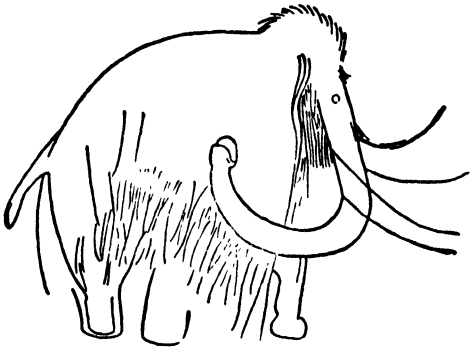


FIGURE 12. PRIMITIVE CARVING
Wall engraving of a mammoth in the caverns of Les Combarelles, Dordogne, France.

Further, one finds in primitive dwellings carvings and painted designs representing the activities and life with which primitive man is familiar — the chase, war, and magic. The animals and humans which he knows are portrayed in the designs. Pictures of the animals living during the period of the Cro-Magnon man are found on the walls of caves in Southern France and in Spain. Thus the painting of designs reached an advanced stage of development at a very early period of man's existence.[6]

Not only the decorative arts, but songs and dances constitute an important part of the culture of preliterate people. The songs and dances are both solitary and choral, martial and magical. Before engaging in a war, primitive people gather in groups to sing and dance war-dances. Often the activities of battle are portrayed in the dance. The songs and the dancing are used to arouse the warriors to an emotional state appropriate to their undertaking. After the battle is over, dances and songs are used to glorify the warriors in their achievements. The deeds of great hunters are likewise remembered and honored in songs of the group.

In the festivals of people of all periods, art has occupied a very important place. One finds many forms of artistic or interpretative dancing characteristic of the group celebrating the festival. Songs

[6] *Cf.* Van Loon, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

form an important part of the activities. Designs of many kinds are painted. Often symbolic emblems are painted on banners and are carried by individuals taking part in the festivals.

2. RELIGION AND MAGIC IN PRIMITIVE ART

Students of primitive life and of art generally agree that the earliest forms of artistic expression were probably associated with the practices of religion and magic. Among people in a primitive state of culture, all activities of life are closely associated with religion and magic. Failure or success in the hunt and in war; health or illness and death; a scant or an abundant harvest; climatic disturbances — all are attributed to the activities of spirits.[7]

Man naturally wishes to control the spirits which he thinks have so much to do with his life; he wishes to direct their activities to his advantage or at least to prevent their causing misfortune to befall him. Primitive people believe that, by representing an act, the performance of the act will be facilitated or assured. Thus a man can cause an enemy's death either by making an image of the desired victim and by piercing the image with a sharp object, or by representing the victim as mortally wounded. Little distinction is drawn between the image or representation of a person and the individual himself. No doubt the superstition that bad luck follows a person who breaks a mirror originated in the practice of magic. By breaking the mirror the person breaks or damages his own image. Not only can man destroy his enemy by magic, but he can kill other animals as well according to primitive belief.

It is probable that the paintings on the walls of the caves wherein the Cro-Magnon people lived were aimed either at destroying animals sought for food or at gaining protection against such animals. The carved designs found within many primitive dwellings and on the tools and utensils which primitive men used were probably originally intended to serve a magical function.

C. *Conditions Favorable to the Development of Art*

1. GEOGRAPHICAL OR PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

Man first utilizes the materials and objects with which nature provides him in the region in which he lives. One does not find sculpture

[7] See Chapter 17, "The Development of Religious Institutions."

highly developed in an area wherein there are no natural deposits of rock, nor wood carvers in a prairie region without a supply of wood. The great works of sculpture have been produced in regions supplied with suitable material. The Greeks surpassed all other people in the perfection of their statues. In Greece deposits of excellent marble are to be found. The presence of a material suitable for sculpture, however, does not guarantee that it will be utilized in art by man. Vermont has marble deposits as well as Greece, but the inhabitants of Vermont have not as yet achieved such greatness in sculpture.

Climatic conditions seem to have an influence on the development of art. Bushee[8] points out that southern countries have surpassed northern in all forms of artistic expression with the exception of music and literature. The world's great painters have been from southern climates, with the single exception of the Netherlands. No northern country has gained distinction for its sculpture. Warm dry climates seem to be best for its perfection.

Perhaps Bushee[8] is right in holding that art flourishes most in a region where the mild climate encourages social life to a greater extent than is possible in colder regions. In the warm climates people tend to spend their leisure in the open air and to gather in public places, parks, or open squares. The frequent public gatherings permit wider and more frequent contacts with other members of society. The emotional side of man is developed. A desire for pleasure, for excitement, and for a variety of experiences is no doubt awakened. Then, too, works of art can be more freely exhibited under southern than under northern climatic conditions. The influence of masterpieces constantly exhibited to the public is doubtless an important factor bearing on the perfection of art.

Life is easier in the warmer countries, where nature has made possible more leisure, greater freedom from utilitarian pursuits. Leisure time can be devoted to occupations that afford the greatest amount of personal satisfaction. To some, working in art is such an activity.

A mild climate permits people to spend more time among the beauties of nature. In the more leisurely way of living characteristic of southern people, there is greater opportunity and more time to observe nature. It would not be surprising to find that people living under such natural influences come to be very appreciative of beauty in nature and in art. Such environmental conditions may aid in the develop-

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 496–498.

ment of discriminating tastes which demand artistic production of great merit.

One cannot be certain, however, that the influences of climate are basic factors in the development of art. It may be that art, like civilization, originates in warm regions and then moves to the more temperate climates as other conditions become favorable to its development. One could hardly be justified in saying that because America has not yet produced really great masterpieces, it may not do so in the future. Other conditions beside geographic environment are essential to the development of art. As man has reached a more highly civilized state he has overcome in a measure the importance of his physical surroundings.[9] Future generations in the cold and temperate regions may overcome some of the natural disadvantages and they may develop a superior art.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The inhabitants of America have not as yet produced art comparable with that of some of the older countries. Americans have been confronted with economic problems of paramount importance from the beginning of their history up to the present time. A wilderness was at first to be conquered. Man's first concern was the accomplishment of the economic tasks before him. Systems of production needed to be developed to assure an adequate supply of material goods. With economic development in the United States, the spirit of conquest changed its direction. No longer were Americans' efforts directed toward the development of a new world — exploiting a wilderness. Winning supremacy in the business and industrial world became the aim. Science, invention, big business organization became the dominating interests. Why waste time in such inconsequential matters as art? There was no money in it. As Kimball Young puts it:

> Pioneer America shows something of the lack of artistic development in the face of more immediate needs for survival. Not that our pioneers did not possess any art, but it was largely borrowed from elsewhere; and it is only as America has passed into a more stable and complex form of material culture that she has begun to develop her own art. Still the pioneer scorn of the fine arts remains; even today it is commonly believed that no "he-man" plays the piano or takes up other fine arts. The refinements of art are often said to be the province of women, children, and "weak"

[9] See Chapter 4 Geographic Factors in Human Development."

> men incapable of worldly action. The men of our society are usually too busy making money or getting ahead professionally to look upon the creation or enjoyment of art as a vital part of their personal life organization.[10]

Art does not thrive in an industrial society. Industry is mechanized; labor is not free to perform a task according to an individual pattern. Each worker becomes little more than a human robot doing a monotonous job which calls for little or no individual expression.

Economic conditions in the United States, however, have certain features which are favorable to the development of an art of merit. Art does not thrive in a condition of general economic want and poverty. There must be a surplus of economic goods in the hands of at least a portion of society. Individuals with wealth must be willing to aid persons with special talents in the development of artistic capacities. In all countries art has developed to its greatest height when there were social classes with a surplus of economic goods, some individuals who were willing and able to devote themselves to practicing art as painters, writers, or musical composers, and other individuals prepared to be their patrons. A great art, however, is not developed during a period characterized by its idleness and degeneracy. The society must possess vitality and idealism. In an idle, pleasure-seeking society, art degenerates as well as the general character, force, and virility of the group. In Athens during the Age of Pericles, in Rome during the Augustan Age, in Italy at the time of the Renaissance, in France under the reign of Louis XIV, and in England at the Elizabethan Period, there existed people with a surplus of economic goods — a leisure class — who possessed in addition to wealth an interest in life and a zest for achievement and who aided in the development of artistic production by means of their wealth and leisure.

3. POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Art thrives under conditions of personal initiative and individual freedom of expression. Since art arises as a form of emotional expression, it thrives under any form of government wherein the emotions are aroused and are allowed free expression. A dictatorship, autocracy, or any form of totalitarian state may not hamper the development of fine arts as long as the emotional expression of the people is not too completely suppressed. Effective propaganda operating to support an existing government may be a factor in the production of a high grade

[10] From Young, *An Introductory Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1939, p. 318. Reprinted by permission.

of art. On the other hand, a democracy wherein there is little enthusiasm for the existing social organizations is not likely to be productive of artistic expression of great merit.

War, rather than destroying art, may be an important stimulus to its development. The statement is especially true when the war is a popular war and public feelings are deeply aroused. An exhausting war, on the other hand, is likely to destroy or at least greatly lessen artistic production. Not only are the men of great talent often killed, but the interests and activities of the people are directed toward utilitarian pursuits — restoring the destruction wrought by the conflict. The economic surpluses are dissipated. The spirit of the people is greatly weakened if not broken entirely.

4. EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

There could be no art without education (if the term education be used in its broadest sense). Educational institutions which develop student appreciation of good literature, good music, and good painting encourage art by improving the artistic taste of the public. Schools which emphasize individual achievement and creativeness are also favorable to the development of aesthetic institutions.

On the other hand, education which has as its objective the passive absorption of knowledge for its own sake cannot be expected to produce artists of merit. Education which emphasizes conformity to the dictates of the state or to any other branch of society and which discourages individual interpretation or expression hampers the development of creative arts.

The American educational system has not been favorable to the production of great art or to the development of outstanding artists because: (1) The system has placed great emphasis on passive absorption of information and on the securing of "passing" grades which enable pupils to climb the educational ladder. The American school has been based on a form of text-book and teacher authoritarianism. The pupil is not expected to question the statements of either. (2) Mass education has tended to mould pupils into more uniform groups without encouraging superior individuals to develop their special talents. (3) Practical arts have been emphasized more than fine arts. Until comparatively recent times, only the large urban schools made any pretense of stressing the aesthetic development of children. (4) Science has been stressed more than the fine arts. Mathematics, chemistry, biology,

physics have been required courses in secondary schools. Even in the few schools offering courses in music, painting, aesthetic dancing, and other fine arts, relatively few pupils have elected any but English literature. In short, the American school system has largely reflected the spirit of the population which supported it. Insistence has been on the activities which might have a money value.

D. *The Future of Art in the United States*

A number of factors in our present society may lead to the future development of a great art in America.

1. WEALTH AND A LEISURE CLASS

A society engaged in conquering a wilderness or in gaining economic superiority over other countries of the world looks with a mild contempt on those individuals doing nothing more useful than dabbling in paint, scribbling words, or composing music. In the course of time, however, there is likely to be a slackening in the productive activities of a segment of society. They have enough worldly goods and they wish to direct their attention along other lines. In ancient Rome, it was in the Augustan Age, when the Empire had reached its zenith, that art flourished most.

That there is a trend in America which may lead to greater interest in artistic pursuits seems to be indicated by recent developments. Men of wealth have contributed great sums of money for the erection of libraries, for the establishment of foundations of various kinds, and for the founding of art museums. Art collections of European countries have been purchased by individuals of wealth and brought to this country to be placed in public museums.

Not only have men of wealth contributed money to the advancement of science and art, but commercial institutions use advertising devices to encourage artistic appreciation. Advertising was used to increase artistic appreciation when a paint manufacturing company used a national radio chain in a contest to find young singers of promise and assured the winners contracts with the Metropolitan Opera Association of New York. The contest aroused nation-wide interest not only among the thousands of young people who sought the prizes, but among the listeners to the programs. There are radio programs in which the world's greatest singers and musicians are presented to a nation-wide

audience, and other programs which give promising young musicians opportunities for further development and advancement in their vocation.

2. GOVERNMENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

Different branches of the government have taken steps aimed at creating a greater appreciation of fine arts by the general population, and at encouraging the producers of art.

Governmental activities range from erecting monuments to honor heroes and events of the past to projects designed to give relief to unemployed artists. Congress appropriates large sums of money for such purposes as carving the faces of four Presidents on a mountain cliff; decorating various public buildings with murals and with other artistic productions; organizing and supporting symphony orchestras; and organizing a Federal Art Project in 1935 as a division of the Works Progress Administration.

The policy of the American government has been traditionally that of leaving the field of artistic production to individual initiative. In America there have been no state operas or theaters, and fine art museums have been established with private capital. It is only within recent years that the federal and state governments have taken an active part in supporting the arts with appropriations of money.

Perhaps more important to artistic production than the positive measures undertaken by the government to encourage public art appreciation has been the absence of state or national government attempts to regulate or censor artistic production. Within reasonable limits (some say within unreasonable limits) an artist is free to write, paint, design, or compose anything he desires — to express himself as he sees fit. Freedom of individual expression is a prerequisite to the development of outstanding art.

3. TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS

It has been pointed out that a population whose interests are centered in increasing production through mechanization of industry is not one likely to be interested in artistic production. Improvement in productive machinery may, however, make a contribution to artistic development. Through color photography and photogravure, excellent prints of the world's masterpieces of painting are now available at a low cost. Thus the works of great painters may be known and appreciated by all

classes of society in all parts of the nation. Through improved technology, the motion picture theaters — the most popular places of amusement for the mass of the people — present the great music of the world rendered by outstanding musicians. The "talking picture" presents to millions of people orchestras, musical artists, and selections from the great operas. Before the invention and perfection of the modern moving picture machines and radio, the audiences which could be reached by such concerts were very limited in number.

Not only has the cinema made great music available to the masses of the population, but through its medium the world's greatest actors and dancers are known to those who would formerly never have been able to appreciate and enjoy their performances.

In the recent days of the silent picture, actors were largely selected because of their physical beauty; now, with the talking picture, dramatic ability is a prime requirement in a performer. The public is becoming appreciative of dramatic art as well as of good photography.

Musical reproduction by means of phonograph records makes possible at very moderate cost the enjoyment of music at all times in one's own home. Recordings of the famous composers' music by great orchestras and singers are frequently used in schools to teach music appreciation.

Through improved photography a new form of artistic expression has come into being. Who can say that the color pictures of modern photography are not a form of art which has developed with the invention and improvement of the camera?

Modern mechanical development is reflected in a new type of architecture which is as typically American as the Parthenon was typically Greek — the skyscraper of our modern cities. Without modern technological development, the multi-storied building would be impossible. Modern science is acting as a contributing factor in the development of modern art.

Great artists and art producers require an appreciative audience. Therefore the increased possibilities of cultivating widespread appreciation of music, drama, painting — all the fine arts — through modern mechanical developments give promise of greater artistic production in response to the greater appreciation on the part of the public.

4. EDUCATION

Modern developments in education give promise of correcting many

of the defects in our public school system. The progressive method of education stresses the cultivation of individual initiative and the development of leadership. Freedom of expression is the keynote in the new system of teaching.

Furthermore, the schools are more and more emphasizing the fine arts. Music, drama, interpretative dancing, painting, drawing, sculpture, clay modeling, and designing are becoming increasingly important in the modern schools' program. Many of the schools are equipped with radios and phonographs. By means of these instruments the children can listen to musical programs that were formerly available to but a few of the well-to-do-persons living in New York or other musical centers. The Metropolitan operas and concerts with such internationally known artists as Lawrence Tibbett, Lily Pons, and Richard Crooks are made available to all persons who have a radio. Certain educational radio programs, such as the Music Appreciation Hour under the direction of Walter Damrosch, are designed to acquaint children with the beauties of music.

The aim of the modern school is not necessarily to develop great artists, but to add to the children's enjoyment of life by giving them an appreciation of art and an enjoyment of the beautiful in painting, in music, and in nature. This development of artistic appreciation will in turn encourage a development of special talents which individuals may possess. In short, the new educational program may be an important factor in bringing about the development of a truly great art in America.

5. EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

In the totalitarian states of Europe there is little freedom of individual expression. Art is rigidly censored and directed along lines intended to strengthen the political power of the nation. Consequently there is little time or money available for the encouragement of the fine arts for their own sakes. Time and materials must not be wasted on objects which will not help win a war.

As a consequence of conditions in the European countries, the United States is becoming a haven for the great artists of other countries. The greatest singers of the world come to the Metropolitan Opera of New York. The great orchestra conductors, pianists, organists, and other musicians make tours of the United States and often make America their adopted home. Painters, dancers, and architects

have been drawn to this country either for short periods of time or for permanent residence. Even though the artists may do no more than tour the country giving concerts or conducting orchestras in programs over the air, their influence is felt and must be reflected in our own musical development.

The art of the United States is not only benefited by the Europeans who come to this country because of greater opportunities; certain Americans who had felt that the European environment was more favorable to artistic production than their homeland have now been compelled to return to their native shores because of European conditions.

The art of the United States reflects the influence of Europe as surely as American culture is basically European. It would be impossible to estimate the extent of our debt to England, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Russia, and the other European countries for their contributions to American art development. In the field of grand opera but few American productions are available; consequently conductors and singers are forced to depend upon European operas. A new form of musical expression is apparently arising and being developed in the United States — American jazz music. Whether it will ever become recognized as a really artistic form of music, only time will tell.

Although the United States may develop a great art, it will be no more possible for Americans to reach a point where the influence of the European sources will not be felt than it was possible for Rome to outgrow the influence of its Greek background in art. With the improved means of communication, Americans are likely to be found even closer to Europe, so that the artistic production of one part of the Western World will largely reflect the influences of all other areas.

E. *Summary*

Art is universal in the culture of man. What is classed as art varies with time and place. The art of one people may not be appreciated by another. Art is defined as a portrayal of the feelings or emotions of one person in an attempt to arouse similar emotions in others.

Art has the following values to man: (1) it adds to man's enjoyment of life; (2) it increases man's efficiency through making him happier, more contented with the life he is living; (3) it has great influence in stimulating individuals to a desired form of activity; (4) it has an influence in binding people together — unifying, integrating them.

Primitive art is closely associated with the practical needs of man. Utilitarian objects are decorated to appeal to the sense of beauty of a particular people. Primitive art includes not only decoration, but dancing and music — songs and rhythmic beating on tom-toms. It is probable that the earliest forms of artistic expression were associated with religion and magic. The painted designs, representations, and carved figures so frequently found in primitive villages represent attempts on the part of primitive man to appease his gods or to work magic to his own advantage.

Certain geographical and cultural conditions have been associated with the development of great art. People living in southern regions have produced the world's great artistic masterpieces in all but music and literature. The world's greatest sculpture has been produced in warm dry regions possessing suitable material. Great artistic development has occurred among groups who have established a firm economic system wherein some members have accumulated a surplus of economic goods and are willing to use a portion of their surplus to encourage artistic development; development has depended also on the right of members of society to express their individual feelings without fear or interference. A government which builds up a strong emotional spirit among its citizenship and allows free expression of the emotions is favorable to artistic development and expression. In educational institutions as in government there must be a freedom of individual expression to develop an art of merit. A school system which stresses passive absorption of information by the student body can hardly develop a creative art.

Conditions in the United States at present seem to be favorable for the future development of a great art. Among the factors which seem especially favorable for such development are: (1) the wealth of certain strata of society; (2) government encouragement of artistic expression and appreciation; (3) technological improvements; (4) the new "progressive" system of education; (5) great contributions to American culture from European sources.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between the fine arts and practical arts. How may the two be related?
2. How can art increase the efficiency of individuals? Illustrate.
3. What is the relation between art and magic in primitive society?
4. Are conditions such as exist under Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, or Fascist Italy conducive to the development of a great art? Explain.
5. What conditions in the American educational system have been unfavorable to the development of art of great merit?
6. What conditions have in the past existed in America which were unfavorable to the development of a great art?
7. What other conditions in the United States seem to indicate future improvement in fine arts?
8. In what ways is American art influenced by European art?

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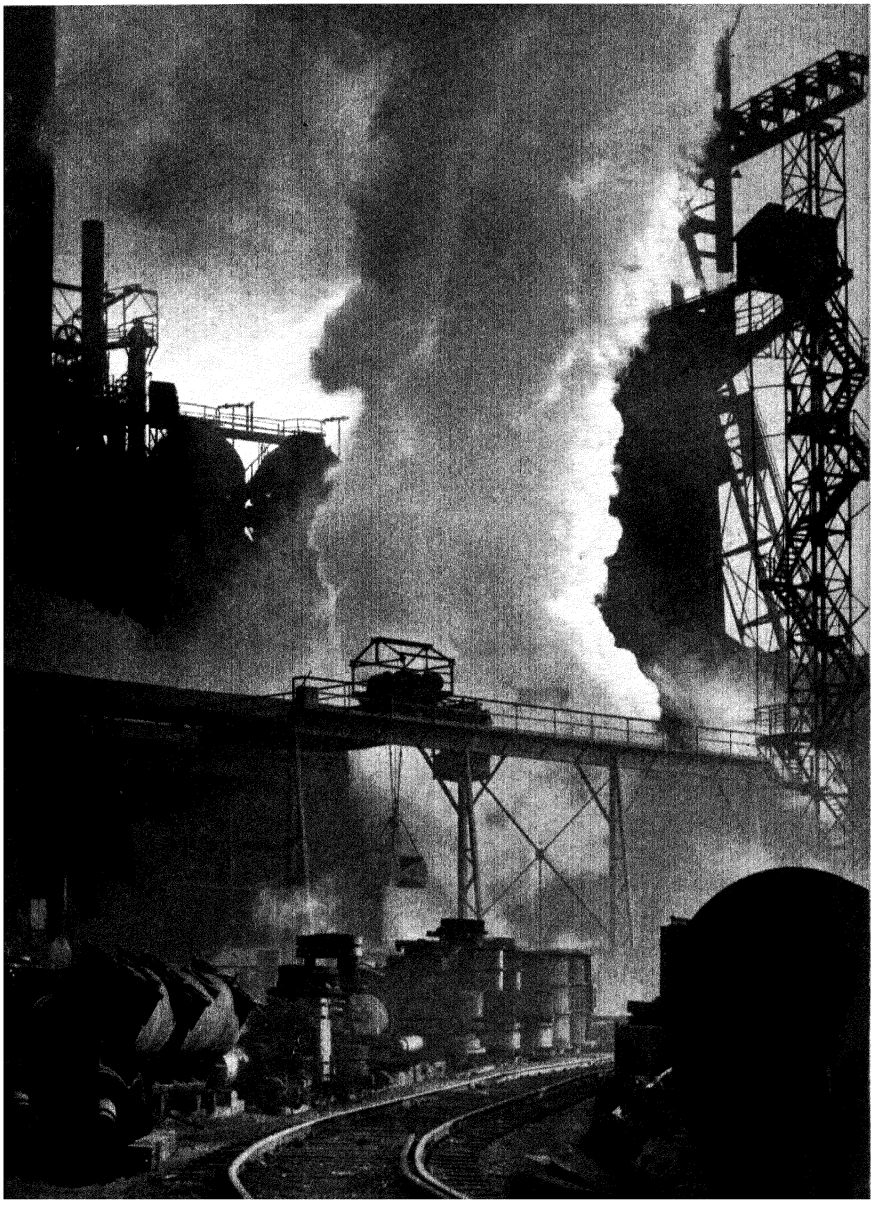
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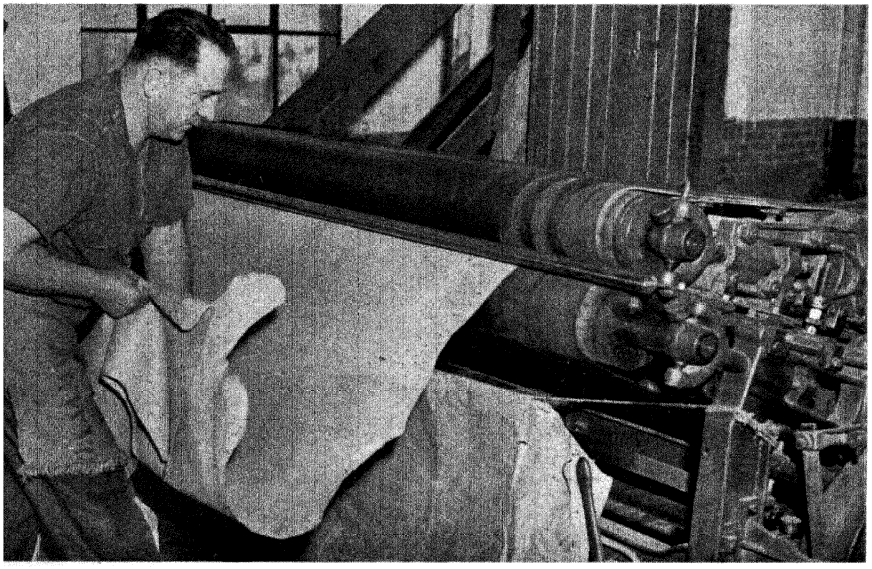
Economic Institutions

Rittase PLATE 22





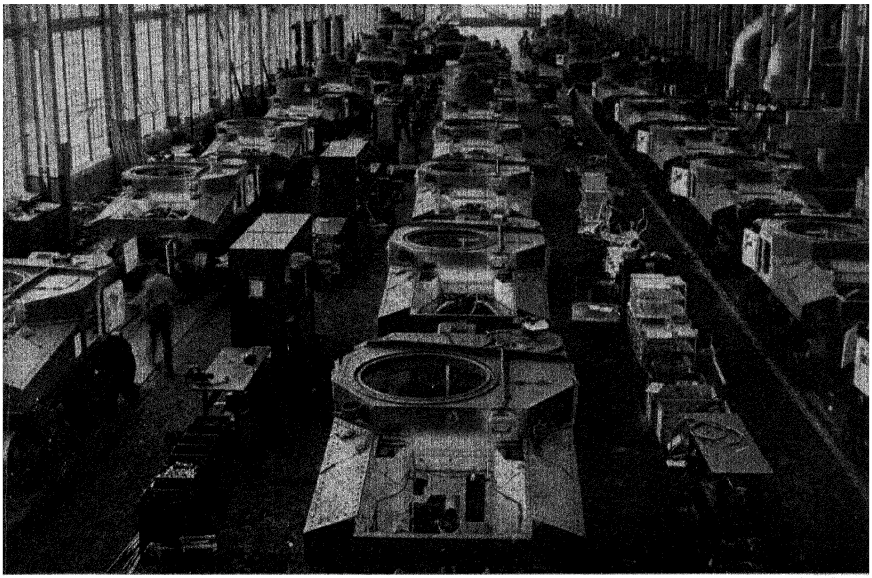
The Gorham Company *OEM Photo by Palmer*



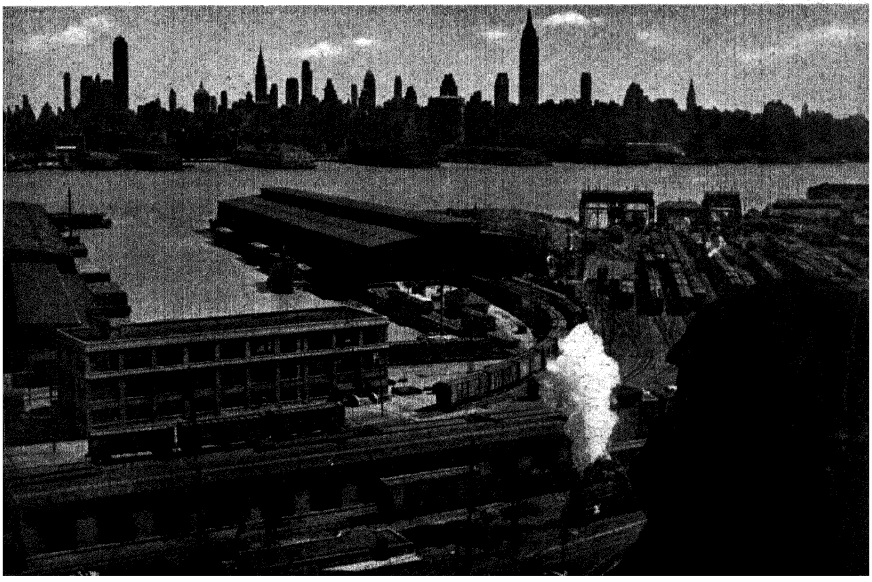
Sawders

PLATE 23

The picture on the preceding page might be labelled "Production." Production means the creation of economic goods or the things which satisfy our wants. The agents of production are labor, nature, and capital. The silversmith, the machinist, and the leather worker are laborers, who work with capital, to create economic goods from the resources of nature.



OEM Photo by Palmer



Sawders

PLATE 24

The assembly line (the picture shows a line of tanks at the Chrysler plant) is a device of modern technology to speed up production. With manufacture completed, an important factor is that of transportation to the principal distribution centers, a factor complicated by geographical environment.



Sawders



Keystone

PLATE 25

The final steps of the production sequence are the delivery of goods to the retail store and the ultimate purchase by the consumer. Marketing is an important and essential cog in the economic machine.

CHAPTER 21

Economic Principles and Economic Institutions

THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS dealing with social institutions have discussed certain patterns of behavior; thus, domestic institutions and health practices were considered as devices to guarantee the perpetuation of the group as a biological and social unit; educational, recreational, aesthetic, and religious organizations and activities were considered as ways by which the cultural heritage of the group is extended and enriched.

The present section takes up the means man employs to secure his material needs and thus make it possible to enjoy and preserve family life; to perpetuate human kind; to establish schools and churches for the purpose of spreading the culture of the group; to improve the health of individuals through better sanitation and medical treatment; to enjoy leisure time, recreational activities and facilities; to engage in art as a pastime and as a vocation. This chapter deals specifically with the distinction between economic principles and economic institutions.

A. *Economic Principles and Economic Institutions*

1. ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

Every science, whether social or physical, recognizes certain laws which are accepted as true statements. In geometry a straight line is held to be the shortest distance between two points; in physics weight is recognized as having no influence on the velocity of falling bodies (in other words a heavy object will fall no faster than a lighter object); and in the biological sciences it is known that thistles do not grow on fig trees, but that each species reproduces its own kind.

In the science of economics, certain principles are accepted as fun-

damental and general truths which govern economic relationships in all cultures and under all environmental conditions. For example, if under competitive conditions the supply of a commodity regarded by the members of any group as necessary for their well-being is increased in proportion to their demand for the commodity, then the worth of the commodity becomes less than it was before the supply was increased. Briefly stated, the relationship of supply to demand governs the price of any commodity.

2. ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Institutions have been defined as "devices for getting certain things done." [1] Modern society has schools, institutions designed to instruct the young in socially approved behavior and information. Other institutions are employed for the particular purposes of society. Economic institutions are devices through which man supplies his material wants. In designating certain institutions as economic, one must, however, be careful to keep in mind that human beings do not live in separate compartments and their acts are not exclusively confined to one type of institutional behavior. So-called domestic institutions may be at one and the same time educational, religious, recreational, hygienic, artistic, and economic. For example, the family as a unit produces the material goods necessary for life in that environment; it trains the young in approved habits; it provides religious instruction according to the ideas of the group of which it forms a part; it provides for the health of the members according to the accustomed fashion; and it is the center of recreational and artistic life of the members of the family.

All societies employ certain patterns of economic behavior — institutions — to secure the material needs of men. There are systems of production of material goods to meet the needs of the individuals and of the groups; there are ways of distributing the goods to the individual members of society; and there are ways of consuming the goods which fit into the total life pattern of the particular society.

Thus while certain basic economic principles are immutable and common to all forms of economic organization, economic institutions vary both in time and place. As the culture of one particular people differs from that of another, so the economic patterns which are a part of the culture differ. The devices the American Indians used in pro-

[1] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1940, p. 556.

ducing their food, in distributing it, and finally in consuming it were very different from the practices of the whites who displaced them.

B. *Nature of Economic Principles*

1. HUMAN BEINGS HAVE ECONOMIC WANTS

a. *Food.* Human beings, like all other living creatures, have certain organic needs which must be satisfied to maintain life. They must have food; they must have a supply of air; and they must have water to drink. Man, however, unlike other forms of life, is not satisfied with merely supplying organic needs. A human being must have food to eat, but he is not content simply to nourish his body. He insists on food which is agreeable to his taste, and which thus adds pleasure to life.

> Food is necessary to prevent starvation, of course; but that is not what the average person is thinking about as he seats himself at the dinner table. He is thinking of the joy of eating. He studies the menu. He rejects oysters and decides on clams. He scans the soup list. He ponders on the choice of roasts: chicken, turkey, beef, lamb; and so on down through the vegetables, salad, dessert, fruit, and coffee. This ceremony is something more than the warding off of starvation. And the same is true, only in lesser degree, of the simplest home table. To the original hunger instinct has been added a host of tastes and desires, so that we demand of food a good deal more than it takes to keep us alive.[2]

Man demands food which satisfies his hunger and pleases his taste. But will the food which pleases one man also be agreeable to another? Obviously not. Man is unlike the other animals in that his tastes for food are to a large extent habits. Many foods favored by one group are not liked by persons from other countries or from regions where the articles are not customarily found. Likewise many foods which would provide nourishment for the body and would not be unpleasant to the palate are avoided because of culture prejudices. Muskrats, opossums, raccoons, crayfish, turtles, and frogs' legs are favorite dishes in some sections of the United States but entirely avoided in others. What constitutes food for human beings depends not so much upon the nutriment of the articles as upon acquired tastes.

[2] Fred Rogers Fairchild, Edgar Stevenson Furniss, Norman Sydney Buck, *Elementary Economics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, p. 4. Reprinted by permission

b. *Clothing.* Man requires clothing for his body, either to protect him from the weather or to afford personal adornment and thus maintain his self-esteem. If the function of physical protection were the primary or sole purpose of clothing, the dress of men and women would be very different from what is often worn. In the cold winter weather, women would not wear sheer silk stockings instead of garments fashioned from warmer material. In regions of high summer temperature, men would not wear coats. Group habits (culture) play a very important rôle in determining what constitutes clothing — the fabric from which it is made, its particular design, and a host of other details.

c. *Shelter.* Since prehistoric times, man has dwelt in sheltered places as protection from the natural elements but the efficiency of the shelter in protecting man from the cold wind or the hot sun in itself is not enough. His shelter follows the architectural pattern of his group. The Eskimo and the Chukchee of Siberia live in similar climatic regions, but while the Eskimo builds a dome-shaped igloo of stone or of ice and snow, the Chukchee constructs a tent of poles covered with the skins of reindeer or other animals. Likewise the characteristic dwelling of Englishmen is quite different from that of the Italian, the Spanish, and people of other cultures. The modern American wants a house which has space and "comforts" that add to the pleasure of living.

d. *Luxuries.* After the basic material needs — food, clothing and shelter — are provided, the Western man is still not content. He must have luxuries — goods and services beyond the organic requirements. He wants to provide education for his children, and to secure reading matter — books and periodicals — for his home. He wants an automobile or the customary vehicle of travel, a telephone, a radio, and other conveniences which are available to his group and which he feels add to his comfort and self-esteem. He wants leisure time which he can devote to his interests and to recreation. He wants to insure himself and his family against unforseen incidents such as loss of income, illness, and death in the family. In addition to those tangible and intangible wants, man must have as good or better food than his neighbor, his clothing must be of the latest design and fashion, his house must be as large and as well-furnished as he can make it. In short, man seeks to obtain goods not alone for their physical utility but for the self satisfaction and esteem he can receive through "conspicuous consumption" — display of wealth or ability to secure such goods and services as his social status demands in his cultural group.

2. ECONOMIC GOODS ARE SCARCE

The ultimate source of all economic goods is nature. Food, in the final analysis, comes from the soil or from the waters of the earth. The various plants which grow in different parts of the world are the basis of all food consumed by man. The amount of food which can be produced is limited by the extent of the areas suitable for growth of the various forms of plant life. In nature there is a rough balance between the available food supply and the number of animal forms that consume the food. If a favorable year increases the available food of a region, the animal population depending upon that supply likewise increases. On the other hand, an unfavorable season which reduces the plant growth brings about a destruction of a portion of the animal population so that the balance between the amount of food and its consumers is maintained.

Primitive man, like the lower forms of animal life, depends upon seasonal variation in the food supply. Most of the life of primitive man is consumed by his efforts to supply enough of the material needs to permit individuals and groups to live in their customary manners. As human beings improve their implements and methods of obtaining food and other necessary goods, the population increases unless the increase is prevented by other factors. During the period following the industrial revolution, human population increased in the part of the world most directly affected by the new technological development as it had never increased before in recorded history.[3]

Goods which satisfy human wants are scarce, that is, not unlimited in quantity. Since economic goods are scarce, there is competition on the part of individuals and of groups to secure the commodities which satisfy their wants. Those who are able to secure a sufficiency or a surplus of the goods enjoy a higher plane of living, possess greater security in their supply of the essential goods, and in most cultures occupy a higher social status than those who inadequately supply themselves with the necessary and desired commodities.

3. AGENTS OF PRODUCTION

Since in order to survive man must supply his material needs, his primary efforts are directed toward that end. He must produce his food, clothing, shelter and whatever other goods he desires. Production means the creation of economic goods and services, that is, things

[3] *Cf.* Chapter 7.

which are capable of satisfying human wants. In all production there are at least three agents or factors: labor, nature, and capital.

a. *Labor as an agent of production.* Human labor is essential to the production of anything. Even in the Garden of Eden it was necessary for man to put forth the efforts required to gather the products of nature. The earliest form of economic life was the hunting stage where primitive people gathered what nature provided — killed the wild animals, caught fish, gathered fruits and nuts, and dug edible roots. Collecting those products was labor, sometimes very strenuous labor. *Labor is a factor or an agent of production.*

b. *Nature as an agent of production.* Man alone can produce nothing; rather he collects, cultivates, and modifies what nature (land, water, climate, rainfall, sunlight) furnishes, or for which it provides the essential conditions. The farmer tills the soil, plants the crops, cultivates the land to aid in the growth of the plants, harvests and markets the matured products. Without the soil, a favorable growing season, and climatic conditions which permit the harvest, there would be no production, in spite of any amount of labor which the farmer might put into the enterprise. From the earth the miner secures the minerals used in the manufacture of modern machinery and tools. Water furnishes the source of power to generate electricity and to drive many modern factories, and bodies of water provide man with highways for transportation of goods from place to place. *Nature is another factor or agent of production.*[4]

c. *Capital as an agent of production.* Perhaps in a very primitive form of human life, production may have been the result of human labor and nature alone. Unaided by any mechanical implements, the group may have gathered their material wants from nature. However, human beings in such a low state of development have not been discovered. As man slowly evolved, it became customary for him to use a club, a stone hatchet, a spear, a bow and arrow, or a gun to supplement and increase his physical strength for the satisfaction of economic wants. With each step it became easier for him to supply his physical needs by the use of tools and implements. Then man learned that by domesticating the animals (cattle) and plants (grains and fruits), he could keep some as a source of future supply and live better and more securely. His production was increased and was more reliable. *A*

[4] Economics texts often class the second factor of production as land, but by land is meant climate, rainfall, in short, nature.

third factor or agent of production is capital. Capital is any article or goods produced by man for further increasing his production. For the primitive hunter, bow and arrows and stone hatchets are capital. A farmer's capital includes his farm machinery, his supply of grain for seed purposes, his farm buildings, and other things for raising crops — in short, all the man-produced goods which he uses for further production. Land is purchased and utilized by men for production, but it is not made by man; hence it is not usually classed as capital.

Capital is obtained only by man's producing more than is immediately required for his consumption and by his saving the surplus.

> A man is represented as once living in a primitive stage, making his living by the use of his hands, his brain, and the things provided by Nature. He wore no clothes and ate only fish, which he caught by wading into the stream and by seizing them with his hands. Eight hours of work per day were required for a sufficient catch to supply himself and his family. This man, being an energetic soul, conceived an idea which called for ten hours of work each day: he worked his usual eight hours at catching fish and two hours he used in securing bark, which he wove into a fishing net. It very likely took him many weeks to complete this net, but when he had finished it, the net represented a saving of two hours labor for each day during the period required for the construction of this new device. The net was capital for he used it to assist him in catching more fish. He found that with the use of the net he could catch a day's supply of fish in three hours; this left him five hours which he could use in improving his net, producing other want-satisfying goods or creating more capital. It is most evident that the net became a factor in the production of fish, for the man with the net secured as many fish in three hours as he could secure in eight hours without the net. [5]

4. VALUE AND PRICE OF GOODS

The goods which satisfy man's material wants are scarce; for that reason they possess economic value. A commodity which is unlimited in its quantity or so abundant that humans can secure all they need without effort or cost has no economic value, no matter how necessary it may be for sustaining life. No one could live for more than a few minutes without a supply of air, but air (with the exception of special "conditioned" kinds) has no economic value, for anyone can secure all he wants free. The measure of the value of goods and services is the

[5] S. A. Caldwell, *Economics*, Louisiana State University Press, University, Louisiana, 1937, p. 21

amount of other commodities which can be secured in exchange for the goods. A bushel of sweet potatoes might be exchanged for two dozen eggs. In that case the value of the sweet potatoes is two dozen eggs, and the value of the eggs is the bushel of potatoes. The term "value" implies exchange of goods, for one would not regard a commodity as of value except as it has power to command other goods in exchange for it.

The measure of value in exchange is the price of an article expressed in money — the accepted medium of exchange and the measure of value. The price which certain goods have is determined by the producer as the seller and by the consumer as the buyer, in accordance with certain economic principles.

5. OWNERS OF THE AGENTS OF PRODUCTION ARE PAID FOR THEIR SERVICES

a. *Wages and labor.* Since all production depends upon the action of the factors or agents of production, the owner of each is entitled to a share in the goods produced, or in the returns from the commodities. The share labor receives for its part in production is called wages. The return for labor in the form of wages ranges from the pay received by unskilled laborers to the salary received by the highly paid professional entertainers, skilled executives, and the fees of lawyers and doctors. All are producers, for they are all either producing goods which have economic value or rendering services for which human beings feel a need.

In the modern industrial system the laborer is paid at a fixed hourly, daily, weekly, monthly, or piece rate for his efforts. The worker does not receive an actual share in the goods produced, but a portion of the price for which the articles are sold, usually paid by the operator in advance, that is, before the goods are actually sold. The amount or share which the laborer receives depends on various factors affecting the supply of and the demand for labor.

Although the above statement as to the basis of wage income refers to workers in industries, the same general principles apply to individuals who render professional services. Take, for example, the medical profession; individuals select the doctors who appear to have the greatest professional skill and who can render the patients the greatest services. Skilled physicians receive in return for their services higher annual income — wages — than those who are less skilled or who are regarded as possessing less skill. Also the medical profession realizes that an in-

crease in the number of medical practitioners would reduce the income of each doctor; hence it exerts its influence continually to raise the standards required for new practitioners in medicine.

b. *Rent and the owners of land.* Land is that part of nature, the second factor of production, upon which man lives and does his productive work. Land is of supreme economic importance; it possesses value in most cultures, for it is scarce and it satisfies human wants. Natural resources and bodies of water such as creeks, rivers, lakes, and oceans may be included under the general term land. Other divisions of nature such as sunshine, rainfall, climate, winds and the like have no economic value; they are not scarce. Since land is of economic value, the owner usually receives a share in the returns of production. *The price of and the returns for the use of land in the production process may be called rent.*

The amount of rent which land earns is determined by its productivity in producing economic goods. Obviously land which is fertile, well adapted to the production of commodities having great economic value, and accessible to a market where the products can be sold to advantage will earn greater rent as its share in the production than land which is not so fertile, not so well adapted to production of valuable goods, and not so near a market. Very fertile land located in Northern Canada or Alaska is scarcely capable of earning any rent because of its inaccessibility to a market.[6]

Land is not reproducible, and its supply is relatively fixed. There are other productive elements, however, such as heavy machinery (for example, a blast furnace), which are also long-lived. Although the supply of these latter durable agents is not fixed and although they are reproducible in the long run, it has become customary for economists also to consider the prices of such durable agents and the returns to the owners from such durable agents as rent, at least during short periods of time.

c. *Interest and the owners of loanable funds.* As was stated above, capital increases the amount of production. Capital results from human effort and saving. Were there no returns from capital, man would have little incentive to work and to save to develop capital. If the man with a gun could secure no more food or other goods of value than

[6] Land in urban locations also produces rent, but the factors underlying the returns of the land are complicated by other factors beside those mentioned above, and are not discussed here.

the man with his bare hands, why should he take time and exert himself to secure a gun? But by means of the gun the individual can secure more of the goods he desires; consequently he exerts his efforts toward actually making a gun or toward acquiring a surplus of other commodities — in our culture, money — which he can exchange for the gun. The tool, a product of human labor and of nature in the form of mineral products, is a means of increasing the amount of production, and the owner of the saved funds which make possible the *enterprisers'* investments in capital goods is thus entitled to a share in the returns of production. *The price of and the returns for the use of such funds are interest.*[7]

6. THE RÔLE OF CREDIT

Most of the business of the world today is carried on by means of credit. The term "credit" means the securing of something in the present for which payment will be made in the future. Business in the United States is in great measure transacted through credit. Credit ranges from the small personal loans to individuals made by banks or loan agencies, to the billions of dollars secured by large corporations and by the national government through the sale of bonds to banks and to large and small individual investors.

Credit plays its part in paying the owners of producing agents for their share in production. The laborer has an interest in the goods he produces to the extent of his share in the returns when the articles are sold; but in the period between the production of the goods and their final sale, the worker must live. He must have food, clothing, shelter, and other articles in accordance with his social standing in the community. Obviously he cannot wait until the products are sold; he must have his share at once. There credit enters the picture. The banker or some other individual or organization is willing and able to advance the payment to the worker for a small return on the amount advanced. The creditor then takes his chances of receiving his payment when the goods are finally sold. In this way the worker receives his share (wages) immediately, and does not have to concern himself about the final disposal of the products he makes.

Returns to the owners of land and of capital are also advanced in

[7] In many economics texts a fourth agent of production is listed, that is, the entrepreneur or the enterpriser. The entrepreneur is the individual or group of individuals who takes the risk in business and who directs its operations. The reward or the share in the production which the entrepreneur receives is the wage of management and, sometimes, profits.

much the same way as are rewards of labor. Many American farmers illustrate the working of credit as advanced payment of labor, land, and capital. At the beginning of the season, farmers go to banks or to some other organization from which they can secure an advance on the crops they are to raise, although the crops may not even have been planted. The amount which farmers can secure from the lender depends upon such items as the number of acres of land they have to plant; the fertility of the soil; the reputation of the individual farmers for honesty and skill in production; the capital each individual has in the form of farm equipment; and the probable returns from the crops each borrower is planning to raise.[8] When the crops are finally grown and marketed, the farmer pays the lender both the original amount and a sum to pay for the use of the advance. The amount paid for the use of the sum advanced is interest, and the sum of money advanced represents capital which is used to increase production. Through the interest paid by the farmers, the lender receives his share of the goods produced.

7. SYSTEMS FACILITATING THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS

In all but the most primitive cultures, systems of exchange are to be found. In her book, *Jungle Portraits*, Mrs. Akeley tells of her experiences among the most primitive people in the world, the Pygmies. She describes how, when they killed an elephant, they cut off strips of the flesh, carried it to a village of other jungle dwellers, and exchanged it for palm wine and banana beer which the village people had in abundance. That process of exchange carried on by the Pygmies in the form of barter, that is, exchange of goods rather than sale of the commodities for money, represents the basic principle involved in all exchange of goods. One individual has a surplus of one kind of goods, but he needs, or thinks he needs, other commodities of which his neighbor has a surplus. Through the exchange of the surpluses both parties to the transaction are benefited.

a. *The function of prices.* One of the great difficulties which confronts an individual or a group in the exchange of goods is the desired assurance that each party secures goods whose value equals that of the articles given.

In order to facilitate a "fair" exchange of articles, prices are developed for the different commodities. The basic factor in the deter-

[8] The United States government in recent years has advanced money to many farmers on the crops they are planning to raise. Besides the items mentioned above as basis for the loan, the government also takes into consideration the need of the farmers for the advanced payment as is indicated by the size of the individual families.

mination of prices of goods sold and purchased is the interaction of supply and demand. The price for which people will sell goods cannot remain below the cost of production permanently or for long; otherwise the producers would be forced out of business. The lower limit of the price range of any commodities must necessarily be about the cost of production. On the other hand there must be some limit to how much a person is willing to pay for goods. That limit is based on the utility which the goods possess in the opinions of the buyers. If the price of a loaf of white bread, for example, rises beyond its customary level, the buyers will doubt that its utility warrants the additional outlay. Less white bread will be used, and substitutes will be purchased; thus the demand for white bread will be reduced and the price of white bread will be forced down to such a level that the buyers will stop using the less satisfactory substitutes.

b. *The rôle of money in exchange and pricing.* Trade, in primitive societies and in culture groups in which there is relatively little exchange as among the Pygmies, is frequently carried on by barter. Trade by barter is cumbersome and has certain apparent disadvantages. It is difficult to find two parties whose surplus goods are mutually suited to each other's wants. For instance, a man may have a surplus of potatoes which he desires to exchange for shoes for his family. Where and how will he find an individual who has shoes to exchange for his potatoes? Furthermore, how many potatoes shall he give for the shoes in case he finds a shoe dealer who wants potatoes? There is little opportunity to standardize the value of goods under the barter system.

As the volume of trade increases, a medium of exchange — money — is established. *Money is any commodity which passes freely from one person to another and is accepted as a medium of exchange and as a measure of value.* Through the use of money there is no difficulty in finding persons whose wants mutually correspond. The man with a surplus of potatoes can sell them for money with which he can buy the shoes he needs. The prices of potatoes and of shoes are fixed according to the principles discussed above. Each price is fixed in terms of money, and the value of the goods to the purchaser is measured in terms of money.

c. *The rôle of transportation in exchange.* As was pointed out in a previous chapter, geographical environment varies greatly in different parts of the earth. Plant and animal life varies according to different climate, rainfall, and soil. In the southern part of the United States cotton can be raised in abundance, but wheat cannot be grown profit

ably. Oranges can be raised in only a few sections of the nation, such as California, Southern Texas, Florida, and in areas along the Gulf of Mexico. Rubber, bananas, coffee, and many other products cannot be grown profitably in any section of the United States.

Some regions not suited for agricultural production have rich deposits of minerals which are valuable to man, or have forests which can be converted into materials necessary for the construction of human shelter. Some regions are suited for manufacturing enterprises but do not have rich deposits of minerals or forests.

Through exchange of goods, people living in a region adapted to one type of production can utilize the natural resources and develop specialized skills required for the productive activities. In short, specialization, the division of labor and of production, is made possible. Commodities produced to advantage by one group can be exchanged for needed goods which cannot be produced within the particular area. Thus, the people of the United States can secure coffee from Brazil in exchange for manufactured goods. The cotton-growing South can secure wheat, dairy products, meat, and manufactured articles from the north-central and northeastern states. Through exchange the plane of living of the people in all sections of the world is raised.

In order to have exchange of goods, there must be systems of transportation. The Pygmies, described above, carried the surplus elephant meat to the village where it was exchanged for palm wine and banana beer which was carried back to the Pygmy camp. The earliest form of transportation was human power. Certain animals as they were domesticated were used to increase the amount which could be carried and the ease of transportation. Without means of transporting goods from one place to another, the possibilities of exchange would be limited to the products of the immediate vicinity where the production takes place. On the other hand as facilities for transportation are improved and employed, the exchange of goods increases in quantity and in geographic extent. Through steamships, railways, highways, and airlines, goods are now carried from one area to all parts of the world for the purpose of exchange.

d. *The rôle of storage.* The food and many other basic economic goods needed by man come ultimately from plant life which grows during certain seasons of the year. At a particular period, apples and other fruits ripen and are available for human consumption; wheat and other grains from which bread is made reach maturity and must be

harvested; and cotton and other textiles from which clothing is made are ready for gathering. In the world of nature the supply of products used for human food varies according to the seasons. At one time of the year there is abundance, even more than can be immediately consumed, while at another period there is little or no available food. In the modern economic system, the period during which many products become suitable for human consumption is relatively short. The wheat harvest for the entire area of North America does not last longer than three or four months, and the period during which the harvest of a particular field must be accomplished is limited to a few days or weeks. The cotton picking season lasts not over five months, and the picking time for any particular growing area is much more limited. The season for gathering other matured and ripened products is usually shorter than that of wheat and of cotton. If the crops are not harvested at the right time, deterioration sets in at once and the quality and quantity of the supply is reduced.

Through storage, goods which are produced at particular seasons of the year are made available at all seasons. Thus storage is a very important part of the productive process of man and it also has an important place in exchange. Were there no storage of goods, the supply at some seasons would be so great as to render the products virtually valueless because of their great abundance, while at other seasons of the year the articles would be unobtainable.

Storage of food during periods of plenty for a future time of scarcity is practiced even among the lower animals and insects; during the late summer and fall, squirrels store nuts and pine cones for winter use, and bees store honey. Primitive man in many regions stores food during the summer for use in the winter.

With the growth of modern transportation and refrigeration, storage of products has reached a degree of importance formerly unknown in human society. Through cold storage, goods are transported half way around the world, and products from tropical countries are made available to residents of temperate zones.

Storage, especially modern methods of storage, distributes the supply of goods throughout the year and throughout the world. Apples, fresh vegetables, bananas, oranges, eggs, meats, dairy products and many other hitherto "perishable" commodities produced during a particular season and in particular zones of climate are now available in all seasons of the year and in most parts of the modern world.

By the distribution of the supply throughout the year instead of at a particular season, prices are kept fairly uniform throughout the year.

Finally, through storage the supply of essential goods is relatively secure at all times. In the United States there is no danger that people would go hungry if the production of certain essential foods failed during the growing season, for a supply of such food is stored to be drawn on when need arises.

C. *Nature of Economic Institutions*

1. FORCES WHICH MOTIVATE HUMANS TO ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

a. *Physical needs.* Human desires prompt all economic activities. The nature of the impelling desires may be physical or social or both. Obviously if no one were engaged in labor to secure economic goods, there would be no production, and human beings would have nothing to eat, to wear, or to use for shelter from the weather. In most primitive societies the physical need for food and for other essential goods provides the motive force for economic activities. The Pygmies, for example, hunt for food for no other reason than that they must have food in order to live and to satisfy their hunger. When they make a kill they proceed to devour the available food to the utmost of their physical capacity. If the animal they kill is large enough to supply a surplus of meat, more than they can immediately consume, they exchange the surplus for wine in order to add to the pleasure of their sensory indulgence.

In all societies, modern as well as primitive, the basic drive in the final analysis is physical need and desire. In modern society most individuals are above the level of Pygmies, and although the modern man works to satisfy his physical needs, he is concerned more with meeting the standards set by his culture than with the basic needs of keeping the body nourished, clothed, and housed.

b. *Power.* Many persons have a great desire for power over their fellows. Wealth, especially money, is a source of power. A person with wealth in a society wherein others are inadequately supplied can exert power over less fortunate individuals. He can require them to labor to further enrich him in order to supply their physical needs.

The desire for power causes men to continue working to make more money after they have already accumulated more than they can use during their lifetime. Men continue to expand their economic enter-

prises into larger factories, bigger farms; they work to develop greater professional practices for the sake of more money — not for their physical needs, which are already provided for, but for the greater power the individual with more wealth can exert. It is commonly recognized that the individuals with great wealth can in most cultures exert great political as well as economic power.

c. *Recognition and approval.* Closely associated with the desire for power is the wish for recognition. Individuals will endure great hardships and encounter dangers even to the point of risking their lives for the sake of the glory and recognition they receive for the exploits. People generally wish to be recognized as possessing special merit. They desire to attain or to maintain a high social status. Economic possessions are a basis of social status in most societies. In order to impress others with their wealth, individuals will spend great sums of money on social affairs, on ornate dwellings, on jewelry, on household furnishings, and other objects of display. In short, it is a very common human desire to be able to spend not only to meet physical needs, but to spend conspicuously so that others will recognize and envy the wealth of the spender. In order to gain this recognition, someone must work to accumulate the wealth.

d. *Welfare of others.* Often individuals will throughout their entire lives work hard and apparently allow themselves only the bare necessities in order to accumulate wealth so that their children can live on a higher plane than they themselves enjoyed. Both mother and father frequently work, saving their earnings so that their sons and daughters can get a superior education. The motive back of the efforts is not egoistic, but altruistic to the extent that the parents seek the welfare of their children above anything else.

There are others, not a large proportion of our society, who are interested in the welfare of society in general. Philanthropic individuals provide great sums of money for foundations and educational endowments designed to benefit mankind in general. Scientists work long and hard, in some cases even endangering their lives, not for their own financial enrichment, but to be able to benefit mankind by discovering cures for diseases and other causes of human miseries.

2. GROUP ORGANIZATIONS FOR FACILITATING THE ATTAINMENT OF ECONOMIC GOALS

Human societies universally have organizations through which eco-

nomic goals are attained. In primitive societies, such as the Plains Indians of Early America, the men of the groups formed hunting parties to seek game and to kill it for their needed supplies of food, clothing, and shelter. Following the hunters came the women to dress the slain animals and to cut the meat into portions which they could carry. They cured the hides for clothing and for covering their dwellings. In some tribes the men and women worked together curing the meat by drying it in the sun, and making it into pemmican so that it could be stored for winter consumption.

In more advanced cultures where people lived in villages and cultivated the soil, there was likewise organization. Some of the men tilled the soil; others tended the livestock; some were specialists in such crafts as blacksmithing and milling grain. The women also had their customary rôle, different from that of the men.

As trade expanded and modern economic production came into being, there was much greater occupational specialization. Farmers, miners, timbermen, and fishermen were organized to carry out the extractive industries. Some individuals were engaged in transporting goods from one part of the world to another. Some worked at storing surplus goods. Some manufactured or processed goods into forms which would satisfy human wants and needs. Merchants made goods easily available to the consumers. And a considerable group of individuals did not handle goods, but rendered services desired by their fellows.

Not only were individuals organized for economic production, and distribution, but the economic activities themselves were organized within certain geographical areas in order to increase the efficiency of production and distribution. Today a large portion of the grain of the United States is raised in the north-central states; the southern states produce most of the cotton; Pittsburgh, Birmingham, and a few other centers produce the iron and steel used; Akron, Ohio, makes a large part of the rubber tires for automobiles; the automobile plants of the nation are largely centered in the state of Michigan; and other areas of the nation specialize in such economic activities as their geographical and social environment warrants.

3. OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ECONOMIC AGENTS

Among the most primitive groups, such as the Pygmies, the Eskimos, and the North American Indians, land was not owned by in-

dividuals. The group as a unit claimed the collective right to reap the natural fruits of the area occupied. Individuals not only owned no land, but the rewards of their labor were shared collectively. Persons hunted, fished, and gathered the available fruits and edible plants not for their own use alone but to meet the collective needs of their social unit, the group. The only agent of production which was usually owned individually was capital: material goods and the tools used in securing food. The hunter frequently owned his bow and arrows, his spear, and other instruments customarily used in economic activities. The basic idea prevailing in the primitive group was that the group was the producing and consuming unit; hence it controlled the products of its collective production.

In historic cultures such as in Rome, in Palestine — among the Hebrews — and more recently in China, the family was both the producing unit and the controlling unit of economic and other activities of individuals comprising the family. The father as patriarch controlled all wealth, not as an individual, but as the responsible head of his family. This idea of the family unit with the father and husband as its controlling head extends to modern times in English and American culture. Until recent times it was the customary and approved practice for the father and husband to control any wealth which his minor children and his wife might possess. He even had the right to collect the earnings of his children and of his wife.

Private or individual ownership of wealth in land, houses, industrial establishments, and money is the basis of most of the economic systems of the modern western world. The individual is not only entitled to the rewards of his labor, but as the owner of land and of capital he receives the returns of these agents as well. Production is not conceived to be for the benefit of society so much as for the enrichment of the individual owner of the productive agents, namely land and capital. Through private ownership and control of the agents of production, the distribution of economic goods has become so unequal that one individual may have an annual income exceeding the total yearly earnings of thousands of others.

Since such problems as unemployment and poverty have arisen out of individual ownership and control of productive agents, the trend of modern western society seems to be back toward group ownership and control, or individual ownership with group control of these agents. In Russia, at present, the state is empowered to take over all land and

industrial plants from their individual owners and to operate them as state projects for the benefit of the citizens of the nation. In Germany and in Italy, individuals are allowed to retain ownership of land and of factories, but all economic activities are regulated and controlled by the state, even to the point of arbitrarily fixed wages of labor and prices of goods. In the United States, although the movement has not taken the extreme form it has assumed in Russia, Germany, or Italy, there is an increasing tendency for the government to regulate agricultural, industrial, and business activities.

4. CHANGE IN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

A person who studies the economic life of primitive people, of the early historical cultures, of the medieval period, or even of people living in England or the United States in 1800 and compares it with the present, can hardly fail to recognize that great changes have taken place. The changes which have occurred involve all aspects of economic production, distribution, and consumption of material goods.[9]

5. THE RÔLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The term "technology" refers to the application of science to the practical arts. Although change characterized the development of man in all phases of his life, from the earliest times to the present, the rate of change, especially in economic institutions, was relatively slow until the latter half of the eighteenth century when science was applied to the practical arts. Before this time, man used virtually the same methods of agriculture, the same kinds of tools, the same systems of cultivation, and the same methods of harvesting the crops, as did his ancestors two or more thousand years before. Manufacture meant largely the hand labor of individuals working in small shops or in their homes. Transportation was slow, depending on land upon human or animal power and on water upon sailing vessels driven by the wind. Storage was possible only for articles which were very durable and not easily damaged.

Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, technology has developed at an ever accelerated pace and economic systems have undergone profound changes. The quantity of manufactured goods has increased many fold, agricultural production has been greatly increased, transportation has been made faster and has been extended so that all parts of the world are within easy reach of one another. Goods which

[9] For a more complete treatment of change in economic institutions, see Chapter 24.

were formerly unknown to any but the very wealthy can now, owing to technological development, be enjoyed by the masses. The standard of living, the health level, and the educational level of the populations of modern countries, taken as a whole, have been greatly raised through modern economic development.

Although modern technological development has improved living conditions, has increased the possibilities of life on a higher economic plane, and has raised the educational level of populations as a whole, the changes have not all been socially good. Modern machines have displaced many thousands of workers who are not adequately absorbed by new industries. Those who are employed in modern factories have lost much of the pride of achievement which characterized production where individual initiative played a part. The hours of labor have been reduced and the quantity of production has been increased through extreme specialization, but the work is more monotonous to the workers because it is less interesting than formerly. Hence arises a problem of how individuals may spend their leisure time to counteract the grind of their occupations.

Through the development of technology, the economic activities have become increasingly complex. Much time and great distance often intervene between the primary production of goods and their ultimate consumption. The commodities of trade pass through many hands in the process of production, transportation, and distribution. The business cycle with its periodic intervals of depression is associated with technological development, a capitalistic system based on the profit motive, and our extremely complex economic system. During a depression period the machinery of economic production is slowed down, owing to the inability of consumers to purchase the commodities offered for sale. With the slowing down of machines, individuals depending upon the operation of those machines are thrown out of work and their ability to purchase goods is severely curtailed. This unemployment further reduces the demand for goods, which in turn still further reduces the employment of productive labor. Thus is set in operation a vicious circle which continues until the demand for goods equals or exceeds the available supply. When the latter stage is reached, a period of recovery sets in.[10]

Through the ownership of land and of capital concentrated in the hands of a relatively small portion of the population, the problems aris-

[10] For a more complete discussion of the business cycle see pages 473–475.

ing from the unequal distribution of economic goods have been increased. In spite of greater production and education, unemployment, poverty, want, and preventable disease are common phenomena even in the wealthiest countries of the world. Through technology, wealth has tremendously increased, but is often concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. If one person in primitive society lacks food the entire group similarly lacks it. But in modern society many may be without sufficient food or clothing while others control vast quantities which they cannot use. The difficulty appears to be, not in technology itself, but in the way modern man has used technology. The difficulties seem to arise from the fact that the rewards of increased production are not shared to the advantage of all members of society.

D. *Summary*

Economic institutions are to be distinguished from economic principles; economic institions are patterns of behavior whereby the material wants of man are satisfied in particular cultures; economic principles, on the other hand, are rules which are largely true for all economic activities in all cultures.

In every culture human beings have certain wants which are satisfied by goods which are scarce. Since they are scarce and satisfy man's wants, they possess value. These valuable goods are produced by the activities of three agents: labor, nature, and capital. The measure of the value of goods is their price expressed in terms of money. Since labor, land (the part of nature which possesses value) and capital are agents of production, they receive for their part in the process a share in the returns of production. The share received for labor is called wages; that received for land is rent; and that for capital is called interest. Often the agents of production cannot wait for the final sale or consumption of the goods produced to receive their share; hence credit, or advanced payment for the services rendered, is employed; some other agency advances, for a small interest payment, the share due the agents of production. Exchange of goods makes possible: specialization of occupation; increased production; and more varied consumption, since goods of different regions and different seasons can, through transportation and storage, be made available for use in all parts of the world and at all times. In order to facilitate exchange, systems of measuring the value of goods are established. The measure of value is known as

the price of the commodities. The use of price systems in exchange practically requires the establishment of a medium of exchange and a measure of value, that is, money. The statements just made are true in all cultures wherein the economic activities mentioned are carried on; hence they are enunciated as economic principles.

Economic institutions are ways by which different cultural groups apply the economic principles. Human beings are impelled to labor for economic goods by physical need for food and other material goods, by a desire for the power which wealth gives, by a wish for recognition and approval, and by a desire to aid others. In all cultures there is some organization for economic production. One of the most apparent differences between primitive and modern economic institutions lies in the ownership and control of the economic agents. Whereas in primitive society all production is designed to supply the group as a unit with its needs, in modern western society the individual largely owns and receives the share of the three productive agents.

Modern technology has been responsible for great changes in economic production. The output of agriculture and industry has been greatly increased. Wealth has been multiplied; the average plane of living has risen; the educational level of the masses has been raised. But unemployment has increased, and the extreme specialization of labor means that individuals have more monotonous work. The increased output of modern production has been unequally distributed among the members of society.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between economic institutions and economic principles.
2. How does the culture of a people influence or change the economic wants of the people?
3. If material goods, diamonds for example, were not scarce, would they still possess value and be economic goods? Would they possess utility?
4. What is capital? How does it serve as an agent of production?
5. Differentiate price from value. In what ways are they related? How is price related to scarcity?
6. Trace a commonplace business transaction as carried on in modern urban society. What part of the operations would you regard as involving the use of credit?

7. What difficulties would be encountered in setting up a system of trade in our modern world based on the barter system?
8. Show how transportation facilities may encourage or discourage the growth of industrial centers. Study the history of Natchez, Mississippi, to see the effect of change in transportation methods on the business of a city.
9. Do most people engage in economic activities in the United States in order to satisfy their physical needs or for other reasons? What other motives are present?
10. Compare the economic activities of the modern urban and the farm families of America.
11. Explain how the invention of machines such as the reaper and the combine have created some of the great economic problems of the present.

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CHAPTER 22

The Evolution of Economic Institutions

A. *Primitive Society*

IN A PRECEDING CHAPTER the evolution of man from the earliest known form — the Java Ape Man — to modern Homo Sapiens was briefly traced. Most prominent among the remains of early human cultures are the implements used to supply man's material needs. Fairly clear pictures of some aspects of the economic life in primitive societies can be formed by studying the tools found by anthropologists and archeologists, and by studying the existing primitive cultures.

1. HUNTING CULTURES

Early man lived surrounded by animals which were more powerful and swifter than himself. His very survival depended upon cunning rather than upon physical strength or swiftness, and upon cooperation with his fellows. Since group action was so vital, primitive man lived in kinship groups which dwelt in natural shelters such as caves, or in open places where he protected himself from other animals and from the cold by the use of fire. The size of the groups was small, and varied according to the ability of the members to reproduce their numbers and to supply themselves with food.

In order to supply their physical needs, primitive men hunted in packs, and no doubt on occasions they were able through mere strength of numbers and cooperative effort to kill such animals as the bison and the wild ox. Many times these men probably trailed some larger and more aggressive animal such as the tiger or the lion, until it made a kill, and then the pack of men probably attacked the victor with such fury as to drive it away from its prize. On other occasions the pack may have adopted the tactics of the jackal and waited to devour the remains after the killer had departed.

The tools of early man were hardly such as to warrant his attempt

to kill such large and dangerous animals as the lion, the long-tusked elephant, the broad-nosed rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus. Man's first tools were pieces of stone, eoliths, which were fashioned either by natural forces or by man's own crude efforts into shapes which fitted them for use as axes or knives with which to cut the flesh of animals. During the early Stone or Paleolithic Age, the use of stone implements was largely confined to the stone ax. The art of attaching the stone ax to a handle was unknown at that time.

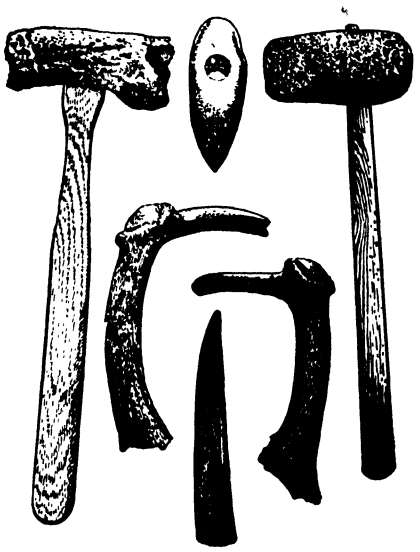


FIGURE 13. PREHISTORIC TOOLS

Stag-horn mattocks and horn and stone hammers, preserved for about 2500 years by the high lime content of lake water which covered them.

In the later Paleolithic Age the quality of the stone tools was improved through the production of a sharp edge made by chipping or flaking the flint of which the implements were made. In addition to perfecting the stone ax, Paleolithic men made new implements such as scrapers for preparing the skins of animals for use as clothing; cutters for cutting the flesh of animals; borers for making holes in hides; and hammers. During the later part of the Paleolithic period, man learned to put handles on his weapons, and toward the close of the age, he invented the bow and arrow. Another improvement in early man's tools was the making of certain articles out of bone and horn; many bone needles and implements made of horn are found among the deposits of early cultures. Wooden tools were probably utilized; but these have long since decomposed, and no signs of articles made of such material are found.

As man's tools were improved, the quantity of his food was increased. He could attack more dangerous animals with greater chances of success. He likewise improved his garments and made them fit his body better by sewing the skins of animals together.

In the hunting cultures man was in continual quest of food. When

food was secured, he probably devoured most of it on the spot and carried to his cave dwelling only those portions which were most easily transported. It is doubtful if there was much if any storage of food in seasons of plenty for periods of want. Man learned in those days to fish as well as to hunt. There was probably very little exchange of goods. War was probably unknown or at least was not common, since few characteristic implements are found which suggest warfare.

2. VILLAGE CULTURES

Through the long period of the Paleolithic Age, man continually improved his implements. As previously pointed out, he learned to produce sharper edges on the cutting tools by flaking or chipping the stone. Although he had learned to use bone and horn implements and to fashion them into desired shapes and forms by grinding the bone or horn against sandstone or granite, it was not until the later period, the Neolithic Age, that man learned to apply grinding techniques to his stone implements. Since a much smoother edge could be secured by means of grinding, the tools were made more serviceable and more efficient. Not only was the efficiency of existing implements increased, but new tools and new techniques were invented and adopted.

The most important of the new tools were related to the new techniques used in carrying on the activities of the groups. The more important of these tools were the following: weapons, which were usually more carefully fashioned than the tools used in production; the digging stick, which later evolved into the spade; the hoe in its simplest form; a stick with a forked and pointed end resembling a long-handled pick, which later evolved into the plough; the sickle, at first a series of carefully sharpened pieces of flint set to form a saw-toothed row along the slender part of one side of a curved piece of wood or of bone; and the quern, two flat rocks used to grind the grain.

a. *Food supply.* During the Neolithic Age, domestication of animals and cultivation of plants were added to man's ways of providing for his material needs. How man first came to domesticate animals is unknown. Likewise the reasons for man's beginning to cultivate plants are lost in time. The two practices do not always go together; many groups of people, like the early Hebrews and modern Mongols, had domesticated animals, but did not practice the cultivation of plants. Other peoples cultivated plants but had few if any domesticated animals; examples of this practice can be found among certain American

Indians who had garden plots where the people grew a portion of their food, but had only the dog as a domesticated animal.

The first animals were domesticated probably in Asia. Among these were the dog, sheep, cow, pig, donkey, cat, and horse. It is a general characteristic of domesticated animals that they are useful to man, that they thrive under the conditions of domestication, that they breed freely in domestication, and that they show definite biological changes from their wild forms.

The cultivation of plants probably also originated in Asia. The earliest cultivated plants were barley, wheat, millet, oats, rye, apples, pears, nuts, berries, and grapes. With plants as with animals, man cares only for those which are of recognized value to him. During their period of cultivation, plants have changed to such an extent that the wild forms can hardly be recognized as the parent stocks of the cultivated varieties.

With the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants, the supply of essential material goods became more abundant, more regular, and more varied. Peoples who cultivated plots of ground had a much more secure supply of food than those who did not. As Dixon and Eberhart say, "Domesticated animals and cultivation of plants are two of the cornerstones upon which civilization rests. Our present industrial civilization would be impossible without them." [1] With the increased quantity and greater security in the food supply, the human population increased. The fact that there were greater numbers of individuals within given areas brought about changes in the organization of groups. The small kinship groups became much larger aggregates of individuals, with comparatively large numbers of families living within the narrow confines of village areas. Instead of small numbers of individuals dwelling in natural shelters, such as recesses beneath overhanging cliffs and in caverns, large numbers of individuals of the Neolithic period began dwelling in family groups clustered together along the edges of forests, on rivers, and on the shores of lakes. Remains of the early villages are to be found widely distributed throughout Europe; several hundred "pile-village" sites have been discovered in Switzerland alone.[2]

[1] Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economic and Cultural Change*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1938, p. 85.

[2] The pile-village is so called because the dwellings were constructed on piles — poles driven into the ground to serve as foundations for the houses — over or near bodies of water or swamps. These dwellings were built in rectangular shape. Often a comparatively large number of such structures were to be found in a village.

b. *Clothing and shelter.* Although the skins of animals were still widely used as clothing, the domestication of sheep and the cultivation of flax introduced textiles — wool and linen fibers — as new material from which wearing apparel could be fashioned. The people of the Neolithic period first learned to weave reeds, vines, small branches, and leather thongs into mats and baskets, then later learned the use of textiles in making clothing. Spinning probably developed in response to the need for fishing lines and other cords stronger than the leather thongs which they had formerly used. Thus it can be seen that the production of cloth woven from wool or from vegetable fibers came from the application of already known and used techniques.

The people of the Neolithic Age constructed forms of shelter which varied with differences in geographical conditions. In the pile village, the houses were built on posts over bodies of water; in regions of high, well-drained land, pit houses were to be found; and elsewhere, at a somewhat later period, the post house appeared. The pit dwelling was constructed in and over a flat-bottomed pit of six to ten feet in diameter and from one to two feet in depth. The walls of the house were strengthened by the excavation, and the height of the structure was thereby reduced so that it could more easily withstand severe windstorms. The post house, which was larger than the pit dwelling, was constructed by driving large posts or logs into the ground at regular intervals. Between the posts was a trellised framework which was plastered with mud on the inside and outside. This type of structure



FIGURE 14. PILE VILLAGES

On the left is a prehistoric (Neolithic) Swiss lake dwelling; on the right, a modern pile village (Borneo).

was rectangular in shape with dimensions up to twenty by thirty feet. The building was sometimes divided by a partition into two rooms, one of which was used, sometimes as the sleeping quarters of the human occupants of the house, but more often as the stable for the domesticated animals. The other room was the living quarters and contained a large stone hearth. A hole in the roof in both the pit dwelling and the post house served to draw the smoke out of the dwelling.

An interesting feature of both the pit dwelling and the post house was the food pit — a hole about three feet in diameter and five or six feet in depth. The food pit provides mute evidence that the population had reached the stage of development where provisions for future needs were made.

c. *Occupations.* In the earlier stone age, division of labor was largely on the basis of sex. In the village cultures, more specialized occupations were to be found. In all the villages wherein domesticated animals were depended on for food and other goods, there were herders to care for the animals. In the groups which practiced horticulture there were tillers of the soil. There were individuals who made the customary tools; there were the pottery makers; there were those who mined the flint and other stone from which the tools were made. Especially in those villages which were fortunate enough to have access to quarries where the stone for tools could be obtained,[3] certain individuals carried on trade with other groups. There were those who protected the workers and their goods, namely, warriors;[4] and there were

[3] The basic material used in making tools and weapons during the period under consideration was stone. Flint was the most prized of all rock for use in making all types of implements, but granite was also extensively used. In areas having deposits of the desired rock, mining was carried on by means of picks made of deer horn and flint Shafts of the ancient mines are still to be found in Belgium, Holland, and other parts of Europe. In some cases the shafts reach a depth of thirty to forty feet.

In order to avoid the useless weight of stone before it was transported to the people who would use it, the materials were cut or polished into the desired form and shape at or near the mines. From there the tools fashioned from the stone were carried to distant places Trade routes were established to supply distant groups with stone tools and weapons. These trade routes represent what is probably the earliest attempt to transport goods for the sake of trade.

[4] With the development of villages with their domesticated animals, cultivated fields, stored food and other goods, the need for protection, not from the wild beasts, but from groups of human beings arose. Some groups found it easier, more thrilling, and more satisfactory to attack the workers and to secure the necessary goods by plundering the villagers than to settle down and actually produce such commodities. The constant threat of attacks led to the formation of fighting classes within the villages, and to development of military weapons and techniques. Villages were often located with an eye to their ease of defense against sudden attack.

those who ministered to the spiritual needs of the group, the religious leaders. In all probability, the majority of the village men carried on more than one activity and were skilled in more than one occupation. For example, the tiller of the soil also probably made, with the aid of his household, baskets, mats, and clothing as need demanded. Likewise he may have shaped stone, bone, horn, and such other materials as he used, into necessary tools. A portion of his time was no doubt used in making pottery and in decorating it according to the custom of his particular group. Even though the different tasks were often performed by the same individual, there were greater opportunities for the development of special skills than in the former period. The warriors and the religious leaders were individuals who were not expected to engage in the customary productive activities. The needs of members of these groups were supplied by those whom the warriors protected and whom the religious leaders served through the medium of religion. Division of labor on the basis of sex continued through the Neolithic Age and is still to be found in the basic pattern of all cultures of the present.

3. ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRIMITIVE MAN

Many of the inventions and discoveries made by primitive man are basic to modern civilization. Probably the greatest of all discoveries was the use of fire. Through the use of fire the quality of man's food was improved; he could live more comfortably in cold regions; fire served to protect him from the wild beasts which would do him harm; later, fire served to harden and thus improve the quality of his pottery; and still later it was used in the refining of metals.

As has already been mentioned, Neolithic man domesticated animals and cultivated plants. These were steps necessary for the growth of a civilized society. With the domestication of animals and the cultivation of land, ownership of property in the form of the animals, land, and the products of the two, came into being. Probably there was, even in the village culture, little private or individual ownership of such property; rather the group held in common the property right or ownership.

B. *Feudalism*

1. RURAL ECONOMY; FORMS OF AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT

Rural settlements are of two general types: the isolated farm and the

The characteristic differences between the two modes of settlement are as follows: (1) In the isolated farm type of settlement, the tiller lives on or very near the arable land on which he produces his crops. In the village, the farmers live at a distance from the land which they are cultivating; in some instances the villages are miles away from the farms. (2) On the isolated farm, there is less opportunity for social contacts outside the home. The individual members have few associates aside from the members of the immediate family. In the villages, the residents are in almost continuous association with one another; consequently their social life is very much more satisfying. The two types of settlement are similar in their vocational interests; both are agricultural and depend upon agriculture for the necessaries of life, either through actual production of the economic goods needed, or in the production of commodities to be exchanged for other needed goods.

a. *The manor.* Since the great majority of Europeans lived in agricultural villages — manors — during the Middle Ages, a description of that form of organization is worthy of study. No one knows exactly how the manorial organization evolved from the earlier agricultural villages of the Germanic, Slavic, and Gallic people. One of the most widely used explanations is that the manor evolved in response to the workers' need of security or protection. In order to have defense against warlike hordes, it is said, the farmers would appeal for protection to some knight, nobleman, king, or religious organization. In return for protection, the farmers in time became unfree tillers under the direction of a lord.[5]

(1) *Physical organization of the manor.* The manor was a unit in economic production. It was the center and the circumference of the activities of the greater part of the population living within its bounds. The manor varied in size from just a few hundred to several thousand acres. On a manor — taking the English manor at the time of the Norman Conquest as an example — were to be found: the manor house — a great well-fortified castle, if the manor was rich, or a much less pretentious dwelling, if the manor was small and produced little revenue; the church; a mill, where grain was ground into flour; and a village, a group of buildings clustered together along a street or road. Surrounding the village were tracts of arable land, meadow, pasture and woods.

[5] *Cf.* N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture*, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1925, pp. 81–82.

The village population averaged, during the eleventh century, from sixty to one hundred and fifty persons.

> [The houses were] poor and dirty, not always made of stone, and never, (till the fifteenth century) of brick, but built of posts wattled and plastered with clay or mud, with an upper story of poles reached by a ladder. The articles of furniture would be very coarse and few, being necessarily of home manufacture; a few rafters or poles overhead, a bacon-rack, and agricultural tools being the most conspicuous objects. Chimneys were unknown, except in the manor-houses, and so too were windows, and the floor was of bare earth. Outside the door was the "mixen," a collection of every kind of manure and refuse, which must have rendered the village street alike unsavory, unsightly and unwholesome.[6]

The arable land was of two classes, the demesne, which belonged to the lord outright and was worked for him by the villagers, and the land cultivated by the peasants or villagers for themselves. The land held by the peasants was divided into strips, as is indicated in Figure 15. A peasant did not hold in one plot the land which he cultivated but instead held narrow strips which were distributed among similar strips cultivated by his neighbors No man worked the same plots of ground year after year. At regular intervals, lots were drawn and the land redistributed among the peasants. The arable land was divided into three general classes to allow for rotation of crops: One field might be planted in wheat or in rye; another planted in oats, barley, beans, or peas; and the third, under the three field system, allowed to stand fallow — unplanted. By remaining untilled one year in three, the land was restored to a portion of its former fertility.

On the manor there was a pasture which was frequently known as "commons" and was free to the peasants. Here a fixed number of cattle belonging to each family was permitted to graze. Hay could be cut by the villagers on the "commons" for winter feed. After the crops were harvested, the cultivated lands often became commons. The woodlands were also free in the sense that the peasants could gather wood for fuel there. The right to pasture hogs and cattle within the woods was also held by the peasants. The timber from the area belonged to the lord.

In addition to the meadow belonging to the lord, and the pasture and the woods used by the villagers, some manors had "wastes" — marshes which were unsuited to cultivation — which afforded pasture

[6] H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920, pp. 81–82. Reprinted by permission.

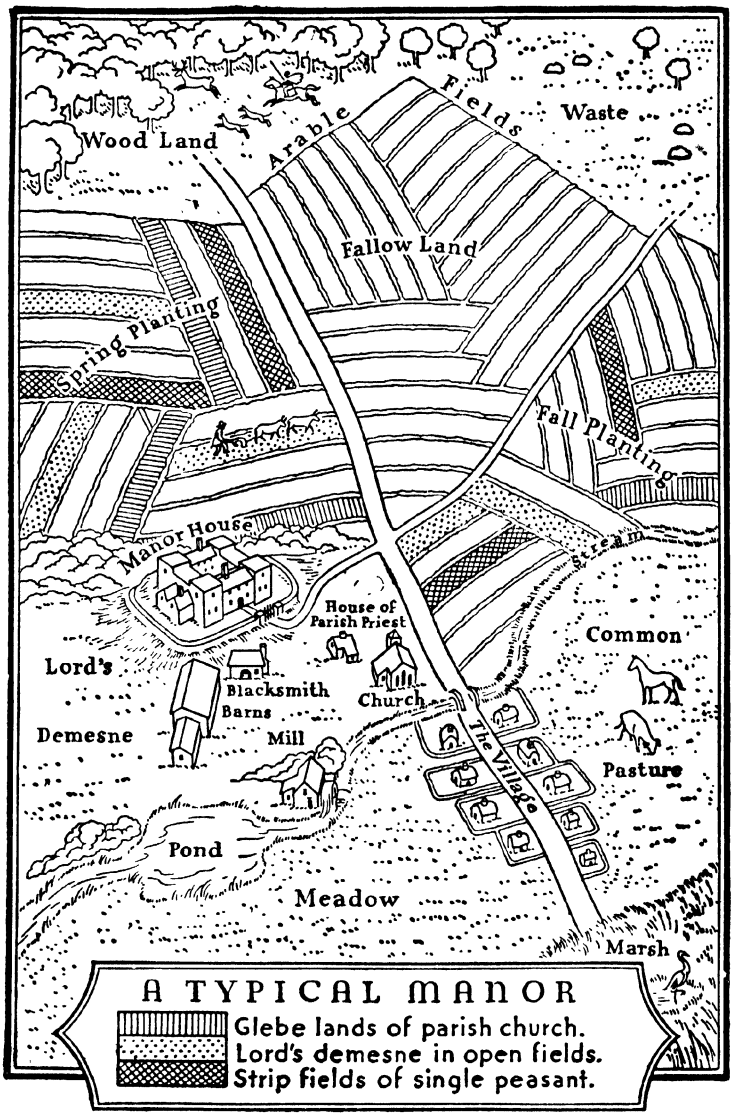


FIGURE 15. PLAN OF A MANOR OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN EUROPE

for the livestock of the villagers. On this waste, also, the peasants were permitted to gather "turf and bracken" for fuel and for winter fodder for their livestock.

(2) *Social organization of the manor.* There were four classes of people in the English manor at the time of the Norman Conquest: (1) At the top of the social scale in the manor were the nobles and the clergy, who between them owned large and small manors. The most important person of this class was the king, who was the greatest landowner in England and the man from whom, in theory, all nobles received their land. (2) Next in the social pyramid stood the villeins, who made up about 38 per cent of the population; their holdings differed in size, but averaged about thirty acres of arable land. The villeins also had houses in the village. (3) Below the villeins were the cottars or bordars, a class distinct from the villeins and of lower order; each of them held from five to ten acres of land, together with a cottage in the village; because they did not usually possess a plough nor a team of oxen, it was necessary for them to cooperate with their neighbors to get their ploughing done. The cottars formed about 32 per cent of the population. (4) The lowest group socially were the slaves, who made up about 9 per cent of the population. Slavery in England disappeared within a century after the Norman Conquest, and the former slaves became merged with the cottars.

The chief characteristic of the groups below the nobles was that they were all subject to a lord, and all had land as tenants, except, of course, the slaves. They owed certain duties to the lord of the manor, but in return they possessed certain privileges which were respected by all. Gibbins states that the tenants were of two classes, the free tenants and the unfree tenants or serfs. The free tenants paid a fixed money or a fixed labor rent, could transfer their holdings or even leave the manor if they desired, were subject to the lord's jurisdiction in matters of law and military service, and constituted, at the time of the Norman Conquest, about four per cent of the total population of England.[7] The unfree tenants — serfs — were bound to the soil and could not leave it without their lord's permission. They could not enter the church to become priests without the consent of the lord. They were not, however, subject to military service. Certain serf rights even the lords of the manors were forced to recognize: Serfs could not be put off the land; they had the use of the commons for pasturage and of the wood-

[7] *Cf.* Gibbins, *ibid.*, p. 76.

lands for gathering fuel; in fact, they had a considerable degree of security. It was possible for a serf to purchase the remission of his services and to become a "free tenant." He might also become "free" by residing in a town for a year and a day, if he were not forced by his lord to return to the village during that time.[8]

The serf paid his lord in two ways for the use of his land: (1) by rendering a certain amount of work (two or three days a week, or in rare instances, as many as five); and (2) by paying a certain rent, either in money or goods or both (a quantity of wheat, oats, a certain number of hens, geese, and so on).

The cottars had such small tracts of land that it was impossible for them to grow enough food for their families. They therefore made up for this deficiency by working for their lord or for other villagers for pay in money or produce. They were seldom paid by the day, but by the job or by the year. Labor earnings were low. The average wage for a laborer for a year, according to Thorold Rogers, amounted to two pounds and fifteen shillings per year. His wife and two children could earn by piece work enough to bring their entire earnings up to about four pounds per year. Of course living costs were likewise very low.[9]

(3) *Life in the manor.* Many modern writers refer to life on the manor as very unhappy. The serfs are pictured as little better than slaves whose life was very hard. It is true that their houses and implements — furnishings, tools, and so forth — were very crude. All serfs lived in the midst of squalor and filth. Their food was coarse and poor in quality, especially in the winter when no fruits or vegetables were available. Livestock was so poor, because of inadequate winter fodder, that fresh meat was seldom available for human consumption. The chief foods in the winter were salted meat and grains. Consequently, scurvy was an ever-present threat to the inhabitants. During the long winter nights artificial lights were very few because of the poverty of the population generally. To people living under the conditions of modern civilization, life as it was lived in the medieval manor would be intolerable. However, before evaluating the lot of the serf as unhappy, one must take into account that the serfs knew of no other way of living. They had a degree of security. They had an abun-

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–78.

[9] *Cf.* J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. London, 1884.

dance of food — such as it was — most of the time. Their clothing was coarse and not sufficient for cold weather, but they had experienced no other kind of clothing.

The manor was a social and economic unit with a high degree of self-sufficiency. The villagers produced the goods which they consumed. Although there was some intercourse carried on with the outside world by means of the fairs held in the towns and through the visits of occasional travelers (peddlers), each manor was in the main a little world unto itself.

As is to be expected, the villagers were united in their religion. There was but one church. They had social differentiation as has been indicated, but there was not, probably, such a great social distance between the serfs and the lord of the manor or his bailiff (a man acting in the lord's stead when the lord did not live in the manor house) as is found today between most laborers and their employers.

(4) *The decline of the manor.* The manor served as the dominant social unit in Europe through the period of the middle ages. The modern agricultural village of many European countries has evolved directly from the early manor. In England, the manor was at its height during the thirteenth century. Its decline started with the fourteenth century.

(a) *Factors in the manor's decline*

(i) *Trade and growth of towns.* Many circumstances and events which resulted in the decline of the manor in England had their beginning before the fourteenth century. The early history of England is a history of invasion by foreign people, namely the Saxons, the Danes, and finally the Normans. Where there is travel, there is bound to be some trade. Although the manor is spoken of as self-sufficient, there was no doubt a certain amount of exchange of goods within the country and between other countries. For instance, in a history of early England by Henry of Huntingdon published in A.D. 1155, mention is made of trade with Germany — exports of lead, tin, fish, meat, fat cattle, and wool in raw form to be woven in Flanders.[10]

The Crusades had an important part in developing trade in Europe and in extending it to the Near East and later to the Far East. Trade had an important influence on the manor. Through the influence of trade, markets were provided for surplus goods which the serfs might produce. In return for the articles they sold, money was received.

[10] Quoted from Gibbins, *ibid.*, p. 100.

By careful management and thrift, the peasant might commute his rent to cash instead of making payments in kind. This commutation of services rendered him more independent and encouraged him to strive harder and to save his earnings for advantages to be enjoyed later. Thus there was present the motive for the growth of capitalism.

Before any considerable surplus could be produced from farming, changes in the forms of cultivation were necessary. Greater returns on the effort expended had to be secured. Increased production could not be accomplished under the old system of land tenure — strip farming — which offered little incentive to improve the traditional practices in agriculture. The strips of the lord and of the tenant had to be consolidated so that the workers would feel encouraged to build up the fertility of their soil in order to receive greater benefits from it.

Trade cannot become important in any country without the existence of towns. As the internal and inter-regional trade grew, commercial towns developed. These towns offered markets to the manorial farmers and places of refuge to the serf seeking to escape from serfdom.

Wool was an important item of trade in England from its early history. In the medieval period, the villagers made homespun garments for their own use, but the nobles to a great extent wore clothes made from textiles woven in Flanders. Later, in the fourteenth century, Flemish weavers settled in England and introduced fine cloth-making there. With that introduction, the textile industry grew apace, and trade in manufactured woolen garments took the place of the trade in raw wool.

With the expansion of trade, the growth of towns, and the development of the textile industries, a new social class became increasingly important insofar as their numbers are concerned. This class was made up of those who worked for wages instead of tilling the soil for their livelihood. These persons, of course, were drawn largely from the manors, just as today the population of the cities is drawn to a large extent from the rural sections.

(ii) *Black Death.* Disasters are often important factors in bringing about social changes. This was true in the decline of the manor. In 1348 a great epidemic came from Asia to Italy; and from there, it spread to Western Europe and to England, borne probably by traveling merchants. By the time the plague had swept across England, a third to a half of the total population of the country (according to various estimates) had perished. Villages and towns alike were left without

workers. In order to prevent the rise of workers' wages, Parliament passed laws known as the Statutes of Laborers which made it a crime for an employer to pay more than the wages which prevailed before the plague. At the same time, it was made unlawful for an employee to accept more than that amount. The laws were contrary to the economic principles of supply and demand and were disregarded. Wages were raised.

Some nobles, in order to secure tenants for their land, released them from the payment of rents. Commutation of rent payments in money instead of "in kind" became general, and the emancipation of the serf was an attendant circumstance. Rents on agricultural land declined to about one third their former level. Profits from agriculture were wiped out. Wages, on the other hand, were raised materially and the cost of living did not increase. As a result the general conditions of the serf and the town laborer improved for a period of time.

2. URBAN ECONOMY

a. *Early trade and specialization.* Specialization appeared early in the economic evolution of modern society. Activities which required a higher degree of skill or training, and occupations which called for special tools or machinery were among the first to become the fields of specialization. The miller was an important person on every medieval manor. He received the grain grown by the peasants, and for a wage in the form of a portion of the product, he ground into flour or meal the wheat, rye, or whatever grain the peasants had. Likewise on nearly every manor, there were smiths to work metal into tools of various forms. In order for an individual to be a miller or a smith, it was necessary that he have, in addition to the needed skills, certain tools which were beyond the ability of the ordinary peasants to own.

b. *Handicraft.* With the growth of specialization, certain forms of production took the form of handicraft work. The term "handicraft" means literally "hand-work," but the term was applied to a specialized type of hand-work which was not performed by the worker for his own consumption but for someone else who made a money payment for the work. An example of the operation of the handicraft system is an individual's employment of a tailor to make a suit of clothes. On the order of his customer, the tailor provides the skilled labor and the tools for making the suit. Under the handicraft system, the worker became skilled in his specialty and could not only make a superior

quality of goods, but because of his specialized skill, could also work faster and make more of the commodity.

The handicraft system brought about important changes in the lives of the people involved. Prior to the advent of the handicraft system the family, the tribe, the clan, the village, or whatever were the primary units into which the particular societies were divided, controlled both the production of the raw materials and the manufacturing or processing of them into forms suitable for immediate consumption. With the growth of handicraft, the production of raw materials became a specialized activity and was separated from the manufacture of the goods into finished products; for example, the farmer raised the raw materials — flax, hides, wool; the miner produced the metal; and the lumberman sawed the boards; while the craftsmen secured the goods from the primary producers and worked them into finished products ready for use by the consumer. Since the craftsmen had skilled labor and received returns on the use of their capital (tools and equipment which they owned), their returns represented in reality both wages and interest.

c. *The town.* The handicraft system was peculiar to the town. Such a system could not have been developed nor could it have maintained itself in an agricultural village or in a nomadic society. Furthermore, the handicraft system was necessarily made up of small business units, for otherwise there could not be the direct relationship between the worker and the purchaser of the goods which is characteristic of the handicraft system. As the handicraft system was based on specialization, so the town was dependent upon specialization for its very existence. The very nature of life in the close physical proximity of person to person, such as was characteristic of the town, precluded any possibility of complete self-sufficiency or of even a high degree of self-sufficiency. On the contrary the dwellers in towns depended upon others for the production of raw materials while they engaged in the specialized activities of the towns in which they dwelt.

(1) *Non-economic factors in the locations of towns.* Towns came into existence before the handicraft system developed. Certain towns were established for the performance of specific functions. A physical location favorable for strong military defense served as a suitable location for a town whose chief function was defense. Around such a town might accumulate other activities to such an extent, in fact, that its original function might become dwarfed by the importance of the other

activities. In ancient times, many towns were built on hills because such a location made defense easier. Athens, Corinth, and Rome were such cities. Sometimes towns were built on easily defended islands. Such were Venice, Paris, and Stockholm. In some areas, towns were built around religious shrines or around religious institutions such as monasteries. In towns built around the religious shrines, the main function was at first religious, but other functions might in time become more important just as they did in towns whose chief function was at first defense. Towns were also built as political centers. Seats of government always attract a number of people. The center of political control is invariably located in some town or city.

(2) *Economic factors in the location of towns.* Although certain towns emerged for non-economic reasons — the performance of specialized activities other than trade and manufacture — the majority grew because of their favorable location for trade (local or international) or for manufacture of goods from raw materials which were available to the people in the particular center. In all towns, the citizens were engaged principally in other pursuits than those of primary production. For that reason, trade with the outlying districts became important as a means of supplying the primary needs of the town dwellers. In turn, the villagers who supplied farm products to the town dwellers came to depend more and more upon the town tradesmen or craftsmen for manufactured goods. Consequently, the activities of the villagers became largely limited to the growth of agricultural products.

Many towns grew from villages which were suitably located for supplying other near-by villages with specialized types of goods and services. Where the trade-and-service area was limited in extent, the towns remained small, but where the towns were situated on navigable rivers, at harbors or at breaks in systems of transportation where commerce was changed from water to land transportation, the towns were likely to grow large through trade with people living in distant places. In such favorable locations arose great commercial cities such as Paris, London, Amsterdam, Danzig, and many others.

Usually, according to no particular plan, the towns developed and grew into cities. Growth was largely a matter of conforming to a customary pattern. Since the early towns were built when it was necessary for them to be rather easily defended, they were frequently fortified by walls and other artificial means of defense. The necessity for fortification required that the early towns be as compact as possible.

Buildings were crowded close together and streets were very narrow. There was little chance for sunlight to reach many parts of the crowded centers; sewerage and garbage disposal was most primitive; and conditions in the early towns were generally favorable for the frequent spread of disease into epidemics.

d. *Guilds.* People who have a common interest or a common bond, tend to associate together and actually to cluster together in one geographical space. Among the early tradesmen and among those who engaged in specialized crafts, as well as among the workers in religion, there were tendencies for those who had similar interests to group themselves into voluntary associations. The associations were, in the beginning, probably designed to afford mutual protection and thus to provide for the common welfare of the workers or tradesmen. Such associations are recorded as having taken place in early Greece, Rome, and Constantinople. In Germanic cultures, there are references to "guilds" even among the early Saxons of the ninth century in England. These early groups were formed for religious and charitable purposes. In addition to the early religious guilds, there were other guilds aimed at affording mutual assistance in case of violence, wrong, or false accusation.

(1) *Merchant guilds.* Besides the religious guilds and those affording mutual assistance to the members, there were organizations of tradesmen into merchant guilds, which appeared in the growing towns and cities about the eleventh century. Merchants grouped themselves into caravans and traveled together from one market to another.[11] These groups selected their own leaders, made their own rules, provided for their mutual defense against all dangers, and maintained a fund for the care of their poor and sick. At first the merchant guilds were doubtless voluntary associations. Shortly after their beginning, however, they began to acquire a monopoly of the trade of a city or region, or a monopoly of some branch of that trade. The London Hanse in Flanders, for example, was an association of several cities' guilds whose members had acquired exclusive rights to trade in England. Individual merchants found it increasingly difficult to carry on business in competition with the guild members, and more and more the competition disappeared until a commercial monopoly by the guild members came to be recognized by the feudal lords and by the town authorities,

[11] *Cf. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, vol. VII, pp. 204–224.

not only as an existing fact but as an acknowledged right. The commercial activities of the guilds entered so extensively into the life of the towns that the majority of the townsmen became members.

The functions and activities of the merchant guilds were as follows: (1) to aid the residents of towns in maintaining their existing rights and liberties; (2) to furnish organized strength to the towns in their struggles against feudal lords; (3) to protect the commercial interests of the members of the guilds and of their respective towns; (4) to regulate the town markets to their own advantage and protection; and (5) to shield members of the guilds against such unfair practices as the use of unfair weights and measures, the cornering of a market through someone's securing a controlling share of a commodity, and the unfair advantage which would result if someone purchased goods before the goods reached the market.

(2) *Craft guilds.* Within less than a century after the appearance of the merchant guilds, the craft guilds came into being. Whereas the membership of the merchant guilds was made up largely of those engaged in trade, the craft guilds included the individuals engaged in industrial pursuits. Associated in more or less independent guilds were weavers, cobblers, skinners, tanners, pinners, pewterers, armorers, cutlers, joiners, goldsmiths, and many other occupational groups, whose particular activity is indicated by their name. In the large cities there were a great many separate craft guilds by the fifteenth century; for instance, in 1422 there were at least 110 such guilds in London alone.[12] The craft guilds, as the merchant guilds, sought to obtain monopolies in their respective trades for their members. In some towns no person was permitted to follow a craft who was not a member of the guild. Between the guilds themselves, there was jealous supervision of activities lest one guild might encroach on the field of another. Cobblers were not allowed to make new shoes, whereas shoemakers agreed to mend no old ones.

The aims of the guilds were twofold — to protect the workers in the crafts, and to protect the purchaser against inferior workmanship. To protect the craftsmen, a virtual monopoly was secured for the guild members. To protect the purchaser and at the same time to safeguard the reputation of the guild, a superior grade of workmanship was insisted upon. Standards for the quality of materials used in the crafts were also established. Production of an inferior article subjected

[12] Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

a workman to severe condemnation by the guild members. In order to secure standard grades of goods, the guilds regulated the operation of the craftsmen. The length of the working day, the wages paid, and the prices charged were all regulated. No workman was permitted to injure his co-workers and competitors by so improving methods of production that he could produce goods more rapidly and at less cost.

In order to insure a constant supply of skilled workmen, a system of apprenticeship was established. At the top of the system were the masters who owned the raw materials and the tools used in the operations. At the bottom were the apprentices who were initiated into the trade under the directions of the masters. The length of the period of apprenticeship varied and tended to grow longer and longer as the guilds became more powerful. Between the masters and the apprentices, there were the journeymen, who had completed their apprenticeship but were not yet masters.

As is always likely in any rigid organization wherein certain individuals attain higher status than others, the ones with the most power set up increasingly difficult obstacles to prevent those below them from encroaching. The master craftsmen became very jealous of their positions and imposed regulations which made it increasingly difficult for an individual to rise from apprentice to journeyman and finally to master craftsman. In the course of time, the privilege of being a master craftsman became reserved to a large extent to those belonging to the families of masters.

3. COMMERCE AND TRADE

a. *Obstacles to medieval trade.* Conditions which prevailed during the medieval period, particularly in England, did act to prevent the development of trade to any considerable extent. Among the most powerful of the forces operating to prevent extension of trade were the following: (1) the manorial system, wherein the majority of the people lived a rather self-sufficient type of existence; (2) the guild system, which made for monopolies on trade within particular areas and tended to restrict the expansion of that trade; (3) the backwardness of industry, especially in England, so that relatively few types of commodities were produced for trade and those few not suited to the desires of people in other countries; (4) the repression of individual initiative and enterprise by the guilds in the interest of the collective welfare of the guild members; (5) the levying by feudal lords of feudal tolls on all goods

which moved through their territories; (6) the lack of a standard medium of exchange (feudal lords issuing coins which were sometimes greatly debased by the use of a disproportionate quantity of alloy to the amount of gold or silver); (7) poor transportation facilities (the roads being few in number and very poor in quality); (8) the prevalence of robbers and pirates who infested the existing avenues of trade; and (9) the fact that trade by sea was carried on in vessels which were poorly equipped to travel far from land.

b. *Types of trade*

(1) *Local.* As has already been pointed out, certain trade was regularly carried on between the residents of towns and the villagers living in near-by manors. This type of trade was for the most part carried on in markets which were to be found in the squares of the towns. The monopolies held by the guilds in the towns, and the requirement that craftsmen should buy their stocks of raw materials, aided in the growth of town markets as centers of local trade.

The town markets were held at regular intervals — weekly or semi-monthly. To these markets, the surplus goods of the manors were



FIGURE 16. MEDIEVAL MARKET

brought to be exchanged, usually through the medium of barter, for such finished products as leather boots, leggings, woven and knit goods, harnesses, cooking utensils, and other items for use in the home or for personal adornment. The transactions carried on in the markets were strictly supervised by the town authorities.

(2) *Inter-regional trade.* The term "inter-regional" is used here for the reason that there were no nations in the modern sense during the medieval period, and trade between people living in different parts of the world at that time could not be referred to as international. Neither could trade be called foreign, for inhabitants from towns within the same geographic regions were looked upon as foreign in the other towns. Inter-regional trade refers to that trade which was carried on between people living in different geographic regions such as England and Flanders, England and Genoa, Venice and Constantinople.

(a) *Crusades.* The religious wars which began during the latter part of the eleventh century and lasted for more than two hundred years constituted one of the most important factors in the development of inter-regional trade. These religious wars, ostensibly for the purpose of recapturing the Holy Land from the Moslems, were known as the Crusades. The Crusades resulted in the development of inter-regional trade because people of differing cultures when brought together borrow certain culture traits from one another, learn to use the new traits as their own, and begin to desire the same things. As the soldiers of the Christian forces moved east, they came in contact with the culture of the Byzantine Empire centered at Constantinople, and with the culture of the Moslems of Asia Minor. The Europeans readily adopted many traits of the countries visited, and from the Levantine towns there arose an export trade of such goods as lemons, sugar, rice, apricots, figs, and dates. Cotton goods became as important an item of Mediterranean trade as woolen goods were in the trade between England and Flanders.

In order to carry on inter-regional trade to any considerable extent, ships were necessary to transport goods by water. The Crusades had important effects on the increase in number of vessels available for carrying goods. In order to reach the Near East from Europe, two routes were open to the Crusaders. They might take the long overland trail through the Balkans of Southeastern Europe to Constantinople and then to Asia Minor, or they might embark on ships at Italian ports such as Genoa and Venice, and make the trip with much greater ease by sailing from Italy through the Mediterranean Sea to Asia Minor. Many of the Crusaders chose the sea route. Transporting soldiers and religious pilgrims to the Holy Land came to be an important and profitable business for the traders of the Italian cities. These merchants increased the number of their ships to meet the need for transportation. In order that the ships which carried soldiers to

the Near East should not return empty, they were loaded with commodities available in the eastern ports to be sold in the European countries.

With the growth of commerce, trade developed not only between the Near East and Mediterranean ports, but between the Mediterranean ports and the ports of northern and western Europe and of England. Such commodities as wool and woolen goods, leather, lumber, tin, and lead were taken from England, Flanders, and Northern Europe to be exchanged in the ports of the Black Sea, Egypt, and the northern coast of Africa for spices, silks, cotton, cutlery, jewels, and other merchandise from China, India, and Persia.

The effects of the Crusades were not only to bring about development of trade between different parts of the then known world, but also to set forces in motion which helped to cause the destruction of feudalism and bring about the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Modern Age. These effects were produced largely by the contacts which the Europeans had with different culture groups, by the resulting culture diffusion (the spread of culture traits of a visited people into the culture of the invaders), and by the changes which came through the diffusion of Eastern culture among the European populations.

(b) *Fairs.* Important aids to the development of commerce during the medieval period were the fairs. As an institution, the fair dates back into classical times. (Gibbins states that the origin of the city of Glasgow may be traced to the fair held at the shrine of St. Ninian in A.D. 570.[13]) But fairs did not become important as centers of inter-regional trade until the medieval period. In the larger towns and cities fairs were held at regular intervals, usually once or twice a year, and lasted for periods of several days or weeks. Usually the different fairs featured certain specialized commodities, and people would come from the near-by villages and towns to secure the goods offered for sale; for example, the Buford Fair specialized in sheep, the Bartholomew Fair of London in cattle, the Yarmouth Fair in herring. (Some authorities state that this fair at Yarmouth was the only fishing fair in England and perhaps in the world.)

Merchants who took goods for sale usually paid a general fee for admission to the fair and for space to display their wares. This fee exempted them from all local and royal taxes. The fees varied from fair to fair usually in accordance with the size of the fair and the length of time it lasted.

[13] H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920, p. 42.

The Stourbridge Fair, near Cambridge, was the greatest of all English fairs. Gibbins describes this fair as follows:

> It was of European renown, and lasted three weeks, being opened on the 18th of September. Its importance was due to the fact that it was within easy reach of the ports of the east coast, such as Lynn, Colchester, and Blakeney, which at that time were very accessible and much frequented. Hither came the Venetian and Genoese merchants, with stores of Eastern produce — silks and velvets, cotton, and precious stones. The Flemish merchants brought the fine linens and cloths of Bruges, Liege, Ghent, and other manufacturing towns. Frenchmen and Spaniards were present with their wines; Norwegian sailors with tar and pitch; and the mighty traders of the Hansa towns exposed for sale furs and amber for the rich, iron and copper for the farmers, and flax for the housewives, while homely fustian, buckram, wax, herrings, and canvas mingled incongruously in their booths with strange far-off Eastern spices and ornaments. And in return the English farmers — or traders on their behalf — carried to the fair hundreds of huge wool-sacks, wherewith to clothe the nations of Europe, or barley for the Flemish breweries, with corn and horses and cattle also. Lead was brought from the mines of Derbyshire, and tin from Cornwall; even some iron from Sussex, but this was accounted inferior to the imported metal. All these wares were, as at Winchester, exposed in stalls and tents in long streets, some named after various nations that congregated there, and others after the kind of goods on sale. This vast fair lasted down to the eighteenth century in unabated vigour. . . .[14]

As the trade between countries expanded through the rise of such commercial agencies as the Hanseatic League, the importance of the fairs as commercial institutions declined.

(c) *The Hanseatic League.* In the towns bordering the Baltic Sea, the merchant guild, which in England lost its power and was largely displaced by the craft guilds, continued as a powerful force for the growth of trade among the Germanic towns and more distant centers. In these centers, trade was of greater importance than crafts, and consequently the organized merchants held their influence and controlled economic activities in their own interests.

Since travel by sea was perilous, merchants found it less hazardous to send out fleets of ships than single cargo vessels. In order to be able to equip and dispatch fleets of trading vessels with armed convoys, the merchants formed an association known as the Hanseatic League.

The Hanseatic League established "factories" in the important

[14] Gibbins, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Reprinted by permission.

centers of northern Europe such as London, and Novgorod, Russia. The "factories" were in reality only trading posts where agents of the League lived and carried on the operations of the organization.

The Hanseatic League made its appearance during the thirteenth century, and by the time it reached its height of power in the fourteenth century, it had fleets of ships plying the northern waters to such an extent that the League dominated not only the commercial activities within the region, but held the dominant military power as well.

The discovery of America was an important factor in the dissolution of the Hanseatic League although it had begun to break up even before that event.

C. *Summary*

Economic institutions evolved through various stages as the culture of human society developed. During the early stone ages, man was chiefly concerned with his immediate and direct physical needs. There was little storage of goods for future needs in the very early forms of human culture; exchange was almost non-existent; and there was specialization of occupation only on the basis of sex.

From life in the hunting pack, characteristic of the Paleolithic Age, man developed the village form of settlement wherein people dwelt in houses built by their own efforts instead of living in natural caves or under shelter provided by nature. Many new tools and weapons were introduced into the culture. Specialization through the division of labor came into being. Transportation, trade, and storage of goods were developed to some extent. The making of pottery, the weaving of baskets, mats, and clothing became important activities in the lives of the Neolithic people. Warfare became a part of the life of the villagers, and a portion of each group became defenders of the other members. A small number of individuals within each group served by ministering to the spiritual nature of their fellows. The quality of food, shelter, and clothing was improved, and the adequacy of the supply was increased. That man became more contented is indicated by the fact that he tended to settle in relatively permanent establishments where he could produce his economic goods by the more monotonous, less exciting, but more dependable activities associated with farming and herding.

During the medieval period, the majority of the population in Europe

lived in small agricultural village estates called manors. The chief characteristics of life in the manor were these: social stratification of the population with the lords or their agents at the top, the "bordars" or "cottars" at the bottom (after slavery had disappeared); and a self-sufficient type of agricultural production. In England, the manor served as the prevailing unit of production from before the time of the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 until well along in the fifteenth century.

The decline of the manor followed the growth of trade and the establishment and development of towns as centers of increasing commercial and industrial activities. The Black Death served to hasten the decline of the manors through the reduction of the population and the consequent increase in demand for workers in towns.

In order to protect the growing commerce, merchant guilds were established. Through the activities of the merchant guilds, trade with markets in certain regions became the exclusive right of certain regions or of particular branches of the trade. Thus trade was protected not only against dangers from pirates on the sea and robbers on the highways but against competition as well.

As the handicraft industries developed, individuals who were engaged in the particular crafts, united into craft guilds for mutual support and for regulating the output of the crafts. The craft guilds became very powerful and enjoyed virtual monopoly in their specific fields of operation until forces, operating within and outside the organizations, led to the weakening and eventual destruction of the system.

Trade, as it was carried on during the early period of its development was of two types, local and inter-regional. Local trade was carried on between towns and near-by villages. Inter-regional trade was trade conducted between people living in different geographical regions.

The important factors leading to the development and growth of inter-regional trade were crusaders, fairs, and commercial leagues, among the most important of which was the Hanseatic League.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Would you class the American Indians as belonging to the hunting culture stage of economic development at the coming of white men? to the village cultures? Explain.
2. Would the North American Indians probably have reached the pastoral stage of economic development had white men never invaded their realm? Explain your answer.
3. How did the food, clothing, and shelter of early man differ from that of modern man?
4. In what ways did the domestication of animals and the introduction of agriculture influence the division of labor in human society?
5. Describe the physical and social structure in the medieval manor.
6. How did the Crusades contribute to the downfall of the manor as an economic system?
7. Differentiate between the handicraft and the domestic systems.
8. What factors were important in the location and development of towns and cities?
9. What weaknesses appeared in the guild system which later led to its destruction?
10. What was the Hanseatic League? What part did it play in the development of trade?

CHAPTER 23

The Development of the Modern Economy

DURING THE PERIOD of the Middle Ages the attention of European society generally was directed toward attaining after death the rewards that would follow a "good" life in this world. Among people whose attention was focused on "other-worldliness" and among those who regarded life as a period during which the human victim was placed on trial in an evil world, one would hardly expect to find much consideration to making life more attractive and more pleasant; in fact efforts aimed at making man happier during this life were often actually regarded as sinful.

A. *Forces Leading to the Development of Capitalism*

With the close of the Middle Ages a new spirit came into being and spread throughout Europe. Its development had many causes: the growth of trade (as mentioned in the previous chapter); the extension of literacy to a much greater proportion of the European population through contacts with other peoples; the use of certain new culture traits such as the printing press and paper; and the rediscovery of the works of Greek scholars, especially those of Aristotle. With these changes came greater attention to life in this world. Greater value was placed on the individual, who came to be regarded as having certain rights which even the authority of the Church could not take away from him. As life came to be viewed not only as preparation for life after death, but as important in this world, people began to strive to improve their conditions. To some, improvement appeared to depend upon securing greater wealth in economic goods, for wealth was a source of power even in a world dominated by a hereditary aristocracy. From the desire for increased economic earnings, not for immediate consumption, but for the power and prestige wealth gave the owner, modern capitalism evolved.

1. NATURE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is the term used to describe an economic system which is based on the use of individual, privately owned economic surpluses for the purpose of securing material gain or profit from the sale or use of those surpluses in further production. The aim of an individual under the capitalistic system is to accumulate money not alone for the goods and services which he can secure by means of the money, but also for the purpose of receiving additional income from the services of his savings, that is, the earnings of capital. As Beard puts it, "It is a system of production, involving social relationships in which the primary object is the gain of profit through exchange." [1]

In summarizing the essential factors in the development of capitalism Beard goes on to say:

> When any capitalistic system is analyzed into component parts, it will be found that a certain intellectual climate, as well as technological conditions, is essential to its facile development. Concentrating on the production of goods for profit, capitalism calls for the predominance of secular interests in intellectual life, emphasis on science, business, government, economy, commerce and other related branches of thought. Using the state to maintain order, advance its enterprises in foreign markets and protect its most distant commerce, it requires a freedom of the state from entangling alliances with classes founded on landed possessions — landlords and clergy — a secular state separated from church and justified by secular performances rather than divine sanctions. Resting, at least in its early stages, upon the enterprise and labor of individuals rather than corporations, capitalism needs for its fruition an emphasis on individualism as distinguished from emphasis on the excellence of a settled order of classes such as held the center of the economic field in the Middle Ages. Making use of exact methods, especially as its technical equipment increases, it can live only in an atmosphere of mathematics and calculations, which happen to be at the same time indispensable instruments of the applied science that is so serviceable to capitalism. Buying and selling without respect to person and rank, employing talent wherever it can find that capacity, it thrives on democracy and equalitarian doctrines — the wider spread the better for trade. Finally a wide distribution of knowledge is also necessary for the extensive functioning of capitalism; the directing personnel must read and write; Charlemagne might be illiterate but the humblest factory manager cannot enjoy that luxury; working people must at least be able to read the rules and instructions; and the buying populace must be able to read advertisements if its wants are to be stimulated.[2]

[1] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. I, p. 146. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

2. THE CRUSADES AS FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

Although the Crusades were fought to strengthen the Christian Church through the restoration of the Holy Land to Christendom, the actual results were far different from those anticipated. Through the influences of the new cultures with which the Christian soldiers came in contact, seeds were sown which germinated and grew into a new civilization in Europe. As stated in a previous chapter, trade between the Eastern and Western worlds developed. Not only material goods which were the objects of trade, but also culture traits of other kinds made their ways into Europe. The Cultures of Ancient Greece and Rome were introduced, first into Italy and later into England, France, Spain and other countries of Europe.

Among the Eastern culture traits borrowed by the Europeans were: (1) the Arabic numerals with the zero, originated by the Hindoos; (2) the art of bookkeeping, which is essential in the keeping of business accounts; (3) the production of paper; (4) the compass; (5) gunpowder; and (6) the printing press.



FIGURE 17. EVOLUTION OF THE PRINTING PRESS

The press on the left is a model of Gutenberg's press of the early fifteenth century. In the center is a printshop of Caxton's time (late fifteenth century). On the right is a sketch of a modern press.

The production of paper and the use of the printing press made possible the printing of books at a cost within reach of a much greater portion of society than had formerly been able to secure such books. Learning was thus made easier of attainment, and reading came within the grasp of multitudes of people to whom it had been formerly denied.

Through the use of the compass, vessels could sail to sea with the assurance that the sailors could keep their directions and return to land when they desired. The compass was an important factor in

making the discoveries which had such important influences on world history.

Gunpowder marked the downfall of feudalism. The armored knight on his charger was an easy target for a foot soldier armed with a gun.

3. THE RENAISSANCE

As the learning of the East, and especially the classical masterpieces of Ancient Greece, spread westward, a rebirth of the human spirit followed. Man became interested in the world in which he lived. The individual assumed an important rôle in the new society. The spirit of freedom, of inquiry, and of doubt developed. The authority of the Church which had dominated Europe for more than a thousand years was challenged. Scientific investigation led by such individuals as Copernicus and Galileo tended to weaken the faith in the infallibility of certain religious beliefs which had been unquestioned throughout the medieval period. A new spirit was born which spread slowly from Italy to other European countries, and from the intellectual classes to the masses who had been held in illiteracy throughout the Middle Ages. In order to gain popular support of the new ideas, many writers began to use the languages of their particular countries, instead of Latin, as media through which to convey their messages.

4. THE REFORMATION

The intellectual awakening which marked the period of the Renaissance led to a questioning of the formerly accepted doctrines of the Church, and to their partial rejection or revision so as to accord more with ideas of the new age. Martin Luther, John Calvin, and John Knox (to mention but a few), broke with the Roman Church and proceeded to establish religious organizations based on interpretations of Christianity which were more in keeping with the spirit of the new age.

> [The revolt against the Catholic Church was] a movement that gathered to itself and incorporated many revolutionary tendencies in the worlds of society and politics for which the time was ripe. Besides being a return to the simplicity of the Gospel and a reaffirmation of the doctrine of justification by faith, it was also a revolt of the laity against clerical tutelage; a rebellion of the individual against authority; a rising of emancipated human reason against tradition and convention; a protest of the national

conscience of man against the corruption of the Roman penitential system; an attack of the secular power upon the accumulated wealth of the religious.[3]

It would be almost impossible to overestimate the contribution of the "Protestant ethic" to the development of capitalism. Protestantism stressed *individual* "salvation" through individual faith and works; capitalism was based on private property and freedom of *individual* enterprise. Protestantism thus furnished capitalism with a needed rationale and spiritual justification.

5. NATIONALISM

Associated with or accompanying the revolt against the authority of the Church was the growth of nationalism and its companion spirit, individual patriotism. Unified nations such as England, France, and Spain, with strong monarchs at their helm, appeared on the scene and began to assume important rôles in directing world affairs.

A strong state is essential to the development of capitalism, for capitalism requires at home and abroad the protection which only a strong nation can provide. A nation can maintain internal peace such as was impossible during the period of feudalism when each petty kingdom waged or was likely to wage wars against its neighbors. A nation can aid in securing foreign markets and can take steps to protect commerce with distant countries. The state can and does aid the economic activities of individuals and of associations of people; at the same time the nation is enriched and is benefited by the economic activities. The two institutions, the nation and business, are mutually beneficial to each other.

6. INDIVIDUALISM

When the individual was subject to the regulations of the Church and of his landlord; when he was possessed by the belief that his best interests were served by humble submission to his fate in order to secure thereby his soul's salvation and receive in Heaven the rewards for his humility, little opportunity was given and even less effort directed for the improvement of the individual status of man. With the spread of the spirit of the Renaissance, the individual was liberated. He was no longer willing to accept his humble state without trying to improve his lot. Through efforts directed along economic lines, cer-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

tain individuals who possessed exceptional abilities became rich and founded a new social class — the bourgeoisie — which was based on the power and influence of wealth and economic activities. This new class was destined to displace the landed aristocracy and nobility in social status, or at least to share their positions of influence and power.

7. NEW SOURCES OF WEALTH

The spirit of adventure associated with scientific inquiry led to the discovery of new trade routes and new lands. Vasco da Gama found a route around Africa to the Far East; Columbus was a famous discoverer of the New World; and Magellan proved the truth of Copernicus' theory that the earth was round. As a result of the new discoveries and expeditions for exploration and for conquest, the gold and silver of Mexico and of Peru entered the stream of European trade. Men and nations became rich beyond the conception of those who had lived but a few centuries before. The gaining of wealth became an important human goal.

B. *Fields of Capitalistic Activity*

1. CAPITALISM IN AGRICULTURE

When the peasants worked their plots in the manor, their sole motive was to produce economic goods which were required by their families and their villages. Sometimes they exchanged goods of which they had a surplus for articles of which there was an inadequate supply, but the exchange was aimed at supplying material goods for which the parties to the exchange felt a need.

With the decline of the manor and the development of the woolen textile industry in England, owners found that they could make profitable use of their land with relatively few workers by turning the cultivated fields into sheep pastures. For this purpose the fields which were still in cultivation had to be fenced against the livestock. With the enclosure of fields and the increased attention to sheep raising, agriculture changed from a self-sufficient to a capitalistic form of enterprise. The farm was no longer operated in order to produce food and textiles for use, but in order to secure from the raising of sheep revenue in the form of money. Capitalistic agriculture had been born.

At a later period, the early nineteenth century, another enclosure movement in England restored much of the land to cultivation, but it

represented another form of capitalistic agriculture, with the fields used to grow crops for sale rather than for direct consumption. In the nineteenth century it was apparent that the land owners could receive greater profits from the land used in growing crops than in sheep raising. The profit motive was basic to the agricultural activities in both enclosure movements.[4]

Although capitalistic agriculture cannot be said to have arisen from the application of science to agriculture, scientific principles utilized in improving the breeds of livestock, in increasing the fertility of the soil, in improving the quality and quantity of crop production, and in providing better farming methods and implements resulted in greatly increased agricultural production. Increased agricultural production usually meant greater economic profits from the farming activities and encouraged the direction of greater efforts toward the expansion of agriculture for profit.

2. CAPITALISM IN COMMERCE

Although trade and with it transportation of goods to some extent existed in primitive societies and were also present in the relationship between the manors and their neighboring towns, the objective behind the exchange of goods was to secure economic commodities for which each party felt a need in return for other goods of which there was a surplus. The idea of making profit through the process of exchange did not make its appearance in Western Society to any appreciable extent until the early part of the Modern Period.

With the demand by residents of one region for the goods of other areas, with the growth of towns which depended upon goods produced in other localities and by other people, and with the expansion of local and inter-regional trade, a new class of society came into being. Members of this group produced no goods either through extractive activities such as farming, fishing, lumbering or mining, nor did they engage in manufacturing operations. They secured their income through rendering services to all members of their social order, that is, the producers of goods and the consumers of those commodities. They were the traders, the merchants, and business men who secured their livelihood through selling goods, which they purchased for exchange, at a higher price than the commodities cost them. They

[4] Read about the Corn Laws and attempts to repeal them during the early part of the 19th century in England. Also look up the work of Robert Peel.

depended for their economic existence upon securing enough profit from their operations to support their business activities and to provide for the material needs of their families.

The items mentioned above as factors in the development of the capitalistic system played indispensable rôles in the growth of the business group in Western Society. Without a strong government to protect his operations, the business man could never have existed as a dominant figure in his social order. The development of tastes or demands of one part of society for goods of another fixed the stage for the entrance of the international trader and merchant. The accumulation of stocks of gold and silver for use as money, gave the business men increased media with which to operate and created a need for a banking system to handle the currency.

a. *Early forms of business associations*

(1) *Family associations.* In the beginning of commercial operations the transactions were carried on by individual owners and by family associations. There were many weaknesses in the individual operator-owner type of business activity. It greatly limited the volume of trade possible and it necessitated operators to direct personally all transactions. The family association offered distinct advantages over the individual operator in that several brothers might greatly increase the volume of their trade by joining their forces. Greater opportunities for specialization arose in the activities, for one member could become an expert along one line while other members devoted themselves to other fields of operation, all within the scope of the particular business they were transacting. Furthermore, different brothers might establish themselves in different trade centers and carry on inter-regional trade on an extensive scale.

From the early family associations came some of the rich and powerful families whose fame as dominant forces of their period and section of the world has come down to the present day. Among such families were the Medici of Florence and the Fuggers of Augsburg whose fortunes have been estimated at $7,500,000 and $40,000,000 respectively.[5]

(2) *Partnership.* If members of a family could gain advantages in business through joint operation, why would not the same principle work for individuals who were not related? There appeared to be no

[5] *Cf.* Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938, pp. 377 and 388.

good reason why an association of unrelated individuals for economic operations would not be successful. From the examples of the family associations, the partnership as a form of business organization arose. Partnership had distinct advantages over a family association or an individually operated business. Individuals with different abilities and skills could join forces, and through the union of specialized efforts all parties to the union would profit. The partnership offered the same advantages of increased volume of trade which the family association afforded.

(3) *The joint-stock company.* Although the partnership as a form of business organization had distinct advantages over the earlier forms (those of individual operator and of family association), it had many very real weaknesses: each partner might be held individually liable for the debts of the firm; the presence of several partners in a business tended to split authority and responsibility ("too many cooks spoil the business broth, and a divided council may act with indecision"[6]); the death of one partner meant the destruction of the business firm; and the amount of capital which could be raised was limited to the resources of the partners and was often insufficient to meet the needs of the business. As a means of correcting the weaknesses of the partnership, the joint-stock company came into being.

The joint-stock company was first organized in Italy as early as the twelfth century, but was not found in England among the trading companies until the sixteenth century. The first such organization in England was probably the Russian Company formed in 1553. The most typical example of a joint-stock company and the most highly developed one was the East India Company which was granted a charter by the British Crown in 1600.

In the joint-stock company, as it was first organized, an individual might subscribe a sum of money for the sake of aiding in the financing of some specific expedition for discovery, or some commercial venture, with the understanding that he would, in case the undertaking was successful, receive his money back together with a share in the profits of the undertaking. The share of profits or losses accruing to each investor was in proportion to the amount of money he invested in the particular enterprise.

In the course of time it became apparent that separate organizations

[6] Lewis H. Haney, *Business Organization and Combination*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914, p. 56.

for each voyage or commercial venture were difficult to handle and were economically undesirable. The advantages of organizing a permanent capital which the company could use for all of its trading could be clearly seen. By means of the permanent capital fund, profits of one operation, or a portion of such profits, might be set aside as a reserve fund to meet unexpected losses. Needed equipment of a permanent nature such as wharves and warehouses could also be provided from the capital fund. Under the permanent capital fund, the profits of the operations could be distributed at periodic intervals instead of after each operation. The investor found himself at no disadvantage, for if he wanted to remove his money from the concern he could sell his stock or share in the business to someone who wanted to buy it. Thus the shares in the companies not only became relatively permanent investments, but they became negotiable; that is, they could also be transferred to other persons.

The general characteristics of the joint-stock company were as follows: (1) its capital was divided into shares which could be transferred by the owner at will without the consent of the other members; (2) its affairs could be conducted by a board of managers or directors who were able to bind the company when they acted within the scope of their authority; and (3) it was not dissolved by the death or disability of any members. The chief differences between the joint-stock company and the partnership were that in the former there was less personal relationship among its members; members were not necessarily even acquainted with one another, and the consent of members was not required for changes in membership.

The joint-stock company is an intermediary between the partnership and the corporation. In the joint-stock company, in contrast with the partnership, the members take no active part in the management of the firm. This feature of the joint-stock company is retained in the corporation, but the joint-stock company does not have legal status, whereas the corporation is legally granted the rights to "act as a single individual." The relationship in the joint-stock company is a product of the mutual agreement among members and is not dependent upon any grant of authority from the state; and unless the law expressly provides for limited liability of the stockholders (a characteristic feature of the corporation), they do not enjoy such.[7] The personal relationship in

[7] Limited liability means that the members can be held liable in case of financial loss to the company only to the extent of the individual's investment, or to a limited amount.

the joint-stock company is not so close as in the partnership, but it is considerably more personal than in the corporation.

(4) *The corporation.* Although the joint-stock company is regarded as the forerunner of the modern corporation, the latter organization is in reality of very old origin. Religious societies and other organizations in Rome had virtually all the characteristics of the corporation and became well developed in Roman law. In the Middle Ages the earliest corporations were generally either ecclesiastical or municipal bodies. In England these organizations were formed by special charters which came from the Crown. Under the charters were incorporated municipalities and guilds (trade and industrial corporations in towns), and the operations of such corporations were local and were directed toward protecting the lives, property, or trade of local groups. In the seventeenth century the corporations, organized after the pattern of the joint-stock company, began to assume an important rôle in British business.

The modern corporation has the essential characteristics of the joint-stock company with certain added elements, such as greater stability or permanence (since it is established by acts of the state), and limited liability for stockholders.

b. *World-wide expansion of trade*

(1) *Agents or factors.* When traders expanded their fields of operations to include distant cities and territories, it was necessary that some representatives of the establishments should be located in the new centers of trade activities. To meet this need the traders adopted the practice of choosing "factors" or agents to represent them in the operations. The factors disposed of the goods for their principals, and in turn bought other commodities available in their locations for shipment and sale in the home center or in other localities where other agents were situated.

(2) *Commission house.* A factor no doubt found that he could represent more than one trader at the same time and thus increase his earnings. From the growth of the agent's economic activities, the commission house evolved. Goods from the merchants were consigned directly to the commission houses to be sold. In turn the commission houses purchased cargoes for the return passage of the ships to their principals. For the operations the commission merchants received a share or a "commission" on their sales, and also a commission for purchasing the return cargoes.

(3) *Branch houses.* As the volume of trade increased, many commercial establishments found it to their advantage to establish branch houses in certain important centers so as to dispense with the services of the commission houses and thus in effect to secure for themselves the commission which had been paid for buying and selling.

(4) *Chartered companies.* As has been mentioned above, the development of nationalism aided in the growth of capitalism. At the same time the strong commercial establishments also served the nation. The government could more easily make and collect assessments from a few large companies with responsible directors than from a large number of loosely organized concerns. In order better to serve their mutual advantages, the state granted charters to certain companies entitling them to the exclusive rights to trade in certain regions. The charters usually fixed definite responsibilities, granted fixed and specific privileges, and assessed definite fees.

In order to safeguard the chartered companies, the state afforded them military protection on land and on the seas.

The chartered companies played an important rôle not only in developing world-wide trade, but in colonizing new territories as well. Mercantilism as a national policy grew out of the establishment and growth of chartered companies. Imperialism emerged from the philosophy of mercantilism.

c. *Finance*

(1) *Money changing.* During the early period of commercial development, the coinage of money was under the control of petty rulers of various territorial districts. Each district made its own standard of coinage, that is, determined the weight of the coins to be used, the percentage of gold or silver and of base metals used in the coins. Furthermore, individuals might by shaving the edges of the coins reduce them considerably in weight. The lack of standards of value of money necessitated the use of money changers for all commercial transactions where the coins of different regions were used. The money changers weighed the coins used in the exchange, and attempted to arrive at exchange values of the different coins through determining their weight and fineness. Often money changers were not honest and became very rich through their exchange operations.

With the growth of nations, the coinage of money came under the national authority. This greatly simplified the process of exchange, for there were fewer occasions to exchange money. Furthermore, nations

could set a standard of coinage by fixing the ratio of the precious metals to the gross alloys. Through control of the coinage, nations could prevent counterfeiting of money much more effectively than had been done before.

(2) *Banks and banking.* As commercial capitalism developed, there was increasing need for financial institutions to hold deposits of money, to act as intermediaries in making economic payments, and to lend money when it was needed. The banks arose in response to these needs.

The modern banks originated from the Italian money changers and from the English goldsmiths. Since the goldsmiths worked in precious metals and of necessity kept considerable quantities on hand, they had vaults or other places for keeping their valuables in safety. As other individuals secured quantities of money and other valuables, they often took the articles to the goldsmiths and paid the goldsmiths to keep their goods in safety. The goldsmiths gave each depositor a receipt showing what he had deposited. The goldsmiths observed that the individuals who placed goods with them for safekeeping never removed all of their deposits at the same time. This provided the goldsmiths with the opportunity to loan some of the money on deposit to individuals desiring to secure such loans. With the growth of credit business, the goldsmiths reduced the charges for safeguarding deposits until they finally began to pay the depositors for deposits which were left for a period of time. Thus the bank developed as an institution to receive deposits and to make loans.

A third function of banks came into being with the growth of the other two functions. A depositor buying some goods could go to the goldsmith and by presenting the deposit receipt draw out money with which to pay for his purchases; but it was even easier to present the deposit receipt to the seller of the goods and to allow him to draw the money or to use the receipt as actual money in the exchange of goods. The deposit receipt might actually pass through a number of hands before it was finally returned to the goldsmith for payment. After a period the wording on the receipts was changed to a form in which the bank promised to pay the bearer of the negotiable paper a specified sum on demand. When this change was made, bank notes became a part of the circulating currency of the land and were accepted at face value in exchange.

Another practice which grew out of the early deposits of money with

goldsmiths was the use of checks to pay bills. When a man bought an order of goods, he could write an order addressed to the goldsmith (or to the bank) directing him (or it) to pay a specified person a specified sum of money and deduct it from the deposits of the signer. Thus the use of personal checks developed. Today a large part of the business of the people of America is carried on by the use of personal checks.

(3) *Credit.* Throughout the middle ages to charge interest for the use of money was regarded by most people as sinful. Money was considered non-productive, and to receive money in payment for the use of a non-productive commodity was to receive something for nothing. Only the Jews, who were not bound by Christian scruples, would be guilty of charging usury for the loan of money. Throughout the Middle Ages, lords and princes went to the Jews to secure loans with which to finance military undertakings.

With the advent of capitalism, it became clear that money as capital in economic activities was productive and earned a return. Furthermore, as commercial operations increased in volume and scope, more and more money upon which to operate was needed. Out of response to this need credit arose as an essential part of the capitalistic system. The banks developed largely in response to the need for places for the obtaining of additional capital with which to carry on various enterprises. The bank received its returns on which to operate from the payment of interest on the loans made.

3. CAPITALISM IN INDUSTRY

a. *Domestic system.* Under the handicraft system, products were made by the craftsmen on direct order from the consumer. This was primarily a system whereby a group of workers sold their labor to those who needed the products of their efforts. There was but little capital involved in the system except the tools owned by workers. Production was on a small, local scale, and no credit was involved. The period was one of cash or money exchange for goods, just as in the earlier periods exchange was by barter.

With the developments which began in the later part of the medieval period, industry expanded through the development of a commission form of production. By this system an entrepreneur — a man with sufficient capital in the form of money — purchased the raw products to be made into finished goods, and supplied these goods to workmen living in near-by towns and villages. The workmen provided the labor

and in some instances the tools for processing the goods, that is, changing the raw products into finished articles. Their pay for the finished products was in reality a wage payment based on a fixed amount for each article produced. The system is often referred to as the *domestic system* because production was usually in the homes of the workmen, with members of the family and in some cases hired apprentices doing the work. Since production was not for direct consumption, the entrepreneur was the risk taker. He ordered from the workers before the goods were sold, and if the supply proved greater than the need for the goods, he was forced to hold them until they could be sold. In the meantime the workers had to be paid for their labor. Likewise if the price of the articles dropped below the cost of production, the entrepreneur was forced to assume the loss. On the other hand, if the price of the articles increased above the expected price, he reaped the added profit. The domestic system marks the advent of capitalism as an important feature in industry.

b. *Mercantilism.* As capitalism and nationalism grew, the desire for power on the part of the merchant and the nation expanded. Nations recognized that manpower in the form of military forces both on land and on the seas was necessary for a great nation. A self-sufficient society was better able to withstand a long war than was a country which required importation of essential goods from other lands. A country with balanced agricultural and industrial development was more self-sufficient than was either a purely agricultural or industrial people. The development of commerce under the regulation of national authority increased the power of the nation because ships used in commerce might also be used as transports of soldiers in case of war. The development of a colonial empire aided in building commerce and offered rich sources of raw materials for the homelands as well as markets for finished products. Finally, as wealth in the form of money or precious metals meant power for individuals, so also were such possessions sources of power for nations. Armies could be maintained and paid for out of the national treasury. The greatest nation was felt to be the nation that had the greatest stores or resources in the form of money or stocks of precious metals.

Under mercantilism, nations became more unified and the central governments became more powerful. Commerce was encouraged but strictly regulated by the government. Manufacturing and agricultural production was promoted. Colonies were seized and exploited. Meas-

ures were employed to encourage a high birth rate to raise soldiers for the army and navy. Activities of all kinds came under the regulation of the state, with one objective in mind — to gain power through the accumulation of wealth in money.

Commerce was encouraged, but it was designed to bring to the factories of the mother country raw materials which the homeland could not produce, and to take finished products to the outside markets. Strenuous efforts were made always to maintain a "favorable balance of trade," that is, to buy less in money value than was sold. Through a favorable balance of trade, money would pour into the treasury of the homeland and it would become rich.

Measures designed to increase the national wealth were as follows: (1) Duties were levied on all imports which were in competition with products made at home. (Sometimes absolute embargoes were established on importation of goods.) (2) Navigation laws were passed such as England imposed on the American colonies. (3) Bounties or monopolies were granted to encourage certain kinds of production. (An example was England's practice of giving bounties to the American colonists for the production of indigo.) England prohibited or severely restricted the establishment of textile mills in the colonies and the development of commerce by vessels not owned by England.

c. *The Industrial Revolution.* The Industrial Revolution is so called because of the very significant economic changes which came about through the evolution of power machinery and improved implements of production.

(1) *Factors in Industrial Revolution development.* The development of power machinery and the mechanization of industry was based on a number of factors such as: (1) the advent of capitalism and with it the bourgeoisie; (2) widened markets for trade; (3) occupational specialization; (4) the use of money as media of exchange; and (5) increased population in the industrial nations. These factors created a need for more efficient techniques of production. Greater quantities of goods were required to supply the increased demands. The inventions which characterize the period of the Industrial Revolution were responses to definite needs.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, England had become the foremost commercial and industrial nation in the world. It is not surprising then that the Industrial Revolution had its beginning and that it developed most rapidly in England, for there the needs for new ma-

chinery of production were most acute and the rewards for improved techniques were the greatest.

(2) *Steam engine.* Many inventions played significant parts in bringing about the Industrial Revolution or in promoting its development, but no one invention or series of inventions can approach the evolution of the steam engine as a source of power in importance. James Watt is often incorrectly referred to as "the inventor of the steam engine." Actually no one individual invented the steam engine. The principle of the use of steam for power was known as early as 130 B.C., when Hero of Alexandria wrote a treatise in which he described a number of mechanical principles and devices. He actually produced experimental models of steam engines and used some in various trivial ways. The first practical steam engine to be used commercially was built by Newcomen in 1705 for pumping water from coal mines, and also to supply water for cities. Watt improved Newcomen's engine and also developed an engine which could be used to propel various types of machinery.[8]

(3) *Coal mining.* Coal mining was one of the first industries to feel the influence of the new technology because of the increased demands for fuel. In 1711 the steam engine was employed to pump water from the mines. In 1753 cars on iron wheels and rails were used for hauling coal. In 1782 the steam engine was employed to hoist coal to the surface. In 1829 the steam locomotive began hauling coal in the mines, and in 1838 the iron cable was introduced.[9]

(4) *Textile industries.* The cotton industry felt the influence of the new development of machinery at an early date, much before the woolen industry. Cotton fibers were more suitable for use in power driven machinery than were wool fibers.

In 1733 Kay invented the flying shuttle which doubled the output of the cotton weavers. This invention increased the amount of weaving beyond the capacity of the existing spinners to produce the thread. There was then a demand for new techniques which would increase the output of spinners. In 1763 Hargreaves invented a spinning jenny which increased the spinning process by seven or eight times its former output. In 1768 Arkwright produced his water frame which still

[8] For a detailed description of the Newcomen and Watt engines, see Russell A. Dixon and E. Kingman Eberhart, *Economics and Cultural Change*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1938, pp. 422–441.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 453.

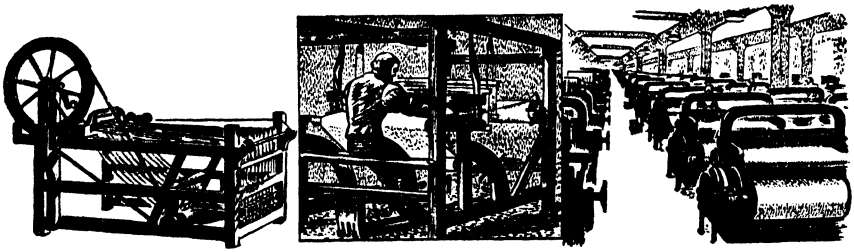


FIGURE 18. EVOLUTION OF TEXTILE MACHINERY

On the left is Hargreaves' spinning jenny; in the center, a hand loom; on the right, the banks of power looms in a modern mill.

further improved the spinning process. In 1779 Crompton invented the spinning mule which increased the speed of spinning to a still greater extent. By this time spinning of thread was ahead of weaving and attention was focused on ways to increase the production of cloth. In 1793 Cartwright invented the first practical power loom for weaving the cotton thread into cloth. With the improvement in the spinning and weaving processes, a shortage of the raw material — cotton — appeared. Up to this time the cotton lint was taken from the seed by hand. This was a very slow and tedious process. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin which separated the lint from the seed by the use of metal brushes. This last invention led to increased production of cotton in the United States and a much greater supply of the raw material for the textile mills of England.

(5) *Highways.* Throughout the Middle Ages there was very little travel on the part of the population generally. An individual was born and lived his life without ever going far beyond the confines of his manor. With little travel or transportation of goods from place to place, there was no great need for roads.

At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, roads in England and in Europe generally were mud trails impassable for vehicles during seasons of the year. As the need for avenues of transportation of goods developed, attention was directed toward the building of better roads. In 1815 John Macadam developed a method of building roads which provided highways that were serviceable under all conditions of the weather. The basic principle of Macadam's roads was a foundation of coarse cracked stone, with a second layer of smaller broken rock and a top layer of crushed rock rolled smooth. The type of road built of crushed stone still is referred to as Macadamized road after the original

builder. The growth of road building spread rapidly through the densely populated sections of England after the work of Macadam was proven successful, and by 1850 most sections of the nation were traversed by serviceable highways.

(6) *Canals.* Waterways as avenues of transportation were not overlooked. Canals were dug so that many inland cities were brought within easy access of the seaports. In 1790 the first canal, seven miles in length, was constructed for transporting coal to market in Manchester. By 1830 there were some three thousand miles of canals in England and Wales.

(7) *Results of the Industrial Revolution.* The results of the Industrial Revolution were far-reaching and varied. No country escaped the influence of the changes attending the Revolution. The more important and obvious consequences of the movement can be summarized as: (1) expansion of trade; (2) urbanization; (3) specialization; (4) growth of individualism; and (5) social disorganization.

Through the greatly increased production of goods at a lower cost, large groups of persons could enjoy commodities which were formerly available only to a rather small class of society. Through the improved avenues of transportation, the trade areas of factories were greatly enlarged. The number of buyers and potential purchasers encouraged expansion of trade and increase in the number and capacity of factories producing goods for sale. At no time in the history of the world has population increased so rapidly as during and immediately following the Industrial Revolution.[10]

As industries grew, factories tended to locate in places situated close to the source of supply of raw materials, where there were suitable transportation facilities such as waterways, highways, and later railways, and where there was an abundance of labor to work in the factories. Cities grew in size and in numbers. Countries which had formerly been populated by farmers came to be inhabited in large part by city dwellers who depended for their very existence upon their earnings from industry. Owing to the system of travel employed during the period, it was necessary for workers to live in close proximity to their work. Cities grew around the factories and commercial centers.

Individual workers performed a small portion of a total operation. Each activity was repeated many times in the course of the working day until the performance became in a measure automatic and was carried

[10] See Chapter 7.

on with a minimum of waste in effort and in time. The specialization of individuals tended to make work monotonous and to make workers less independent than were the artisans who performed the entire productive process of their trade and worked for themselves. With specialization, workers were hired by entrepreneurs at a wage rate.

Although it may seem to be a contradiction of the above statement, workers became more individualistic. Each man became interested in what appeared to be for his own individual advantage. The spirit of individualism is reflected in the American and the French Revolutions. The political result of the growth of individualism was democracy. Adam Smith expressed the individualistic spirit in economics in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he repudiated the theory of Mercantilism and advocated the policy of *laissez faire* — that the government should not interfere with private business — and suggested free competition to replace governmental control.

Any great and sudden change in existing social conditions is likely to be attended by serious social disorganization. The Industrial Revolution caused a displacement of thousands of laborers — craftsmen and others who were employed in the productive and distributive processes existing before the new inventions brought into being new systems of production. Many workers were unable to learn the new types of work and were consequently unemployed and impoverished. Much of the new work could be done by women and by children; hence there was less demand for the work of men. People living in the new concentrations were without sanitary facilities such as are found in the modern cities. People must learn to adapt themselves to city life, and time was required for developing sanitary provisions for urban life. With the population divided into employees and employers, entrepreneurs, the distribution of wealth and of income became very unequal between the two groups. Wages were driven down to starvation levels, and the profits of business increased without legislative interference. With the changes growing out of the Industrial Revolution came the business cycle with its periods of prosperity and of depression.[11]

C. *Industrial Development in the United States*

England encouraged the settlement and development of the New World for the purpose of expanding her own markets for manufactured

[11] For discussion of the business cycle, see pages 473-475.

goods and at the same time assuring herself a source of needed raw materials. In keeping with the prevailing economic principles, the colonies were discouraged from any attempts toward developing industries other than those associated with the production of the goods which could be processed in the plants of the homeland. The early English colonies were predominantly agricultural. The colonists depended upon England for their manufactured goods and upon England as a market for their farm products.

1. BEFORE 1800

The little manufacturing which was to be found in America prior to 1800 was for domestic consumption for the most part and was carried on principally in the homes of the inhabitants. Homespun clothing was the customary apparel of Americans. Leather was tanned by the farmers and shoes or boots were made into footwear either by the farmers themselves or by itinerant workers. Household industry was carried on to provide goods for dwellers in cities like Boston, Philadelphia, and other places, where the inhabitants could not supply themselves with needed goods. The way that household industry was carried on resembled the domestic system of England of an earlier period. In some places merchants established town shops to supplement the household industry. Within the shops craftsmen worked for hire to produce goods for the merchants. Although in 1800 agriculture was the most important American industry, a beginning had been made in the development of shops which later grew into the industries of the nation.

In 1789 Samuel Slater succeeded in building a mill and equipping it with new textile machinery copied from the English mills. Slater's factory in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, started the factory textile system of New England. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin not only revolutionized agriculture and fixed slavery on the South for a period of more than sixty years, but also resulted in an increase in the supply of cotton as raw material for the new textile mills.

2. 1800 TO 1860

Between 1800 and 1860 the United States witnessed great physical expansion until near the close of the period when the present continental boundaries were established. People poured into the West to secure new land for agriculture. Migrants from European countries came to

America seeking new homes and opportunities for economic improvement. Industries grew to meet the demands of the ever increasing population, and transportation facilities were improved in order to supply goods to the people living at distant points.

The chief factors responsible for the great industrial development of the period in the United States were: (1) the Napoleonic Wars which disrupted the normal importation of goods from England and from Europe; (2) the War of 1812 which completely stopped trade with European nations and required development of American industries; (3) the enactment of protective-tariff laws, the first of which was passed in 1816; (4) the improvement of transportation and transportation facilities; and (5) the new inventions and processes, particularly those utilizing power machinery.

Little need be said about the effects of the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 on the development of industry in the United States. Communication and transportation of goods from the factories of Europe to American consumers was almost completely stopped. The American people were forced to develop means to supply themselves with the manufactured goods which they had formerly secured abroad. When the wars were concluded and peace was reestablished, European manufacturers began to ship goods to America. The "infant" industries of the United States were threatened by the importation of goods manufactured abroad. To protect the home industries, protective tariffs were passed. The first tariff law was adopted in 1816.

If factories were to grow and were to supply the people with necessary goods, new avenues of transportation and new transportation vehicles were required. Not all people lived near navigable rivers, lakes, or other waterways, so the usual means of transportation were no longer adequate to meet the needs. Turnpikes were built for travel overland. In the beginning the roads were constructed by private companies, often with state aid. After the report of Gallatin in 1807 on Roads, Canals, Harbors, and Rivers, the federal government began a program of building or aiding in the construction of vital highways, the most famous of which was the *National Pike* from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois. The building of canals for transportation began in 1880 with the completion of the Dismal Swamp Canal from Virginia to North Carolina in 1794, but the canal-building period came after the War of 1812. The most famous and most important of the canals built during the period was the Erie Canal connecting Lake Erie

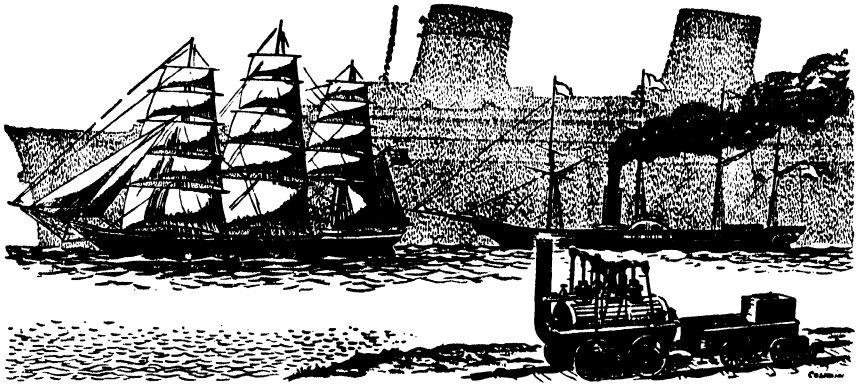


FIGURE 19. TRANSPORTATION AND STEAM

As the sketch indicates, with the invention of the steam engine (Stephenson's No. 1 Engine — 1825), the clipper ship gave way to the steamship ("Great Western" — 1838) and eventually to the modern ocean liner, facilitating the transportation of goods throughout the world.

with the Hudson River. The importance of the Erie Canal is hard to estimate. Through its influence New York City became the greatest port of the nation, and the importance of other centers such as Syracuse, Rochester, Utica, Buffalo, and Albany greatly increased. Following the canal-building period and the expansion of trade by inland waterways, resulting in part from the invention of the steamboat, railways came into being. Railways by 1860 had assumed an important place in the transportation of goods, serving particularly as connecting links between points located on navigable streams, lakes, and the Atlantic seaboard.

The new inventions of the period played an important part in the industrial growth of the United States. The more important inventions of the period were: the steamboat, invented by Robert Fulton; the reaper, by Cyrus McCormick; the sewing machine, by Elias Howe; and the telegraph, by Samuel F. B. Morse. The inventions of the period were of the utmost importance in the industrial development of the nation, for they increased the production of raw materials and facilitated the transportation of goods from one place to another as well as increasing the actual output of factories.[12]

[12] For more adequate description of the industrial growth of the period see Ernest Ludlow Bogart, *An Economic History of the United States*, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1926, Part III.

3. 1860 TO 1914

Shortly after 1860 the United States was torn by a bitter conflict which was more the result of economic differences than of political differences within the nation. The South stood for agriculture and an agrarian economy, whereas the North was more influenced by the industries and finance capitalism of its cities. The North desired high protective tariffs for her manufactured goods, whereas the South had to pay more for such goods and received no benefits from the tariffs. With the victory of the Northern armies, industrialism became dominant over rural economy in the United States.

During the period 1860 to 1914, the United States became one of the foremost manufacturing nations of the world. Through the use of power machinery and workers highly organized for maximum efficiency, mass production came into being. The factories of the nation were located for the most part east of the Mississippi River and north of the Mason and Dixon Line. Great industrial centers such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Akron appeared. The rapidity of the growth of manufacturing in the United States can be seen by comparing the value of goods manufactured in 1860 and in 1894 in the United States, the United Kingdom, and in Germany. In 1860 the United States produced 268 million dollars worth of manufactured goods while the United Kingdom produced 1411 millions and Germany 900 millions. In 1894 the United States produced 9498 million dollars worth of goods while the United Kingdom produced 4263 millions and Germany 3357 millions. In other words, by 1894 the production of American factories had outstripped the British and German factories combined in so far as the money value of the output was concerned.[13]

Not only did the production of American factories increase during the period, but through the application of machinery to agriculture, vast areas which had formerly been prairies pasturing herds of buffalo became fields of wheat and corn. Through the Homestead Act of 1862 many a landless person became a farm owner merely by settling on a tract of one hundred and sixty acres, living on it for a period of five years, putting a portion of the area in cultivation, and building a home and other necessary structures on the land.

From the family type of agriculture characteristic of the nation generally before the Civil War, the United States became a land of commercialized agriculture. Farmers raised crops not for home consump-

[13] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 383.

tion but for sale. Althougb American agriculture increased its production tremendously during the period, the increase of rural population did not keep pace with that of the urban centers. By 1900 the number engaged in agriculture had declined to one-third of the national population. The individuals were able, however, to produce more per worker than in earlier periods.

Commerce both foreign and domestic increased through the expansion of the railway systems to all parts of the nation and through the increases in exports and in imports. Between 1860 and 1900, exports increased from 316.2 million to 1370.7 million dollars in value, or more than 300 percent. Imports increased from 353.6 million dollars to 849.9 million dollars in value during the period — a rise of about 250 percent.[14] The increase in foreign commerce resulted in the greater demand of Americans for products of the tropics, the increased production of factories and farms which provided surpluses for export, and improved means of transportation on land and on sea.

The United States increased its output of mineral products during the period of 1860 to 1900 from approximately 90 million dollars to more than one billion dollars in value, an increase of more than eleven fold. In mineral production coal, iron, copper, silver and gold were the most important. By the latter part of the period petroleum was becoming an important product. The United States ranked second to Russia in the world's output of petroleum.

4. SINCE 1914

The period since 1914 has been marked by great changes in business practices and in the economic position of the United States with relation to the rest of the world. Following the First World War, the United States became a great creditor nation, whereas before it had always been a debtor nation; that is to say, after the war other countries and their business men owed more to than they were owed by the United States and its business men. The great agricultural expansion resulting from the production of food for the army and the allies during the First World War, coupled with the inability of European people to purchase the agricultural products of American farmers after the war, brought about over-production of all commodities raised by American agriculture. Farmers were faced with poverty and loss of their lands through their inability to sell the crops which they raised.

[14] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 354.

In 1929 the United States entered a period of business depression more severe than in any similar period in American history. Industry was threatened with bankruptcy. The banks of the nation became insolvent and for a period in 1933 all banks were closed. Unemployment caused great suffering for millions of people, and the inability of employers to meet their pay rolls caused many employees to suffer great privations. Because of the acute economic situation in the nation, the government came to control economic activity to an extent formerly unknown. Measures were adopted to guarantee bank deposits, and banks were regulated by the federal government more stringently than before. Relief became a function of the national government; and the W.P.A. and the P.W.A. were organized to provide for the unemployed work which was of value to the country. Through the Agricultural Adjustment Act the nation began regulating farm production and actually paid farmers bounties not to raise certain crops. Laws were passed regulating the wages and work periods of labor. The federal government went into business by establishing power projects in different parts of the country and by building power lines for the sale of electric power to companies, cities, and individuals. During this period the principles of *laissez faire* in business were almost completely discarded in favor of government control and government regulation of business.

D. *Summary*

The outstanding characteristic of modern economy is *capitalism*, the production of economic goods for the sake of profit through exchange of goods.

The factors resulting in the development of modern capitalism were: (1) the Crusades, with their attendant results; (2) the Renaissance; (3) the Reformation; (4) the growth of nationalism; (5) the development of a spirit of individualism; and (6) the new sources of wealth resulting from discovery of new trade routes and new lands.

Capitalistic activities developed in agriculture, in commerce, and in industry. In agriculture, capitalism was associated with the enclosure movements in England and with increased production through the application of scientific principles to farming. In commerce, capitalism resulted in various business associations organized for the sake of increasing the volume of trade. From the individual operators grew

family associations, partnerships, joint-stock companies, and finally corporations. With the expansion of world trade, individual traders established factors in various world centers. From the factors grew the commission houses and finally the branch houses of some large trading companies in distant cities. Nations cooperated with trading companies by granting them charters which permitted the companies virtual monopolies in certain goods in various areas of the world. These charters also granted the companies military protection.

In the field of finance, money changers and, in England, goldsmiths became the bankers of the nation, and banking practices including the use of credit became established practices.

In industry, the domestic system grew out of the handicraft system. Through mercantilism the economic and political systems cooperated for the mutual protection of commerce, industry, and the nation. The Industrial Revolution, which grew out of several economic and technological factors, resulted in increased mining operations through improved machinery; expansion of the textile industries through new devices for spinning and weaving and through the application of power machinery to the new inventions; improved highways for transportation of goods; and the building of canals for inland commerce. The general consequences of the Industrial Revolution may be summarized as: (1) expansion of trade; (2) urbanization; (3) specialization; (4) growth of individualism; (5) social disorganization.

The United States was originally settled for the purpose of supplying raw materials to the mother country and at the same time serving as a market for manufactured products from England. The early Americans were almost exclusively agricultural. Such factors as the Napoleonic Wars, the War of 1812, the enactment of protective tariff laws, the improvement of transportation and transportation facilities, new inventions and processes, westward expansion and European immigration coupled with the Homestead Act of 1862, and great natural resources in mineral deposits, resulted in America's becoming (in value of goods produced) the greatest manufacturing nation of the world, and, in recent years, the world's greatest creditor nation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is capitalism? How was the growth of nationalism related to the development of capitalism?
2. Differentiate capitalism in agriculture from self-sufficient agriculture.
3. Trace the development of business associations from the family association to the corporation. Describe each.
4. Describe the development of banking and credit in Italy, in England.
5. How does mercantilism differ from laissez faire? Is modern industry carried on in a manner characteristic of mercantilism? of laissez faire?
6. Why did the textile industries adopt the use of power before other industries? Why did they first develop in England?
7. Why are highways and waterways essential to industrial development?
8. Why did the industrial revolution bring with it great social disorganization?
9. Compare industry and life in the United States in 1860 with that in 1940.
10. What were the causes for government's participating in business after 1929 to an extent previously unknown?

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CHAPTER 24

Economic Institutions in the United States

IN A PREVIOUS CHAPTER the attention of the reader was directed to the nature of economic principles and economic institutions. Economic principles resemble laws — truths which are relatively changeless; economic institutions vary according to the conditions and customs of time and place. A discussion of economic institutions in the United States cannot be used as a basis for understanding such institutions among the Ancient Greeks or Romans, nor will it give an accurate picture of economic activities and beliefs in Germany or China of today.

This chapter is devoted to a description of the economic institutions in the United States. Attention is given to the origin and nature of American economic ideals and practices.

A. *Economic Folkways and Mores*

Folkways have been defined as "group habits of action," [1] while mores are described as folkways which the group regards as essential and right. There are folkways and mores in economic activities as well as in the other phases of social life.

1. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The people of the United States have been individualistic in their beliefs and practices from the very earliest times. The fact that individuals would take their families away from established societies and away from familiar patterns of activities to encounter hardships and dangers in a new, untamed land, with only their own resources to protect them and to provide for their needs, indicates that those individuals were independent people who trusted themselves and their own abilities to overcome obstacles. A people who faced dangers at every point

[1] See pages 66–67 for a discussion of folkways and mores.

and who depended upon their individual prowess to surmount the difficulties could not help being individualistic in nature. Each man was a free soul. He could engage in whatever kind of activity the nature of his particular situation suggested to him. If his activities were directed against the welfare of others in his group, he was confronted with direct action by those against whom he worked. Members of early colonial and frontier society appear to those living in modern America as very lawless because of the direct action of individual against individual.

Throughout the history of American people, the American ideal has been private enterprise — freedom of enterprisers to act as they wish except in so far as their actions may conflict with the laws and mores of the land. It has been felt that through private enterprise each individual, no matter how poor his circumstances in the beginning, might become President of the United States, Congressman, successful business man or top-flight man in his chosen vocation, whatever it might be. Each man has been regarded as master of his own fate.

In a country which glorifies financial or material advancement as the proper aim of all persons, private enterprise with free competition is idealized. American economic philosophy holds that through competition, coupled with a free market to sell one's labor or products, strong, capable individuals rise to their deserved positions of power, prominence, and wealth, while the less capable find within the social pyramid positions in accordance with their abilities. Since advancement, chiefly increase in wealth, is and has been the aim of the typical American, those who have reached positions of power and wealth are the American aristocracy. They receive the recognition and esteem of the populace. They are accepted as superior individuals, for they have succeeded in the competition of life. Seldom do Americans investigate the means through which individuals, who have risen to the position of great wealth, secured that wealth. They may have violated all the mores and laws which stood between themselves and the attainment of their objectives; they may have corrupted many and impoverished others through "sharp" practices; but since they secured the wealth and "got by" with their practices, they and their families receive as concomitants the plaudits, honor, and power of high financial, political and social standing.

Private enterprise, business and productive operations, have been less hampered by legal regulations and restrictions in America than in other

industrial and commercial countries of the world because of the belief that the people, industry, and the nation are benefited by the freedom. Private enterprise regulated only by free competition has been considered capable of transforming a wilderness into a great agricultural, industrial, and commercial nation. Through competition, it has been thought, industry grows and production is more efficient. Those who cannot produce abundantly at low cost fail, and leave the struggle to the more vigorous, more capable, more efficient entrepreneurs. As production increases through the adoption of new, more efficient techniques, the cost of consumers' goods is lowered to the general public, the consumers. Competition is also thought to bring about better services to consumers as well as more abundant goods at lower costs. Through the results attending free enterprise with its free markets available to all persons, all classes of society are or have been considered the beneficiaries of the system.[2]

2. THE PURSUIT OF PROFITS

The aim of private enterprise in the United States has been to secure wealth, not for its own sake alone, but for the social position and power which it affords the possessors. Obviously greater wealth can be gained in shorter space of time where all the factors of production are controlled by one individual or group of individuals. Then the business man receives for himself the rent of the land which his enterprise occupies; he receives the interest on the capital employed in the business; he receives wages for his labor; and if he is a successful entrepreneur he receives profits from his business activities.

The quest for profits in industry has been a basic factor in raising the social status of those who were successful; it has resulted in industrial and commercial development in the nation; it has been a factor in our national growth and expansion on the North American continent; it has led the nation into imperialism and into wars.

The great names in commerce, industry, and finance in the United States are not recognized because of their inherited social position. The Astors, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, the Fords, and the like have attained the high social positions they now occupy

[2] Actually there has never been absolute freedom of individual enterprise or completely free markets in any country at any time. Regulations and restrictions of some kind have been imposed. The tendency to curtail individual freedom in business has come with the developing complexity of our social life. However, the glorification of individual initiative in economics is still strong in the American folkways

because of the success of their own, their fathers', or their grandfathers' efforts to secure wealth through profits of industry. The aristocrats of America are the descendents of men who were successful in economic activities.

The quest for individual gains has resulted in the development of great industries such as steel, petroleum, automobile, and textile manufacturing. The motion picture industry, the railways, telephone systems, electric power, radio communications, and many other fields of economic development have resulted from the desire for wealth through economic profits. Mammoth corporations doing business worth billions of dollars a year and with tens of thousands of stockholders have appeared.

National expansion from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico resulted from the demand of individuals for protection by their government while they sought economic gains in new areas. The Louisiana Purchase resulted directly from a demand on the part of certain Americans for a free port where river trade could be transferred to ocean-going boats. The control of the mouth of the Mississippi River by the Spanish or the French nations hampered American trade from the Ohio River Valley and other inland points. Other movements which resulted in territorial expansion such as the territory gained by the Annexation of Texas, the Mexican Conquest, and the Oregon territory were all closely related to the profit motive on the part of individuals and groups who settled the new areas.

When the continental boundaries of the United States became established, the desire for new and more lucrative fields for exploitation for financial gain impelled American capitalists to enter foreign fields. Cuba and other West Indies islands, Hawaii, the Philippines, Mexico, Central and South America, and China became centers of economic exploitation by capitalists from the United States. As American money was invested in foreign lands, the protection of the United States government was demanded. Some of the countries came directly under American control; others were so greatly influenced by the United States that, although they retained their nominal independence, their actions were largely dictated by the wishes of American investors. Through the influence of the profit motive operating in regions far removed from the United States, American imperialism became a reality.

With the doubtful exception of the American Revolution, every war in which the United States has ever engaged has been to a large extent

the outgrowth, directly or indirectly, of the American folkways which set economic gain as the proper goal for all individuals.[3]

3. DOCTRINE OF WORK

The early American settlers were confronted with a great wilderness to conquer if they were to survive in the new land. Building homes and clearing land for cultivation was hard work requiring the efforts of men and women from early morning to late evening; working days were from the beginning of daylight to darkness. Since work was so essential to the development of the new country, folkways and mores with work as the central theme came to be a part of the American culture. Work came to be regarded, not only as a means to an end but as something highly to be honored. Idleness was sinful. A person might be drunken and intemperate in other ways, but his shortcomings were often overlooked if he was a "good worker."

The objective of every man in American frontier society was to gain for himself property, usually in the form of land and a home. As industry became more important in American life, certain individuals aimed to own their store, factory, or some other industrial plant as well as their home. Property was the end objective of labor; that is, the individual worked in order to secure the property he desired. The system by which individuals secured a homestead was based on the principle that a person should work for his property. To own property and to work for one's self was the ideal of American people.

Since property was the objective for which people worked, property held a more important position than labor in the esteem of Americans. Another reason for the relatively low esteem in which hired labor was held was the fact that the early workers in the fields and industries of America were for the most part indentured servants and slaves. The rights of unfree workers could not be weighed against the rights of property or the rights of the employers of labor.

The custom of rural Americans has always been to work long hours, usually the period of daylight, in the fields. Naturally when industries developed, workers were expected to work twelve, fourteen and even sixteen hours a day. It has been a long, and sometimes bitter struggle to reduce the hours of labor to ten and to eight hours a day.

[3] Even the American Revolution may be attributed to the profit motive on the part of American tradesmen because the Navigation Acts imposed by Britain were in direct conflict with American wishes for free enterprise, that is, the right to trade with all countries and to use American ships in commerce.

In early colonial and frontier society, each individual was expected to bear his share of the labor of his home. Children began working on the farms at an early age. With the invention and utilization of power-machinery, tasks which had formerly required the strength of adult men could be performed by children and by women. Because children and women would work for lower wages than men, employers found it to their advantage to hire the cheap labor. Parents found that children could aid in the family support when employed for pay. However, the problem of child labor never became so acute in America as it was in England, since most Americans were farmers and had ample work for their children at home.[4] Although early leaders of the nation applauded child labor as a means of keeping children out of evil and as a way by which children could begin to earn their way at an early age, child labor came to be condemned as the demand for jobs became greater than the amount of work available and as adults began to realize that children were often keeping out of employment men who had families to support. Today child labor is contrary to the mores of the group, except for work on farms and in certain types of "light" jobs which men would not normally seek.

With the growth of industrialism, a large part of the population has become propertyless. Factories, stores, transportation and communication operations, and even farms have become large-scale businesses. Companies of many stockholders employ millions of employees in the aggregate. Laborers have little opportunity to own and operate their own shop and plants; they are consigned for life to the rôle of "wage slaves." They have built up a set of mores and folkways very different from those of the earlier American people. Today labor and capital are regarded as two opposing groups whose interests are dissimilar. Laborers tend to feel that they are being exploited for the profit of stockholders of corporations. Laborers demand government legislation to control business for the advantage of the workers. Organized labor attempts to place the rights of labor before the rights of property and of capital — a reversal of old practices. With each new national administration the rights of labor receive more recognition, and new folkways and mores are being formed in support of the majority of the American population — the workers.

[4] For a description of the child labor problems in England during the early nineteenth century, see H. de B. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1920, pp. 381–406.

4. NON-INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENT

Associated with the American ideal of enterprise free to engage in legitimate activities according to the wishes of the owners or directors, there is the feeling that the function of the established government is to support business as need for protection arises but not to regulate nor to interfere in the operations of businessmen.

American producers settling in Texas, then a part of Mexico, demanded protection by their mother country against the laws and practices of the nation into which they had migrated. American businessmen demanded protection by their government, in foreign countries and at home, against activities of foreign countries inimical to the free operations of American investors. However, when our government attempted to regulate or to interfere with the free operations of individuals engaged in productive, extractive, or commercial activities, public officials were accused of being "socialists," "communists" or the like.

Although the American folkways have been, and still are to a considerable extent, opposed to governmental interference in business there has been a continuous trend toward more and more regulation of business by the state. Governmental activity in business now often competes with privately owned concerns, and there is even governmental monopoly in certain businesses.[5] Usually, after governmental regulation of business activities has been tried and people have become adjusted to the change, there is slight desire even by the entrepreneurs themselves, to return to the condition of unregulated individual activity. No one would wish to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission and to return to the former era of free competition on the part of the common carriers.

B. *The Structure of Wants*

The nature of human wants was discussed in a previous chapter. Wants of human beings, even for material goods essential for sustaining life, vary with the culture of the people. The greatest desire of a Chinese man is for sons to honor him; the greatest desire of many primitive groups is the means of satisfying physical appetites; and the desire for which the zealous churchmen of the Middle Ages would even sacri-

[5] The Tennessee Valley Authority has brought the federal government into direct competition with power companies in the distribution of electric power. Many municipalities now own and control part of, and in a few cases, all the public utilities such as electricity, gas, water, and transportation facilities.

fice their lives was the Church's approval of their mode of living so that the rewards of eternal life would be assured them. The structure of wants in American society is largely non-material in nature, but it rests on a material foundation.

1. SOCIAL STATUS; RECOGNITION

The desire of most Americans is probably to raise or to maintain their present social position. In America, where according to popular dogma all people are created equal, the most common desire is not for equality but for superiority or the attainment of a social position which carries with it social distinction and esteem. Associated with social status or recognition is the desire for power through one's position in society. This power may be economic such as that maintained by the industrial leaders of the nation; it may be political, such as that of national, state, and local officials; it may be religious, such as that exercised by church leaders; it may be educational, such as that of recognized authorities in intellectual matters; or it may be purely social, such as that of certain groups of individuals classed as "born to the purple," "blue-bloods," "members of the 400," or "F.F.V.'s."

Very often the desire for personal approval or esteem is not recognized as the fundamental motive underlying certain acts by individuals. Nevertheless it seems to be a human characteristic that each person seeks the plaudits of his associates above anything else on earth.

2. HOME AND FAMILY

The desire of some individuals is to have children and a home where they can enjoy life in an atmosphere of peace and quiet, surrounded by those they love and by whom they are loved. This want is very strong in the human mind and is glorified or idealized in literature and from the public platform. Although modern Americans may have as great a desire as their predecessors for a home and family, the opportunities for satisfying the wish are not so great. Urbanism is the destroyer, if not of the desire for a home, at least of the opportunity or advisability of gratifying the wish.

3. NEW EXPERIENCES

The desire which is strongest with some people is the wish for adventure, excitement, thrills. Explorers have sought new lands because of their desire for new experiences. Many modern forms of commer-

cialized recreation are designed to satisfy this human want. Generally speaking, young people are more largely motivated by the wish for new experiences than are their elders.

4. SECURITY

In a population where an increasing number and proportion of the population are classed as "old," the desire for security, particularly economic security, is of greater importance than at any period in our history. As they reach a period when their strength and efficiency will be declining, people want to be relieved from the insecurity of employment, the uncertainty of the future. A reflection of the strength of the wish for security is to be found in the local, state, and national measures and proposals for old age pensions.

5. GRATIFICATION OF APPETITES

Another type of want which is to be found among populations in any culture is that for satisfaction of the tastes and appetites of individuals. This desire may range from the wish for purely physical gratification of sensual inclinations to enjoyment of aesthetic experiences from music, paintings, or reading.[6]

Although the majority of the wants of Americans are non-material in nature, they have a material basis. The ability of individuals to satisfy their various desires rests for the most part on the possession of economic resources. Through wealth the person secures social prestige and power, the ability to maintain a home and family, new experiences, a sense of security, and gratification of his appetites and tastes. Money is not only "the source of all evil," but it is likewise the source of most good, according to the various personal beliefs as to what constitutes "good."

6. MOTIVE POWER OF WANTS

Wants are motivations of action in a great variety of ways. The laborer will work diligently so as to secure his wish or wishes; the entrepreneur will strive diligently toward the same goal; an individual will endure hardship, sacrifice, and danger in order to reach his goal, that is, the attainment of the want which to him is uppermost.

[6] For a classic discussion of human wishes, see W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl*, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1923, pp. 1–40.

C. *Structure of Resources*

1. HUMAN RESOURCES

The resources of the United States can be classified as human, natural, and technological. Although all are indispensable in any culture, human resources are the most important in the development of a great nation.

The United States has been blessed in modern times with an efficient and for the most part an abundant supply of labor. The nation was not always supplied with abundant labor, and to meet the shortage indentured servants and slaves were brought in. Immigration was later encouraged, and thousands of Germans, Irishmen, Chinese, Italians, and people from other nations were bound by contract and brought to this country to work for construction companies and for other concerns needing cheap, unskilled labor.

The labor supply available to American industry constitutes one of the most heterogeneous masses of human beings on earth. All sections of the globe have helped to supply the nation with workers, managers of labor, and captains of industry.

The early Americans were a hardy, independent, vigorous, and ambitious group of people. The same qualities for the most part characterized the later immigrants to America. Possessing the characteristics essential to the conquest of a new land and to the development of a great industrial nation, the American people have been certainly the equal of any people in the world in their ability to work intelligently. The people in an autocratic nation, directed minutely in all of their activities, may work diligently and efficiently under proper direction, but they are not likely to do so well when left to their own resources. The great strength of American labor in the past has probably been its independence and intelligence. Individualism has characterized not only the employer class of American society; it has throughout the greater part of the nation's history been a trait possessed by laborers as well.

Naturally Americans have made efficient if somewhat hard-driving managers, since from early times the American ideal has been to own and direct one's own business.

Indeed, the quality of human resources in both labor and in managerial ability coupled with great natural resources has made the United States the world's greatest industrial nation in production and capacity to produce.

There is, however, a darker side to the picture. In the human resources of the nation there has been great waste through the driving eagerness on the part of some to produce goods in quantity at low cost. Slavery was but one example of the waste which has been practiced. Barnes states:

> There is little doubt that considerably more than half of the population since Colonial times would have been better off if they had died at birth. As a result of privation, unnecessary sickness, suffering and sorrow, they had far less of life's comforts and satisfactions than they had of distress, sorrow, and inconvenience. We may have built a great country, but those who built it did so at a terrific price to themselves and their dependents.[7]

It is very difficult to evaluate such things as happiness and sorrow, and one should be rather cautious in making the statement that people would have been better off if they had "died at birth." Who is qualified to judge such matters? The indictment of American labor conditions as waste of human resources is no doubt true, but the indictment might with an even greater degree of truth be levelled at all the great nations. It is certainly true that much needs to be done in order to conserve our human resources.

2. NATURAL RESOURCES

The United States has possessed a greater variety and greater quantity of essential natural resources than perhaps any other nation in the world.

It has had vast areas of arable land suitable for the cultivation of subtropical and temperate climate crops. The variety of American agricultural production is almost unequaled among the nations of the world.

From the standpoint of minerals such as coal, iron ore, and petroleum, the United States stands ahead of any nation in production and in capacity to produce. There are in fact few essential minerals which are not to be found in the United States and Canada.[8]

The topography of the United States provides the nation with water power sites which can generate power to operate much of the machinery of the nation and provide much of its population with lights and heat.

[7] Harry Elmer Barnes, *Society in Transition*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1939, pp. 95–96. Reprinted by permission.

[8] Tin is one of those few minerals of which the nation is deficient in its supply. At present measures are being taken to develop the tin mines of Bolivia by using American capital.

Within recent years steps have been taken to utilize water power to a greater extent than formerly, but much still remains to be done.

The forests of the United States were great in extent and in types of trees. In the South there were great cypress swamps, hard-wood forests of oak and gum, and great expanses of long and short-leaf pine; in the North there were hickory, oak, maple, and yellow pine; and in the West great fir and redwood forests.

During the exploitation of the natural resources of the nation, waste characterized the activities of the primary producers at every point. One of the blackest records of American history has been the wanton destruction and waste of the essential resources with which the nation was endowed by nature.

3. TECHNOLOGY [9]

The geographic environment in which Americans were situated, coupled with their desire to increase individual profits through greater production of goods, acted to encourage the use of machines for productive purposes. Vast expanses of fertile soil were available for cultivation if with relatively small amounts of labor there could be found means of tilling the soil and harvesting the crops. The demand for implements to increase the amount of land one man could till resulted in such agricultural inventions as the iron plough, the cotton gin, the cradle, the reaper, the steel tooth harrow, the cultivator, the grain drill, and, within the past generation, the combine.

As means of transportation, railways, steamboats, paved highways, automobiles, and airplanes have developed; as a means of communication, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio. In industry, machinery utilizing steam, water, and electrical power has been developed and utilized. Even in the home the work is done to a considerable extent with machinery. There one finds the sewing machine, the carpet sweeper, the vacuum cleaner, automatic heating and cooling devices, mechanical refrigerators, and electric lights.

No people in the world have become so dependent on machines to carry on the regular activities of life as Americans. This can be seen by the fact that there are more automobiles in proportion to the population, more miles of railways, more telephones, more radio receiving

[9] The term *technology* refers to the application of science to the solution of human problems. Through the use of science man has developed power machines to do his work. *Cf.* Russell A. Dixon, *Economic Institutions and Cultural Change*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1941. pp. 288–306.

sets than in any other country. Furthermore, Americans utilize modern improvements in the homes more than is customary in other countries.

It has been pointed out that Americans are extravagantly wasteful in the fields of labor and natural resources. Americans are equally wasteful of machinery. Anyone going through rural sections of the nation can see expensive farm machinery left in the fields without protection from the weather. With such lack of safeguards against rust, machinery cannot remain in service for as long a period of time as when it is properly protected. Other types of machinery are often neglected with similar disregard of extravagant waste. Each year the cost of automobile destruction or deterioration alone reaches a figure of great size.

D. *Organization of Production*

Production is distributed throughout the United States on the basis of such factors as availability of natural resources, character of the soil and the climate, nearness to trade centers, transportation facilities, supply of capital which can be utilized, quality and quantity of labor available, and habits of the population.

1. FACTORS AFFECTING GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

a. *Natural resources.* The location of coal and iron deposits in an area are favorable for the development of steel manufacturing within the district. Pittsburgh and Birmingham are steel manufacturing centers because of the availability of coal and iron. When mineral resources are located near a body of water so that transportation can be carried on in an inexpensive way, the location is especially favorable for certain types of heavy industries. Detroit is located near deposits of needed metals and has water for cheap transportation. Hence Detroit and its surrounding area have become the center of the world's greatest motor car manufacturing industry.

Lumbering, furniture-making, and paper-producing centers, in the beginning, are located in regions where the forests are sufficient in kind and in quantity to supply the raw materials needed. After the centers are established, the raw materials may become exhausted in the area and the entrepreneurs may feel that it is more economical to ship the timber to the factories than it would be to move the plant to the avail-

able resources. The furniture makers of the United States are still located, to a considerable extent, in the regions of the Great Lakes even though the forests which formerly provided the materials for making furniture are largely exhausted. Lumber mills, however, are likely to move or to cease operation when woods of an area are "cut out."

Power centers may be located where coal or other fuels are available in quantity and at low cost. They are also located on streams of water where dams can be built and the fall of water used to generate electrical power; the Tennessee Valley Project, the Grand Coulee Dam, and the Boulder Dam are examples of great power producing plants.

b. *Soil and climate.* California, Florida, and Southern Texas, because of their suitable soil and climate, are the regions which supply the greater part of the citrus fruit consumed in the nation. The production of wheat is greatest in the plains section of the Mississippi River Valley; the growth of rice is confined principally to the Gulf Coast regions. Livestock is raised chiefly in the western and central portions of the United States, either in regions where the rainfall is sufficient for grazing but insufficient for large scale crop growing or in areas suitable for the cultivation of corn with which to fatten the cattle and hogs. In fact, the distribution of production of agricultural products is in large measure the result of the natural conditions in the area, that is, type of soil and climate.

c. *Trade centers and transportation facilities.* Production of certain goods is dependent upon available trade centers which can use the commodities. Perishable vegetables are often grown in the vicinities of large cities. When areas like Southern California and the Gulf Coast produce vegetables in the winter for northern markets, transportation facilities are important factors in production. The area of production of sweet milk is largely limited to regions surrounding large cities, or near enough to permit delivery of the milk to its consumers within a few hours after it is produced.

In considering factors in the distribution of production, one can hardly separate the location of trade centers from transportation facilities. A trade center becomes and remains a trade center through the possibility of getting goods to and from itself. Because of their inaccessibility to world markets, many regions which are provided with natural resources or have suitable soil and climate for agricultural production have never been developed to any considerable extent. Great deposits of coal in Alaska have never been exploited. The Peace River

valley of northwestern Canada is suited to the growth of wheat, and the northern coast of Canada is favorable for the production of meat, but potential production has never been developed because there are no available markets for the goods.

d. *Capital.* In order to develop certain types of industries a considerable amount of investment funds must be available. Since the supply of such funds is largely centered in the industrial and financial Northeast of the United States, other sections have great difficulty in securing new industries which require large quantities of capital. The difficulties of sections outside of the industrial center of the United States are increased by the fact that the required capital must often be secured from individuals and concerns who are interested in maintaining the existing regional set-up. Any northern capitalists who loan large sums of money to western and southern concerns for the purpose of erecting factories and industries in the West and South are by their very acts making possible the creation of institutions which compete with northern establishments and consequently might weaken the firm hold the Northeast at present has on the nation's capital. A region which is lacking in capital in the forms of money and implements must of necessity confine its operations largely to the production of raw materials, that is, producers' goods.

e. *Labor.* The quantity and quality of labor are important factors in the distribution of production. Certain industries require highly skilled, technical workers to carry on the operations. A locality may have the natural resources, but, owing to a lack in the labor supply, industries of certain types do not locate in the area. Since the labor in the South was for the most part unskilled, large scale development of manufacturing was hindered until recent years when other factors began to operate. The American center of the textile industry and of boots and shoe manufacture was in the New England States until the beginning of the twentieth century. Although New England was far removed from the sources of raw materials, there were in the area many skilled workers who could carry on the manufacturing operations.

f. *Habits of the people.* In any area, closely associated with the quantity and quality of labor available as factors in influencing the productive efforts of the people, are the habits of the population. The population of a region becomes accustomed to certain types of productive activities and frequently there is no desire on the part of the workers to learn new occupations. There are, for example, areas in the South

which are admirably suited by nature for dairying. The people living there, however, are familiar with cotton raising, and although it might be to the advantage of the population in many ways for a portion of the cotton growers to produce dairy products, there is little development along that line. Often, when the natural resources of a region which have encouraged the development of certain types of industries are exhausted, the workers, instead of entering new occupations and attempting to adjust themselves to new conditions, move to regions where they are able to carry on their customary occupations.

2. FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

In the organization of production, certain geographical regions produce raw materials to be processed into consumers' goods. The great raw material producing districts in the United States are largely in the West and the South.[10] Likewise certain regions are principally concerned with the manufacturing of different types of goods. Other centers devote the greatest part of their economic efforts to trade, storage, and transportation.

In addition to the geographical distribution of production, there is the functional organization of production. Raw materials must be produced for factories. In the early part of the nation's history most of the productive efforts of Americans were directed toward supplying raw products for other countries, particularly England. Raw materials are of little use to man in their original form; they must be processed. Wheat must be made into flour; the juices of sugar beets and sugar cane must be extracted and changed into sugar; textiles must be woven into cloth and sewed into garments; iron ore must be changed to steel, and steel fashioned into machinery.

When manufacture is completed in the various centers and distributed throughout the nation, the commodities must be sold to the ultimate consumers. Merchandising of products means their sale by one branch of the productive process to another branch or to the ultimate consumer. The farmer sells his wheat to the miller; the miller in turn sells his flour to the baker or the grocer; and the baker or grocer in turn sell their goods to the ultimate consumer. The farmer knows little about merchandising. Likewise, the miller is hardly in a position to

[10] As a matter of fact, raw materials are produced to some extent in all sections of the nation. Truck gardening, for example, is carried on in small plots within the city limits of our great cities.

visit the various farmers from whom he wishes to purchase wheat or the bakers and grocers to whom he intends to sell flour. Commission merchants and others who devote their time to buying and selling the various products take care of the merchandising processes. The activities of these individuals and concerns are an essential part of the productive process in our society.

Frequently goods are produced for which there is no immediate demand. If such commodities were placed on the market at the time of production, the prices would fall often below actual cost. Farmers and other producers are often not equipped to hold the goods for long; they must at once sell or otherwise dispose of their products. Warehouses, cold storage plants, grain elevators, and the like are established to store surplus goods from one season of the year to another and also to make available at one time of the year goods which are produced in another. The activities of individuals engaged in storing and preserving goods for future use are an essential part of the modern productive process.

Closely associated with both the merchandising and storing of goods is the transportation of commodities from one place to another. When the merchant buys or sells goods, the goods usually need to be moved. When the person who intends to store goods for future demand makes provision for such storage, the goods need to be moved. Transportation is an indispensable part of the productive process in the United States.

3. OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

a. *Small, medium-sized, and large enterprises.* Production agencies in the United States vary greatly in size. The smallest of these units are those operated by individual entrepreneurs. The units include farms run exclusively by the members of a family and with a minimum of power machinery; corner stores selling drugs, groceries, gasoline, automobile supplies, and other commodities but having such a limited volume of business that the owners can operate them with no other aid than that of members of the family; and small industrial establishments, usually repair shops such as garages, furniture repair shops, blacksmith shops (in some rural sections) and similar establishments which the owner operates without hired labor.

In most sections of the nation there are medium-sized units of production. These units include farms which employ power machinery — tractors, automobile trucks, and gasoline and electric motors — and hired labor during certain seasons of the year; merchandising establish-

ments like the general stores, the large grocery, drug, hardware and clothing stores wherein the owner is a business manager and employs labor to do most of the selling operations; small industrial establishments such as saw mills, textile mills, bakeries, food processing plants designed to provide for limited areas, and other plants which are not branches of systems directed from central offices; cold storage plants, grain elevators, warehouses and canning factories; companies and individuals operating, by means of hired labor, transportation systems such as local systems of buses and trucks. The medium-sized units of production can be found in rural sections, in small towns, and in the great cities. The individual-owned store, although it may do a large volume of business within a city and its surrounding area, would be classed as medium-sized for the reason that it is not a part of a nation-wide or state-wide chain of such stores. The establishments which operate as individual units should be classed as medium-sized.

The greatest development in America has been the mammoth corporation which is engaged in one or many types of production. The operations of the large productive enterprises vary in size, as do the medium and small sized establishments. Greatest among such producing agents are farms such as the King Ranch in Texas which owns thousands of acres of land, a larger expanse than many counties in the United States; Montgomery Ward, Sears Roebuck and Company, Kress, and many other chains of merchandising establishments which sell goods to all parts of the nation; the Ford Motor Company, General Motors, the Standard Oil Corporation and other industrial establishments whose operations are world-wide in scope; the great railway systems such as the Missouri Pacific, the New York Central, and the Pennsylvania Lines; communication systems like the Bell Telephone Company and the Western Union Telegraph Company, which play an important part in the production of American goods; great packing and storage plants like Swift, Armour, Wilson and others, which keep food in cold storage until the need arises for it.

b. *Forms of ownership*

(1) *Individual entrepreneur.* The most common forms of ownership are: the individual ownership, the partnership, and the corporation. An individual entrepreneur is one who owns and directs the operations of his establishment. The size of the individually operated unit is usually, but not always, smaller than that of the partnership and of the corporation. A wealthy man may own a store, a factory, or any kind of busi-

ness which does a volume of production or trade greater than a similar concern owned by a corporation. The distinguishing feature of the individual entrepreneur is that he himself owns the establishment, directs its operations, receives its profits, and assumes the losses. Most of the farms of America are operated by individual owners and represent the individual entrepreneur type of business organization. Some stores in the United States are still individually owned, but they transact a relatively small part of the total business carried on in the nation. With the growth of "big business" in the period since the Civil War, fewer and fewer individually owned enterprises have been able to continue in business. Even in agriculture there has been a trend away from the individually owned and operated farm.

Individual ownership as a form of business organization has the advantages of simplicity and ease of organization, centralization of responsibility and control, and motivation for efficiency in business. The owner operates his business according to his own wishes, so long as he violates no laws; he is largely responsible for the success or failure of his enterprise; and he alone receives the profits or bears the losses of the business.

Individual ownership has various disadvantages: only a limited amount of capital can usually be raised for business by one individual; the risks of individual ownership are often very great and must be borne by the owner alone; and other individuals must often be employed to assist in the operations of the businesses. Individually owned enterprises are not usually able to secure competent labor as easily as are the other forms of business organizations, since the small volume of business transacted does not permit the payment of high salaries and wages.

(2) *Partnership.* Partnership is a form of business organization in which two or more owners share the profits and the losses of the enterprise. Partnership is not a common or a popular form of organization in the United States at the present time. However, the partnership is still found in small retail and wholesale establishments. It is most widely used by professional men, especially doctors and lawyers.

The advantages of the partnership over the individual enterprise rest in the ability of partners to secure more capital with which to operate; also there is the possible advantage gained when persons with specialized talents join together and share the rewards of their joint efforts. The organization of the partnership is relatively simple and therefore offers some of the advantages of private ownership.

There are two chief disadvantages in the partnership as a business organization. The members have unlimited liability for the debts of the firm even though the obligations may be made by a partner without the knowledge or consent of the other partners. The partnership is very unstable. The death or retirement of one member of the firm dissolves the firm.

(3) *The corporation.* From the standpoint of volume of production the most important form of business organization in the United States is the corporation. It is estimated that 57 per cent of all income produced in the United States in 1929 was made by corporations. That is, corporations during the year 1929 produced 14 per cent more income than both individual and partnership forms of organization.[11]

In the eyes of the law, the corporation is an artificial person created by the state and subject to the laws of its creator. The corporation can own property, make contracts binding on itself, sue and be sued in courts, and enjoy the privileges guaranteed a natural person by the constitution.

The corporation is formed by a number of individuals joining together in an enterprise through purchased stock shares in the ownership and control of a business concern and through conformity with such state requirements as may be necessary to secure a charter.[12] The charter is the formal statement of a company's legal organization. The rights, powers, and relationships of all persons involved in a corporation are set forth in the charter.

The corporation has distinct advantages over both the private owner and the partnership. (1) The corporation can secure capital with greater ease than can other forms of economic organizations. This capital may be secured either through selling stock — shares in the enterprise — or by borrowing the money by selling bonds — mortgages on the property of the corporation. (2) The corporation can delegate authority and managerial duties to individuals who are experts in their fields. Since the corporation does such a large volume of business, it is able to pay its executives more and consequently to secure greater ability than those establishments which cannot pay as high salaries. (3) The owners of corporations enjoy limited liability. They cannot be

[11] *Cf. Big Business: Its Growth and Its Place*, Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 17.

[12] For a detailed description of the charter see Russell A. Dixon, *Economic Institutions and Cultural Change*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1941, pp. 352-361

personally held for the obligations of the company to an amount greater than their stock in the corporation. (4) Ownership in a corporation is easily transferred. The owner may dispose of his interests in a concern by selling his stock as he may desire — to any one who wishes it, at any time, or for any price he is willing to accept. (5) The corporation, unlike the partnership, continues in operation after the death of its owners, the stockholders. This characteristic of the corporation gives it greater stability than can be found in either of the other forms of organization.

Although the corporation is the most popular form of business organization, it is not free from disadvantageous features. (1) Through the administrative structure of the corporation the majority of the stockholders may lose control over the enterprise they own and have little if any voice in the operations of the concern. This result can be accomplished if a relatively small number representing a minority of the stock in the company join together for the purpose of controlling the company. (2) The government supervises and regulates the business carried on by corporations more closely than it does the operations of private owners or partnerships. (3) The cost and the red tape associated with organizing a corporation are handicaps. (4) Taxes are usually higher on corporation business than on operations carried on by entrepreneurs and partners.

c. *Concentration of control.* The advantages of the corporate form of ownership overweigh the disadvantages to such an extent that the trend in America is toward greater percentages of the total business conducted by corporations and toward increases in the size of individual corporations. Although certain fields of production, particularly farming and the building industry, are still dominated by individual or partnership forms of organization, the prevailing economic pattern in the United States is production by large corporations — companies with assets amounting to more than fifty million dollars each. About ninety per cent of the assets of transportation and public utility concerns are owned by great corporations.[18]

A student who considers the usual purchases made for the home finds that the housewife buys meat which has been prepared by Armour, Swift, or Wilson; sugar which has been refined by the American Sugar Refinery; canned goods which are in containers prepared by the American Can Company. The housewife's fresh vegetables, meats, milk and

[18] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–394.

eggs are stored in refrigerators made by General Motors, General Electric, or Westinghouse; groceries are purchased from a branch of the A. & P. or some other chain grocery. Many household furnishings and much of the family's clothing are bought from retail branches of chain stores and have been manufactured by great corporations. The goods are ordered by a telephone which is owned and operated by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company or one of its subsidiaries. The family car was built by Ford, General Motors, or Chrysler; the car is propelled and lubricated by products of the Standard, Gulf, or Texas Oil Companies. At every turn the life of American citizens depends upon products of corporations which have developed systems often world-wide in extent.

As the volume of business and the share of production by a few corporations increases, the control over economic activities in the nation is concentrated in the hands of a relatively few individuals. Not only do men like the Rockefellers and the Duponts and the presidents and general managers of such companies as the United States Steel Corporation, General Motors, and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company control hundreds of thousands of lives by providing them with income and employment, but the influence of the great capitalists and industrialists is so great that it touches every aspect of life in the nation. Smaller companies and business concerns must in many instances either cooperate with the great corporations or be forced out of business. Towns often grow and prosper, or wither and become "ghost towns," according to whether a company continues to operate or closes its plants therein.

Through the concentration of control made possible by the operation of corporations doing business on a nation-wide and world-wide scale, competition is largely eliminated. One, two, or three great companies control such a large proportion of the business in their particular fields that they can maintain virtual monopolies over the operations in their lines.[14]

d. *Administrative coordination.* The concentration of authority in economic activities grows out of administrative coordination in and among the companies carrying on business in the nation. Through administrative coordination, economies in productive operations are

[14] In some texts and by some authorities cooperatives are considered as a type of economic producing organization. Although cooperatives have played an important part in the business activities of some European countries, particularly among the Scandinavian people, cooperatives have not played a great rôle in American production.

effected and competition is reduced. Administrative coordination is carried out in a number of different ways. A company may buy the property of another and merge the two concerns into one. Through merger the business of two or more companies may be carried on from the offices of one company, and the administrative personnel of one concern may carry on the work formerly performed by two or more staffs. Not only are economies effected through the increased volume of business carried on, but the company as it becomes greater in size is able to dominate the business to such an extent as to reduce competitive influences.

Through the practice of owners of stock in one concern buying shares in competing companies, boards of directors are chosen frequently to cooperate in such a way as to benefit the organizations under their direction. For example Company A may have a certain number of individuals on its board of directors who are also on the board of Company B; both Company A and Company B may have members on the board of directors of Company C. Individuals often serve as directors of a number of different companies operating in the same fields of activities. When two or more companies are directed by the same individuals who are interested in securing the greatest possible profits from the activities of the different corporations, the operations are coordinated and the companies have agreements and policies which eliminate competition between or among them.

A device widely used at the beginning of the century to attain administrative coordination was the trust. Under this scheme a group of men were selected to operate a business. The stockholders of a number of competing companies signed over their stock to the "trustees" for a period of years. When the term expired or when the trust was dissolved, the stock was returned to the owners. The stockholders received trust certificates for their stock and received their shares on the profits of the companies operated under the trustees.

The holding company was an easy step in the transformation of trusts into corporations of huge proportions. Through the holding company a relatively few individuals buy or otherwise secure the stock of a number of competing and cooperating companies. The purposes of the holding company are: first, to effect the economies of large scale unified operation of business; and second, to secure the rewards of "high finance," greater return on the capital invested.[15]

[15] *Cf.* Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–411.

Corporate combinations tend to develop along three rather distinct lines: horizontal, vertical, and diagonal. The horizontal type of combination consists of unifying a number of plants operating in the same field of production. An example is a chain of grocery stores. A number of small units are united under the administration of one individual and staff. The vertical organization may combine the productive activities from the extractive industries through the manufacturing processes, through transportation and storage, until, in some instances, the finished product is sold to the consumer. The Ford Motor Company is an excellent example of vertical organization. That company owns its own coal and iron mines, its ships and railways for transporting raw and finished products, its factories for various goods needed in making automobiles, and finally its sales agency for distributing cars to purchasers throughout the nation. Probably no company yet exists which controls all of the steps in the vertical process of production. Ford makes a tire for the Ford cars, but many tires must also be purchased from other companies. Diagonal combinations are both vertical and horizontal. In this system the company owns different plants producing the same goods together with plants making goods used in the factories. Factories producing by-products and other articles remotely related to the main products are to be found in this type of organization. General Motors and the Standard Oil Company are good examples of diagonal combinations.

4. BANKING AND CREDIT

The American banking system is an essential part of the American capitalistic system. The bank serves two main functions: it acts as a depository for safeguarding money and securities owned by depositors; and it extends credit to borrowers. In serving as a depository of the peoples' money, the bank facilitates exchange. Checks made to individuals to whom a debt is owed are drawn by depositors on the bank where the depositors' funds are kept. The check is a safeguard in exchange because it cannot be cashed by anyone without the endorsement of the person to whom it is made payable. Furthermore, the endorsed check serves as a receipt for payment. The function of the bank is to extend credit to those who need it and who can provide reasonable assurances that they can repay the advances. The bank extends credit by outright loans to individuals and to business concerns for the purpose of meeting unexpected or periodic needs. Credit of this type is

essential in capitalistic enterprise where the beginning of the productive processes precedes by weeks and months the final disposition of manufactured goods. In the meantime labor must be paid, raw materials must be purchased, and operating expenses must be met as the occasion demands. To meet the cost of production in anticipation of demand, credit is extended by banks.

Although the trend has been toward great industrial corporations which control their particular fields of production, in the realm of finance there has not been nearly so great a centralization of banking institutions. The chain bank is not a prevalent pattern in the United States; instead there are a great many independent bank units operating under state or national charters. Although there are more state banks than those chartered by the national government, the latter are much larger and transact the great bulk of the banking business of the nation.

At the head of the banking system of the United States are twelve Federal Reserve Banks, one for each of twelve Federal Reserve districts into which the nation is divided. These Federal Reserve Banks are located in the following cities: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Dallas, St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. All national banks must join the Federal Reserve System, and state banks are permitted to join if they meet the provisions of the laws governing member banks. Although less than half of the banks of the United States are members of the Federal Reserve Banking System, more than two-thirds of the assets held by commercial banks are held by member institutions.[16]

5. ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

As industry has become more centralized and productive units have grown large, smaller and smaller percentages of the laboring population have been self-employed, that is, working for themselves and receiving the profits of their own efforts. There has been a trend in the United States for workers to be employed for pay by the great industrial organizations. With the increasing number of workers dependent upon the operations of a relatively small number of corporations, there has appeared the need for laborers to be organized into unions for their common protection against organized industry. In the existing indus-

[16] *Cf.* Robert E. Riegel (ed.), *An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, D Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1941, pp. 266–268.

trial system, individual bargaining of employer and employee is impracticable.

In response to the need of labor for collective bargaining with corporations, the existing labor unions developed. Daugherty defines labor organizations as "voluntary associations of wage-earners who have united for the common purpose of advancing and maintaining their economic, social, and political circumstances." [17] At the present time there are two essentially different forms of labor unions operating in the United States. There are the *craft* or *trade* union, with its various modifications, and the *industrial* union. The craft union is composed of workers such as carpenters, brick layers, locomotive engineers, conductors, and other specialized workers in different branches of industry. Unskilled or semi-skilled workers are not taken into this type of union. Adaptations of the *craft* union are to be found in attempts to expand the operations of the organization through amalgamation of two or more similar or parallel crafts into one union, and through the federation of related trade unions into one cooperative body of unions whose existence and activities depend upon voluntary action and the good-will of member units.[18]

The industrial union is more inclusive than the craft union and takes into its membership all employees in a particular industry, the unskilled workers along with the technically trained employees. Examples of industrial unions are: the United Mine Workers, United Automobile Workers, the United Brewery Workers, and other similar organizations. In industrial unions, all employees in an industry (such as that of making automobile parts and assembling them, all persons connected with the coal-mining industry, and all persons working in breweries) are eligible for membership.

The American Federation of Labor, the older of the two nation-wide labor federations, is composed mainly of craft or trade unions; the Congress of Industrial Organizations, first organized as an insurgent committee within the American Federation of Labor in 1935 and expelled from the parent organization in 1938, represents the industrial type of labor union.

Some corporations, in order to avoid or to forestall attempts to organize the groups of employees under either the American Federation

[17] Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1941, p. 308.

[18] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 309–312.

of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, have developed company unions. In these the employees have been permitted to express grievances and are said to have a degree of collective bargaining. Examples may be found where company unions have operated satisfactorily both for the workers and the employers. On the whole, however, the company unions have been looked on with disapproval because of the limited amount of true industrial democracy provided thereunder.

E. *Competition and Prices*

1. PRICE BEHAVIOR IN COMPETITIVE INDUSTRIES

American industry developed under conditions of relatively free competition in all lines of economic endeavor ranging from farming to the manufacturing industries. The machinery and equipment required in the operations were very simple and relatively inexpensive. A person could enter business very easily; he could secure a farm from the government without any considerable expenditure of money, or he could rent a small building and set up his simple machinery for a manufacturing plant. Not only was the outlay for capital equipment for productive operations very low, but the cost of operating the industry was also low, and taxes, rent, labor, and other overhead and operating costs did not require much money or credit. From the early colonial period of American history, the ideal of every citizen of the new land, whether he was the son of an independent farmer, shipowner, or merchant, or himself began life in America as an indentured servant, was to own his individual enterprise whatever it might be. Both American ideals and the ease of starting independent enterprises made many small industries appear in all parts of the nation. As each one of this great number of independent operators strove to make a living and to increase the volume of business so that he could accumulate a savings for old age, there was little opportunity for collusion to avoid competition. The severe competition between small operators made prices fluctuate considerably from year to year and from place to place.

Under conditions such as existed in the early period of American industry, the factors of supply and demand which tend to regulate prices in a competitive society operated effectively, so that, except during periods of wars or of unusual financial and monetary disturbances, the economic system was in relative balance and was relatively stable.

Even when the disturbing elements did cause crises and depressions, recovery to prosperity was relatively easy and prompt because the necessary readjustments in costs and prices were not difficult for enterprisers to make. In short, the essential flexibility needed for the smooth operation of a free-enterprise economic system was present.

2. PRICE BEHAVIOR IN MONOPOLISTIC INDUSTRIES

Today, however, American industry no longer operates on a strictly competitive basis. Industries are of such proportions that a few maintain a virtual monopoly in their respective fields. The great corporations represent very complex business organizations with thousands of individuals sharing in the ownership of the business. The amount of capital required is too great for any but a relatively few wealthy persons to supply. The total overhead and operating costs are high when the units are large, but operating costs in relation to the goods produced are usually much lower in large-scale than in small-scale businesses. Since the large plants produce goods in quantity, there are relatively few producers. Where but few firms produce the great majority of the products of a field, it is easy for the producers to make price-fixing agreements, to allot certain areas to a firm, and to make other schemes to avoid competition. That agreements as to prices exist among the great producers there can be little doubt. Drive into a Standard, Texaco, Gulf, or Pure Oil filling station in a city, and see how much difference there is in the price of gasoline or lubricating oils of the same quality and grade. Certain filling stations sell cheaper products, but the trade of these stations is not sufficiently strong competition to bother the great companies.

Another point to be noticed about monopoly or quasi-monopoly prices is that they are relatively rigid from one season to another and from place to place. Gasoline varies in price but slightly between winter and summer. Meat prices vary slightly from one season to another. Bread is the same price, or approximately the same, month after month. Steel rails have been known to have the same price for years at a time.

Since monopolies, or concerns which have a virtual monopoly over a field of production, can operate so as to set the price for their goods, what is the basis on which the prices are fixed? Big business desires to make the greatest profits possible in their operations. They must therefore consider the prices of their goods very carefully. If the

prices fixed are too high, consumers will not buy their products but may learn to use substitutes. If the producers set the prices too high, there is also danger that an aroused public may demand governmental action to regulate prices or that some competitors may arise. The producer operating under a monopolistic system therefore tries to set prices at a point which will bring him the maximum net return.

The main points to remember about monopoly prices are two: first, these prices are almost always higher than prices under competitive conditions; second, monopoly prices are almost always rigid, that is, not sensitive to changes in supply and in demand. The first fact has the effect of adding to the inequality of income distribution and is therefore a major contributing cause to depressions and to business instability, for inequality of income distribution makes for a lack of balance between producing capacity and consuming capacity. The second fact means that a great part of the economic system is not operating in conformity with a basic principle of the system; if prices are not sensitive to market conditions and changes, the system is much more likely to get out of balance. This fact not only helps make for crises, depressions, and instability, but also prevents the readjustments that are necessary in order to recover from depressions. In other words, an economic system can not long exist in health, half slave (monopoly), and half free (pure competition).

The basic problem of modern economic society is how to attain economic balance without loss of free, democratic institutions. A free society can last only if competition is free and stays free. Monopoly carried to its logical end means fascism or socialism; and these political systems mean, at least temporarily, dictatorship and the end of liberty as we know it.

F. *Summary*

Economic institutions refer to the patterns of action followed by people in different societies in order to secure the necessary material goods. This chapter deals with certain economic institutions of the United States.

It has been in the mores of American people from early colonial times that production should be a matter with which individual enterprise should for the most part be concerned. Associated with the American ideas of individual enterprise are the beliefs that the proper goals

of individuals in their productive activities should be economic profits.

Work has been glorified in America and idleness has been regarded as sinful. In spite of the American idealization of work, however, the position of the worker has been secondary to that of property throughout the history of the nation. At present the national trend is toward increased recognition of the importance of work and the rights of laborers.

Human wants in the United States are both material and non-material in nature. The non-material wants are for the most part founded on a material base. Ability to secure the desires which are most important to most Americans depends upon the possession of material wealth in the form of money.

The resources of the United States, as of any other nation, are made up of human resources (including labor and the managerial ability of its people); natural resources (fertile soil, mineral deposits, power sites, and forests); and technology (the application of science in the form of machines and techniques to the solution of human problems).

Production in the United States is distributed throughout the nation on the basis of: natural resources, soil and climate, available trade centers and transportation facilities, capital, labor, and the habits of the population. As the factors differ in various sections of the nation, so the forms of production found in various sections differ.

From a functional viewpoint, production is divided into the growth or extraction of raw materials, the processing of raw materials, the distribution of raw materials and manufactured goods to places where such goods are needed, the merchandising of goods, and the storing of goods for which there is no immediate demand.

In the United States there are small, medium-sized, and large productive enterprises. Although there are more small than large enterprises, in some fields of operations most production is carried on by the large enterprises.

The types of business organizations found in the United States are: the individual ownership, the partnership, and the corporation. Although the individual entrepreneurial form of business is most numerous in America, the corporations control more capital and produce more goods in most fields of operations.

With the increase in the size of productive units and with the multiplication of corporations, there has been a corresponding concentration of control of the productive agencies in the hands of a relatively

small portion of the population. Management and administration of business enterprises have been consolidated so that one man or small group of men have controlled operations of world-wide scope.

Capitalism in America has been closely associated with the system of banking and credit existing in the nation. The banks have not, however, so closely followed the trend of other productive agencies and consolidated into chain banks. Instead, America is a land of many comparatively small banking establishments operating under state or national charters.

As business has consolidated into corporations, labor unions have developed. The labor union makes possible the protection of individual workers through collective bargaining. In union there is strength for all workers.

Business enterprise in America is carried on under competitive conditions in some industries, under semi-monopolistic or monopolistic conditions in other industries. This condition leads to lack of balance and lack of flexibility in the economic system, which in turn leads to depressions and to economic and political crises.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are some American economic folkways and mores of the present?
2. Why has the profit motive been so important in American society?
3. Explain the American feeling that idleness is sinful.
4. What are the non-material wants of Americans? In what ways do they rest on a material foundation?
5. What factors have favored American society in its industrial development?
6. Show how American production is distributed on the basis of geographical location.
7. In what ways has distribution of labor been related to geographical location in the United States?
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the partnership as compared with the private entrepreneur as systems of production? The corporation and the partnership?
9. What social advantages and disadvantages are associated with concentration of control of industry?

10. Describe the American banking system.
11. What are the fundamental differences between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.?
12. Can monopolistic industries absolutely control the prices of their goods? Explain.

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CHAPTER 25

Economic Problems in the United States

DURING ALL PERIODS of human development, man has been confronted with problems which often threatened his very existence. Primitive man was frequently faced with the prospect of starvation through failure of his usual food supply. In the Middle Ages society was often confronted with danger of complete annihilation from the ravages of epidemics, particularly "Black Death." With each period in human evolution there have been pressing problems requiring man's attention, but with the development of human society, the problems have changed. As certain problems have been solved or their importance lessened, other problems have arisen to demand attention. The economic problems of our modern age in the United States constitute the subject matter of this chapter.

A. *Problems Caused by the Business Cycle*

1. WHAT IS THE BUSINESS CYCLE?

The business cycle refers to the fluctuations in economic activities (that is, the changes from periods of prosperity — "good times" — to periods of depression or recession — "hard times") which have grown out of the development of capitalism. Economists in studying economic fluctuations find that in the period from 1796 to 1940 in the United States, the business cycle averaged about six to ten years in length; that is to say, the average time which elapsed between the crest of one wave of prosperity and the crest of another such wave was six to ten years.

There is considerable variation in business cycles. Sometimes the wave of prosperity rises much higher than at other times; likewise the depth of the depression sometimes causes much more suffering than at others.

The business cycle is marked by four fairly distinct phases: (1) re-

vival or recovery; (2) boom prosperity; (3) recession; and (4) depression. The revival or recovery phase of the business cycle is marked by improvement in business and can be detected by various indices, such as increase in employment, greater production, and growth in the volume of wholesale and of retail trade. The prosperity phase is marked by relatively little unemployment of employable labor, by production at a point near maximum capacity, and by flourishing wholesale and retail trade. The recession phase is marked by a decline in the productive operations. Because of unfavorable economic conditions, business begins to fall off. Investors fear for their investments and credit becomes harder to obtain. The decline in business activity and the tightening of credit causes increasingly smaller individual purchases and a still greater reduction in gross sales. The depression continues to get worse until it reaches a point where conditions become favorable for a revival of activity. From the "trough" of the depression, then, the business curve begins to rise, and a new cycle has started.

a. *Causes of business cycles.* Business cycles have been attributed to many different causes, such as climatic disturbances — droughts, floods, storms, and the like; disasters — fires, tidal waves, and earthquakes; war; and economic activities. Fluctuations in the quantity and quality of necessary goods have always resulted from such calamities as climatic disturbances, disasters, and wars. These fluctuations cannot in any way be attributed to capitalism and to the profit motive in business. Since the first three types of factors resulting in abundance or scarcity of necessary goods have always been present, the attention of this discussion is confined to the fourth set of factors, economic activities.

Studies carried on over a period of years show that business activities are nearly always alternating between expansion and contraction. When business is in a state which seems to promise profit for individuals who invest money in productive enterprises, most individuals are likely to respond positively to the stimulus — that is, to the opportunity for increased profits. The increased production results in increased demand for labor; more men are put to work. With the increased earnings, more goods are purchased so that consumption and the demand for consumers' goods increases. With the increase in production and the greater demand for goods, the returns on capital increase to an extent that more and more people are encouraged to invest their savings for the sake of earning profits from their investments. Banks also create credit for investment purposes. Business psychology is optimistic; the

prospects for continued profits seem good, for the prices of finished products are rising more rapidly than costs of production. The period of increasing production and investment of capital is a period of economic expansion, or of revival and prosperity in the business cycle.

After a time, profit prospects fall off, and the incentive to invest and to expand operations diminishes. Among the reasons for the decline in profits and investment are these: the continued rise in production cost (due to waste, to the increasing scarcity of labor, to the operation of the principle of diminishing returns and to high rates of interest); the legal or customary limits to expansion of bank credit; the diversion of savings from investments to speculation; and the lack of balance between consuming capacity and production capacity. Business psychology becomes pessimistic as these factors lead to declining prices and unsold inventories. Factories slow down production. Men are "laid off." Unemployment grows. Since the unemployed must reduce their consumption of goods, the demand for many commodities becomes less. With the reduction in demand for goods and the lessening of productive activities, business men do not invest money in new factories or in new equipment for old industries. Instead, investors are interested in placing their money where it is "safe" even though the earnings are low. Money is invested in government bonds and like securities instead of in productive activities. As a consequence money becomes cheap in the sense that the interest rates are low. The returns on capital are low. This is a period of contraction or of recession and depression.[1]

2. PROBLEMS

a. *Labor.* In our modern capitalistic age, a large portion of society depends for its material existence upon wages received for labor. These people rely upon employment for economic support. If they lose their jobs and become unemployed they must then, in most cases, depend for their subsistence either upon other members of their families or upon public relief in some form. In any society there are some members who are not employed because of physical or mental disability, but in modern America the number of people who are unable to secure employment has increased greatly in recent years.

Business fluctuations between prosperity and depression are accompanied by fluctuations in the employment of labor. In 1929 the

[1] For more detailed description of expansion and contraction in economics, see D. W. McConnell and others, *Economic Behavior*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1939, pp 471-487.

average monthly unemployment in the United States was 1,736,000; in 1930 this number had risen to 4,676,000; in 1931 it was 8,136,000; in 1932 it was 11,677,000; and in 1933, the trough of the depression, the monthly average of unemployment was estimated to be 12,006,000.[3] After 1933 the number of persons unemployed became smaller, with 10,092,000 in 1934, 9,239,000 in 1935, 7,948,000 in 1936, and 6,200,000 in July, 1937. Following the recession of 1937 there again came a period of increasing unemployment.

(1) *Loss from unemployment.* Unemployment is a social loss, a waste of productive capacities, because energies which might be directed toward producing goods for human consumption are not utilized. Labor is a perishable commodity as compared with material goods. If the coal, or mineral resources of a country are not utilized today, or this year, they can be held over and made use of at a later period, but if a man's labor is not used today, there is a complete loss, for that day's work can never be employed.

When man's productive efforts are not utilized, the unemployed individuals are not able to make use of products which others have made. Thus a further loss is sustained. With the failure of a large portion of society to consume economic goods in sufficient quantity, the demand for consumers' goods is reduced and productive efforts decline. This increases the amount of unemployment. The forces creating unemployment act in a vicious circle.

Perhaps the most serious loss sustained by society through unemployment of labor comes from the effects of such unemployment on the individuals themselves. They lose their self-confidence and the feeling of self-reliance, and become ready to accept charity or government relief instead of depending upon their own efforts for support. Such individuals are ready to accept dictatorial governments which promise them better economic returns.

(2) *Attempts to cope with unemployment.* Industry has attempted to reduce the amount of seasonal unemployment by attempting to stabilize its production so as to continue making goods at a fairly constant rate throughout the year instead of having periods of high and low production. Coal-mine operators urge users to buy their coal supply in the summer; clothing manufacturers urge customers to buy winter clothing in the summer time; and the automobile industry has shifted the date of

[3] *Cf.* Willard L. Thorp, *Economic Problems in a Changing World*, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1939, p. 520.

introducing new model cars from spring to fall. These and similar actions are designed to spread employment more uniformly throughout the year.

Unemployment insurance has been used in some instances to reduce the effects of unemployment. Under the provisions of such insurance, individuals receive an income for a period of time after they lose their jobs so that they can be tided over until new positions are found.

After 1933, under the New Deal, the federal government took steps to reduce the suffering and waste from unemployment by furnishing some of the individuals who were able and willing to work with useful employment. Many federal agencies were established in the attempt to reduce the unemployment of the nation, and at the same time to make use of the unemployed in work which was either of immediate value to the nation and to the people, or would be of future value. The second World War removed the need for most of the federal agencies dealing with unemployment. In fact, the unemployment problem was displaced by problems of labor shortage.

b. *Capital.* During periods of recession and of depression, not only is there a waste from labor's being unemployed, but capital also is idle or but partially utilized. Factories close down or reduce their hours of operation so as to curtail radically the quantity of goods produced and thus to make the cost of operations less. Because those who need the commodities are unable to purchase them the reduction in production is carried out even though there is great need for the goods on the part of many millions of people. The waste of capital through idle machinery is in reality closely associated with idle labor.

Not only are the factories idle or running at greatly reduced production rate during a depression, but capital in the form of money is likewise idle. Few productive investments are made. There is an abundance of money but the income rates are low, interest is low, and few borrowers seek credit for productive operations. The period of a depression is a period of waste of labor, waste of capital from idle machinery, and waste of the money sources of capital.

B. *Problems Caused by Free Enterprise*

1. WASTE

Capitalism by its very nature promotes competition. Economic goods are scarce. There are not enough commodities to allow every individual to have all he might desire. In a system where individuals

work to secure goods in order to accumulate more capital and to earn more wealth, each worker is competing in his efforts against other members of his group.

The ideal of the American producer is freedom of enterprise. Each individual is pictured as free and able to rise from a condition of poverty to a condition of wealth if he exerts himself diligently and is wise in his business dealings. Governmental interference in business has been resented as contrary to the rights of individuals to free enterprise, even though the rights of thousands of less capable, less fortunate individuals are disregarded in the competitive operations. Business has been free to expand — in fact it is encouraged to do so — far beyond the effective demand for greater productive effort. As a consequence of this overexpansion of business, contraction sets in. Under the system of free enterprise, employers feel no obligations to protect the laborers depending upon them for income and livelihood. Unemployment and the consequent waste follows.

a. *Labor*

(1) *Chronic unemployment.* Under the modern system of free enterprise, a condition of chronic unemployment exists. Individuals who are able to work are without employment through no fault of their own even during periods of prosperity. The extent of involuntary unemployment in the United States has been largely subject to estimates made by statistical agencies, such as the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the United States Bureau of the Census, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, labor organizations, and industrial research bureaus. The various estimates lead one to agree with Douglas that "the American statistics on unemployment are the worst of any industrial country in the world." [3] The estimates of the volume of unemployment in the United States can be seen by examining Table 40. According to these estimates, almost two million workers may have been unemployed in 1929, a year of great national prosperity.

Unemployment represents economic loss to employers because it reduces the purchasing power in the country and causes a reduction or a curtailment of production. To employees, the consequences of loss of employment are most serious: savings are soon used up; debts are incurred; cheaper living quarters have to be sought; reduction of the usual expenditures for living becomes necessary; insurance policies are

[3] Paul H. Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States, 1890–1926*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1930, p. 12. Reprinted by permission.

TABLE 40. ESTIMATES OF THE VOLUME OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES*

Year	Average Monthly Number of Workers Unemployed (in millions)					Average Monthly Percentage of Workers Unemployed				
	Wolman and Givens [a]	Robert Nathan [b]	National Industrial Conference Board [c]	American Federation of Labor [d]	Congress of Industrial Organizations [e]	Wolman and Givens [a]	Robert Nathan [b]	National Industrial Conference Board [c]	American Federation of Labor [d]	Congress of Industrial Organizations [e]
1920	1.4		0 6			5.1		1.3		
1921	4.3		4.8			15.3		11 2		
1922	3 4		2.9			12.1		6.8		
1923	1.5		0.7			5.2		1.7		
1924	2 3		2.0			7.7		4.6		
1925	1 8		0.8			5.7		1.8		
1926	1.7		0.5			5.2		1.0		
1927	2.1		1.6			6.3		3.5		
1928			1.9					3.9		
1929		1.8	0 4	1.9	1.8		3.6	0 9	3.9	3.7
1930		4 6	3 8	4 7	4.7		9.5	7 8	9.7	9 6
1931		8.1	8 1	8.6	8.3		16 4	16.3	17.4	16 7
1932		11 6	12 5	12 9	12 1		23 4	24 8	25.8	24 2
1933		11.9	12 7	13.3	12.6		23 8	25 1	26 4	24.8
1933 (Mar.)		14.0	14 8	15.3	14.6		28.0	29.1	30.6	28.9
1934		10 0	10 4	11 4	10.8		19.7	20.2	22.6	21.0
1935		9.1	9.5	10 7	10.0		17.8	18.3	20.8	19.3
1936		7 7	7.6	9 4	8.7		15 0	14.5	18 2	16 6
1937		6 9	6 4	8 3	8.1		13 2	12.0	15 8	15 2
1938		9 0	10 1	10 9	11.0		18.8	18.8	20 7	20 5
1939		9 8	9 1	10 2	10 8		18 5	16 7	19.1	19 9
1940 [f]		9 1	8 1	9.4	10.3		17 1	16 2	17 4	18.7

*Carroll R Daugherty *Labor Problems in American Industry* (5th ed.) Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 65 Reprinted by permission.

[a] Figures from Wolman, Leo, in *Recent Economic Changes*, McGraw-Hill Book Co New York, 1929, vol ii p 478 Agricultural workers excluded

[b] Made available by Social Security Board. These estimates were begun for President's Committee on Economic Security in 1934.

[c] Based on data reported in various publications of the Conference Board.

[d] Various publications of the Federation

[e] Made available by C.I.O national office Agricultural workers included in *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*

[f] Preliminary

allowed to lapse; wives and children are forced to seek such employment as can be found, while men take casual jobs (work for which they are not trained and which offers few opportunities for economic security), children are removed from school; and finally charity is necessary. Not only are there immediate economic losses from unemployment but probably even greater losses from the physical effects of undernourishment, inadequate medical and dental care, and bad housing conditions which attend unemployment.

(2) *Old-age unemployment.* In a competitive system of free enterprise, each employer seeks to get the maximum returns from the minimum labor Only men who are physically sound and are able to work at a high rate of speed and efficiency are employed. The strain of working under competition and under constant tension of highly mechanized equipment causes many men to become prematurely old, not in years, but in ability to produce with required efficiency. Modern industry

generally shows a decided preference for young men as employees. It has become extremely difficult, if not impossible, for men beyond 40 years of age to secure employment in many industries and occupations. The cry is for young men who are thought to be less liable to have accidents, less frequently disabled by sickness, more flexible in adapting to changing methods, and more capable of production in greater quantity. As a consequence of the demand for physically and mentally alert young men in industry, thousands of individuals who could work efficiently if given a chance are forced to take employment for which they are untrained, to take odd jobs wherever they can be found, to depend upon their relatives, or to accept public charity. No one knows how many men forty-five years of age and over fall within the group who are partially employed, or wholly or partially dependent upon charity. Without question the number is very great. For 1930, Mr. Abraham Epstein estimated that at least 2.7 millions of a total of 6.6 million individuals sixty-five years of age and over were dependent and cost the country about $1,000,000,000.[4] As Daugherty says of this condition:

> The dollar data just given furnish a partial measure of the cost of the indigent aged to society. They represent, perhaps, the total cost to the taxpayer. But a thousand million of dollars by no means indicates the whole social loss that results from the pauperization of such a large number of workers who, having invested their life's energies in productive service, have reached the period when they might feel entitled to pass the rest of their days in independent leisure and must, instead, largely through no fault of their own, accept the hopeless and humiliating doles of charity. Social unrest is an inevitable product of such a situation. Discontent is doubled, furthermore, because of the growing tendency in many companies during the last decade to lower the maximum age at which new workers will be taken on. A society that permits the causative factors to exist and continue cannot be called wholly sound.[5]

(3) *Accidents.* Industrial accident is defined as "an injury which results in the loss of time beyond the day or shift in which it occurs."[6] The number of accidents each year in the United States is truly appall-

[4] *Cf.* Abraham Epstein, *Insecurity, A Challenge to America*, Random House, New York, 1936 (3d rev. ed.), pp. 500–505.

[5] Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry* (5th ed.), Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 125. Reprinted by permission.

[6] Ethelbert Stewart, "Industrial Accidents in the United States," *The Annals*, January, 1926, p. 1.

ing. As has been stated before,[7] the United States Public Health Service estimated in 1938 that over ten million accidents occur each year which are serious enough to disable a person for one day or longer. Daugherty points out the following:

> During the period when the United States was in the World War, more American workers were killed in peaceful production at home than American soldiers in France.... During the one hundred and fifty years of independent national existence the industrial casualties of this country have outnumbered by fifteen times all those killed or injured in all the wars in which the United States took part.[8]

The costs of industrial accidents fall on employers and employees alike. H. W. Heinrich, of the Travelers' Insurance Company, estimated in 1931 that the annual cost amounted to a total of more than five billion dollars.[9] The total cost of accidents cannot be measured in dollars. The physical and mental suffering of unfortunate individuals and their families, the disorganization of family life, the destruction by accidents of the plans and hopes of individuals and groups cannot be evaluated in terms of money.

(4) *Sickness.* The economic loss resulting from preventable illness is another great waste associated with the system of free enterprise if not resulting from it. Some diseases are known as *occupational diseases* because they are directly produced by particular industries. Often disability resulting from illness is not classed as occupational because the job does not specifically produce the sickness. The weakened condition of the workers, however, often makes them fit subjects to fall prey to such diseases as influenza and pneumonia. Thus the extent of illness associated with industry is much greater than the number of individuals disabled by occupational diseases. The number of disease-producing occupations in the United States in 1922, as listed by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, was 700, a surprisingly large figure.

In addition to being liable to occupational diseases, workers are subject to all the ordinary ailments of their society, and because of the unhealthful nature of working and living conditions,[10] are likely to be less immune to ordinary diseases.

The economic costs of illness in the United States are estimated at

[7] See page 332. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 101. [9] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 102–104.

[10] See Chapter XX, pages 316–340 for discussion of distribution of the burden of illness Also, Daugherty, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

two billion dollars from loss of wages, two and a half billion dollars for cost of medical care and treatment, and six billion dollars from preventable deaths.[11]

b. *Natural resources.* Free enterprise has resulted not only in waste of human resources such as labor, but has brought about waste of the natural resources as well. Impelled by the profit motive, free enterprise seeks the greatest possible return on invested capital in the least possible time. The needs of the future are lost sight of or are disregarded for the gains of the present. Impelled by the desire for quick returns, southern planters before the Civil War tilled the land intensively without returning to the soil any of the elements so necessary for continued cultivation. No regard was taken of the fact that rains washed great quantities of the top soil into the creeks and rivers, and that the land was being so badly eroded that in the course of time, it would become useless for agriculture. Land was cheap. When a tract of land was mined and robbed of its fertility, the planters could move west to start the process over on virgin soil. Similar wasteful practices were followed in all parts of the United States. Soil erosion which has resulted largely from man's desire to secure the rewards of his activities quickly, has led to the destruction of two-fifths of the fertile land of the country and to serious injury to another fifth.[12]

Urged on by the desire to satisfy immediate needs, individuals and groups wantonly destroyed the magnificent forests which were found in most sections of the nation. At first the immediate desire was to make homes and clear plots for cultivation, and later to make vast profits from lumber. Today one may go into certain sections of the South, particularly in parts of Louisiana, where forty years ago virgin forests of long-leaf pine stretched for miles unbroken, or nearly so, by human settlement. Today those same regions are denuded of their timber to such an extent that one can look in all directions and see only burned stumps where the trees once stood. In some places, one will not see a tree for miles. In the logging, all trees were cut down or otherwise destroyed irrespective of whether they were of a size suitable for cutting into lumber. The brush was allowed to burn where it was trimmed from the trunks of the trees, and thus even the seed and small

[11] *Cf.* W. S. Rankin, "Economics of Medical Service," *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 19, pp 359–365. Also, Chapter XX, pages 315–342.

[12] *Cf.* Harry Elmer Barnes, *Society in Transition*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 80–85.

trees which were not cut were destroyed. Each year in order to improve the pasture for a few cattle or sheep, these areas are burned so that any trees which happen to get started, are destroyed before they reach a size to withstand fires. In certain sections of the South, the one just mentioned in particular, pine trees grow so rapidly that they can reach a size suitable for use in making lumber in a period of about twenty-five years. Since natural conditions are so favorable for forests, our resources in timber would never have been exhausted if careful methods of lumbering had been utilized. There could have been, instead of the barren wastes, valuable forests to provide man with lumber for an indefinite period.

The destruction of our forests still goes on. The National Resources Committee recently stated that "over all but a small fraction of the privately owned land, the process of systematically wrecking the forest continues, with all the demoralizing consequences to the dependent communities." [13] Forests are still being cut about five times as rapidly as they are being replenished.

Waste of mineral resources has been no less appalling than that of soil and forests. In 1923 it was estimated that 140 million tons of bituminous coal was being wasted each year, about enough to meet the total needs of the German Reich. Since 1923 the waste has even increased.[14]

In modern industrial society few natural resources are of greater importance than petroleum and natural gas. The waste in handling oil and gas has been a national disgrace. It is estimated that for every barrel of oil that has been taken from the earth, five barrels have been wasted [15] either beneath the surface or after it was pumped out. The waste of natural gas has been and is proportionately even greater than that of crude oil. If one passes by some of the great oil fields of Louisiana and Texas at night, he will find the fields a glare of light from the burning gas which is drawn off the wells. Since oil is more valuable than the natural gas, the latter product, when found in association with oil, is allowed to flow from the well and is burned as it reaches the air. Frequently in gas fields, careless and hasty methods of drilling and casing wells result in explosions which cause the wells to get out of control of the workers. Millions of feet of gas have been lost through faulty methods of handling gas wells. Barnes states that the annual waste of natural gas is one billion cubic feet — an amount sufficient to

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 80. [14] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–88. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

supply all the needs of people using either natural or artificial gas in the United States each year, or twice the amount consumed by the entire United Kingdom. In the state of Texas alone, the wastage of gas is equivalent to wasting over 60 million barrels of petroleum or 24 million tons of soft coal.[16]

c. *Products.* In a system of free enterprise excessive production of any commodity is attended by reduction of profits. Farmers find that they often secure more profit from their farm activities when crops are short than when there is a large yield per acre, because the products sell for higher prices. Manufacturers limit the quantity of their output so that it will not exceed the effective demand; thus they maintain prices which will yield high returns on their capital investments. When goods are made in excess of the available demand, they are either destroyed or held off of the market to prevent lowering the prices of the goods. One of the advantages of large industries which have a monopoly, or near monopoly, of the market is that they can control the quantity of goods which appear for sale. Such companies would destroy surplus goods rather than allow the prices to be reduced.

Farmers have, throughout American history, acted as individuals without coordinated efforts. As a consequence, each producer has attempted to raise the greatest quantity of whatever he chose to grow without regard to the stock of that particular good on hand in the nation. Overproduction of cotton, corn, wheat, and other agricultural products has been the result, and prices have been low to the consumers and to the producers. In order to prevent production in excess of market needs, the New Deal attempted to apply to agriculture the principles widely used in the manufacturing industries. A percentage of the cotton which was planted was plowed under in order to reduce the productive acreage, livestock was killed and other products destroyed in spite of the fact that many American individuals were in great need of the goods thus destroyed. The idea, which is characteristic of the capitalistic system generally, was that profits must be earned even if by the very process of securing profits, many persons go hungry and improperly clothed because of the high prices resulting from the destruction of needed goods.

2. VOLUNTARY RESTRICTIONS ON FREE COMPETITION AMONG PRODUCERS

Since competition is responsible for many practices which are waste-

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

ful, the answer to the problem seems to be an avoidance of competition. If a particular industry could operate as a unit, there would be no need for many of the wasteful practices which are associated with competition. Attention could be focused on ways to meet the needs of the consumers, and at the same time to guarantee a fair return to the producers for their efforts.

Attempts to avoid competition have resulted in such actions as the merging of small businesses into one great corporation; the making of trade agreements through which operators attempt to control prices and trade conditions; the creating of pools which include a number of business units whose members seek a degree of control over the price of their commodities; the establishing of combinations in trusts so that the member units can act as a single concern in fixing prices; and the forming of cooperative associations of producers.

Some of the attempts to avoid competition have been so successful that monopolies in certain fields have resulted. Although competition is wasteful of productive effort and of products, monopoly which is unregulated by the government frequently works solely for high returns on invested capital, and disregards the welfare of consumers even more than competing industries do. Monopoly has become so objectionable in certain instances that the United States government has taken steps to prevent organization of industry in restraint of trade.

3. UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND INCOME

Human beings are not created equal. On the contrary, they are endowed with differing degrees of ability for various fields of activity. Furthermore, they differ in their environmental influences. One individual is born in slums and grows to maturity in slum environments; another person lives in the environment of wealth and luxury. Neither understands the life and the problems of the other.

In an economic system of free competition, the individual possessed by natural endowment of an aptitude for financial organization and manipulation, becomes more successful than one who does not possess such characteristics. Under the capitalistic system, money begets more money. The person with capital to earn profits for him has greater income than the man who has only the returns of his labor. The incomes of individuals are not equal and cannot be equal unless some outside agency regulates the economic system rigidly. The incomes of individuals differ as abilities differ and as the existing distribution of wealth and capital differs.

Under a system of fairly free enterprise, as is to be found in the United States, there are great differences in the wealth and the income of the population. In 1929, 45 per cent of the bank deposits of the Federal Reserve System were made by the richest one per cent of the depositors. In other words the other 99 per cent of the depositors had only 10 per cent more deposits than the richest one per cent.[17]

The income of American adults is no less unequal than the distribution of wealth. As pointed out in an earlier chapter,[18] more than 10 per cent of American families, 1935–36, had incomes of less than five hundred dollars per year while seventy-five families received an income of one million dollars or more. The seventy-five high-income families received more gross income than the 1,162,000 families in the low-income group.[19]

To speak of equality of economic income or of economic possessions — wealth — is academic, if one implies thereby that it is possible or desirable that the income possessed by each individual and family should be exactly or even approximately equal to the income or wealth of every other individual and family. All attempts in the past to place all members of society on a plane of absolute equality have failed. However, such gross inequalities as exist in the United States do not seem to be desirable even for the capitalists or entrepreneurs themselves. When such a large portion of society has a low income (as was characteristic of the United States in 1935–36), the total purchasing power in the nation is relatively low. The masses spend the greater part of what they earn for goods which the entrepreneurs have for sale. If the earnings of the nation's low-income group (the greater part of the population) were increased, the purchasing power in the nation would automatically rise, and those who are the business executives could do a greater volume of business. Extremely unequal distribution of income has been given as a fundamental cause of the depression beginning in 1929.[20] One of the great problems of the present is related to the unequal distribution of income. How can the income of those in the lower income levels be raised so that they can have a decent plane of living and enjoy a degree of economic security? Can such desirable objectives be attained and free enterprise still be retained in business?

Some light on these questions may be obtained from a brief survey

[17] Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[18] See Chapter XIII, pp. 199–217.
[19] See Table 25, p. 207.
[20] Daugherty, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

of the main methods available for raising the incomes of the masses. At first blush, the easiest, simplest procedure would appear to be the raising of wage rates by government through legislation or by unions through economic pressure on employers. But the raising of wage rates in these ways is likely to meet with resistance from most employers because their costs would be increased before they could feel the benefits of increased purchasing power for their products. Employers would probably try to raise the prices of their products in order to preserve their profit margins; or they might substitute machinery for labor in production. In either case the total man-hours of employment would be less than before the wage-rate increase, and the total wage payments received by labor would be no greater than before.

Another possibility would be the lowering of prices of products as fast as and as much as production costs are reduced by improved techniques of production. In other words, employers should limit themselves to "normal" profits and pass the benefits of technology on to the masses through the provision of higher *real* wages. Such a procedure would be helpful, but there are at least two objections: it is hard to see how enterprisers could be made to be satisfied with only "normal" profits; and even the normal profits of huge enterprises would still be very unequally distributed.

A third method would be to leave wage rates alone and to distribute the ownership of capital so widely among the workers that each family would have capital income as well as wage income. It is doubtful, however, if such a sweeping change could be inaugurated except under socialism, and the attainment and operation of a socialist form of economic organization is beset with the obstacles and hardships of revolution and dictatorship.

C. *Summary*

The business cycle is the sequence of expansion and contraction of production activities. The business cycle is marked by four fairly distinct phases: (1) revival or recovery; (2) prosperity; (3) recession; and (4) depression.

Business cycles have been attributed to such causes as the following: (1) climatic disturbances; (2) disasters; (3) war; and (4) economic activities. Generally the business cycle, as the term is understood, is related to capitalistic enterprises. The profit motive brings about

overexpansion; then comes fear of financial loss with consequent contraction of production and of credit. As a result periods of recession and depression ensue.

The problems associated with the business cycle mostly result from waste of human labor, waste of capital in the form of idle productive machinery, and waste of the money sources of capital.

The ideal of Americans is freedom of enterprise; yet freedom of enterprise is responsible for waste of natural resources and human resources.

Through free enterprise, unemployment of men and women who are willing and capable of work has become a chronic condition in the nation. The competitive system discards workers as they reach an age when their strength and efficiency begin to decline. Many able-bodied men are disabled unnecessarily through occupational accidents and occupational diseases. The cost to society of the loss of labor resulting from free enterprise and the competitive system is incalculable.

Natural resources in the form of soil fertility, forests, and minerals have been ravaged in the mad rush for quick returns on capital investments.

Products of capital, labor, and nature have been wasted as well as labor and natural resources.

Associated with the problems of competition and free enterprise is the unequal distribution of wealth and of income among American consumers. Suggested methods of making the distribution less unequal include raising of wage rates by government or union action; lowering prices commensurately with reductions in production costs; and giving the masses capital as well as labor income.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Trace the business cycle. What are its causes?
2. How does the business cycle affect labor?
3. Why is free enterprise often likely to be more wasteful than monopolistic industry?
4. In what ways are the problems associated with old age unemployment related to free enterprise?

5. Is the waste of natural resources more the result of free enterprise than of the great abundance of such resources in America?
6. Have voluntary restrictions on free enterprise been successful in the United States? In what fields more successful? Where less?
7. Why have American laborers sometimes resisted attempts to organize them?
8. Is the unequal distribution of wealth and income a unique characteristic of the system of free enterprise? Explain.
9. What factors do you think would operate to prevent equality of distribution of wealth and income?
10. How has American life tended to develop a spirit of individualism?

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CHAPTER 26

Economic Problems in the United States (CONTINUED)

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER a number of problems which have arisen from our system of capitalism and free enterprise were briefly discussed. The present chapter considers the part the government can play in improving the conditions which have grown out of the economic problems. A comparison is also made of the various proposed alternative economic systems, such as Socialism, Communism, Syndicalism, and Fascism.

A. *The Rôle of Government under Capitalism*

The experience of more than one hundred and fifty years of capitalistic enterprise in the United States has demonstrated that voluntary cooperation on the part of producing agents has been unsuccessful in preventing such conditions as periodic depressions, unemployment, over-production and (at times) under-production of consumer goods; further, income and wealth have been so unequally distributed that a large portion of society has been unable to purchase necessary goods in adequate quantities. It has therefore become increasingly apparent that some reorganization or adjustments in the capitalistic system are needed. If desirable changes are to be brought about, the government must, it is widely agreed, play a very important rôle in the new system. The idea of absolute *laissez-faire* must be discarded in favor of a degree of governmental regulation or control.

1. EFFORTS TO CONTROL THE BUSINESS CYCLE

The business cycle of expansion and contraction of economic activities is closely related to many of the serious economic problems, if not to all of them. Many people reason that a desirable move toward solving the most serious economic problems would be the stabilization of business in such a way as to control its tendency toward excessive expansion.

a. *Economic planning.* Under the existing system of free enterprise, planning for the future on an extensive scale is impossible. No business group or association of groups can formulate plans and carry them into operation for the reason that the planners cannot be sure that cooperating members will abide by their agreements. Furthermore, the group cannot anticipate the actions of state and national governments and the activities of foreign producers. Most economists now agree that the national government must take a part in economic planning to make it effective. The objectives and advantages of economic planning have been listed as follows:

> (1) The co-ordination of the various plants and industries so that (a) production shall not outrun consumption and productive capacity shall not exceed consuming capacity; (b) natural resources shall be properly conserved; (c) improved industrial methods and processes shall not be introduced too abruptly or rapidly; (2) a lessening of the wastes of marketing, selling, and merchandising; (3) a wide diffusion of the products of industry through wage increases so as to (a) increase consuming power and (b) make possible the general attainment of a high standard of living among wage earners; and (4) the elimination or alleviation of insecurity and the stabilization of all incomes.[1]

Although there is considerable agreement that economic planning is desirable and that the government must assist in the planning, the opinions of economists vary widely as to the part the government should assume in the new economic system. Some economists and financiers hold that the government needs only to repeal some of the repressive laws, such as the Sherman, and the Clayton Anti-Trust Laws, to allow business to consolidate freely for the advantages to be gained from monopoly or large-scale business; and to maintain government supervision and investigation of business, so as to allay popular distrust. Under this "voluntary" plan, the rôle of the government is to facilitate cooperative action of business by removing the anti-trust laws, and then to furnish statistical information to those who seek it. At the other extreme from this voluntary system of planning, one finds socialism, communism, and fascism in which the powers of the government to plan and to carry its plans into execution are almost unlimited.

Between the two extremes, a variety of suggestions are offered for state participation in the economic planning, but within the structure

[1] Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1941, p. 727. Reprinted by permission.

of the capitalistic system.[2] One "middle-ground" plan suggests the coordination of all major economic activities under a national economic planning board or economic council. Disagreement is expressed as to the power and control which this board should have. Some hold that its function should be limited to investigating existing conditions, giving out information on economic matters, to producers and to the public, and furnishing advice to those who desire it. Others believe the board should be cloaked with power and authority to control business in times of stress, to control investments in business, to organize labor, and to fix production quotas and even prices.[3]

Economic planning has been undertaken in the United States before now. The Interstate Commerce Commission was the first venture of the national government in a form of regulation and control of private industry. The improvements in commerce and transportation have been so great under the operation of the Interstate Commerce Commission that it is now doubtful if any private entrepreneur would desire its abandonment for the old system of unregulated competition among the common carriers of the nation. The National Industrial Recovery Act resembled somewhat the suggested plan for an economic council of the government to act with or to regulate private industry. The N.I.R.A. was passed as a New Deal measure designed to regulate production, prices of consumer goods, wage rates, hours of labor, and employer-employee relations. The success or failure of the measure cannot be evaluated accurately, for it was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and its work suddenly terminated.

A number of obstacles which will be very difficult to surmount stand in the way of economic planning as a function of the national government: (1) Americans are individualistic. (2) Our economic system is so complex that few individuals or groups of individuals could have the foresight or the ability to regulate business successfully in such a vast country as the United States. (3) There exist in the United States 49 different jurisdictions — 48 states and the national government. There exists the Federal constitution and our government is divided into legislative, executive and judicial departments each theoretically separate in its activities and functions. (4) There would

[2] Socialism, communism, and fascism are not schemes which allow private capitalism, as it is understood in the United States, to operate.

[3] Production quotas are established in agriculture under the A.A.A. Each farmer must limit his production not to exceed a certain figure if he is to participate in the government funds for not cultivating certain areas of land.

probably be political interference in the actions of the planning board. (5) Activities in foreign countries which do business with the United States could not be controlled. (6) American culture has particularly developed citizens indoctrinated with the ideal of personal advancement through economic gain.

Although there are objections to the suggestions of national economic planning and although great obstacles are to be encountered, it seems, as the advocates of such planning point out, "that no planning board could produce worse messes than the ones which have resulted from planlessness." [4] Some form of national economic planning seems to merit, at least, a trial.

b. *Public works.* Unemployment is one of the concomitants of economic depressions. If some measures could be employed which would prevent the increase in unemployment when business contraction begins, the serious consequences and the severity of business depressions could be greatly reduced. In order to prevent widespread unemployment or to take up the slack in employment in private industry during periods of business contraction, advanced planning of public construction has been advocated. This suggestion calls for a well-planned city, state, and national program for projects that could be deferred until years of business depression. Suitable projects are the following: improving public buildings by reconditioning old structures and constructing needed new ones; building new parks and playgrounds; erecting new libraries and schools; constructing drainage and irrigation systems, and new roads and streets. In order to make this planning a success, statistical records would be necessary to indicate business trends. When the trend began to show a business recession or contraction, the public works activities could be set in operation to offset the decline in private business.

Certain difficulties in the operation of the suggested program of public works at once appear. When a new public building or an irrigation or drainage project are needed or advocated, Americans are unwilling to wait for a favorable time to make the constructions. Generally speaking, public construction, as well as private, has, in the past, been carried on during periods of prosperity and business expansion rather than at more favorable times when the work provided by the operations was most needed. Furthermore, there are the problems of knowing just when the public work projects should begin

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 728.

and of securing the capital upon which to operate on short notice. Should a fund be accumulated during the period of prosperity, and set to work when the need arises? Or should the authorities wait until the need is present and then take steps to raise the money by bond issues or short time loans? If the first suggestion were employed — that of accumulating a surplus fund during periods of prosperity — what disposition should be made of the money while it is waiting to be spent?

No attempt has been made in the United States to try out fully such a public works program as the one suggested above. The federal government under the New Deal adopted measures which were intended partially to accomplish the objectives of a public works program. The Public Works Administration was first initiated as a part of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933. The work was extended by successive congressional acts. This government agency sought to give government assistance only to projects which were social necessities. It was not the intention of the act to give men jobs by haphazard building. The P.W.A. sought directly to stimulate private industry and to provide employment for laborers (and thus also to increase the demand for goods made by private producers), by granting loans to states, cities, and railways. Some of the approved purposes were these: (a) the construction, repair, and improvement of public highways, parks, and public buildings; (b) the conservation and development of natural resources, such as the development of water power, transmission of electrical energy, the prevention of soil erosion, the purification of water; (c) the construction under public regulation of low cost housing and slum clearance projects; (d) the making of loans to railways for such improvements as were approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

One of the difficulties which confronted the Public Works Administration was the fact that construction work required a degree of specialized skill. Persons possessing such skill were not so likely to be unemployed as were unskilled laborers. Consequently, the group which was benefited by the construction program of the P.W.A., as it was at first set up, was but a small percentage of all the laborers who were in need of work. Such occupational groups as musicians, actors, writers, white-collar workers, teachers, unskilled workers, and others were not provided for under the P.W.A. In order to take care of such groups of people, the government in 1934 set up a Civil Works Administration. In

reality the C.W.A. was not a public works provision. It was a means of bestowing on needy individuals not an outright dole, but charity in the form of compensation for work done. Much of the work was in itself of little or no economic value. Later the C.W.A. was replaced by the Works Progress Administration. The W.P.A. differed from the P.W.A. in that the latter was a provision for a form of public works, the former a form of work relief. The P.W.A. provided money for community projects which were contracted by private companies; in the W.P.A., the government itself employed and supervised the workers. The P.W.A., in theory, at least, depended on the needs of the community and attempted to meet the needs. The W.P.A. attempted to provide work by means of which a portion of the unemployed could earn a small wage income.[5]

c. *Enforcement of competition.* In a capitalistic system of free enterprise, fair prices for goods to consumers depend upon the operations of competition. A producer competing against another can only sell his goods if he provides a better product at the same price or the same quality product at the same or at a lower price. Competition has stimulated improvement in the quality of existing commodities. American people have regarded competition as an influence which stimulates business and protects the consumer at the same time.

As the volume of business in the nation grew, certain individuals recognized the economies which could be effected by developing huge, market-controlling enterprises. A large store, for example, could sell goods at lower prices than several small stores because the cost of operating one large store would not be so great as that of running several small units whose total volume of business was about the same as that of the large store. During the period of industrial development in the United States following the Civil War, the size of businesses began to increase until some giant corporations like the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, the International Harvester Company, the American Sugar Refining Company, and others came into being. Single corporations became so large and powerful that they could almost monopolize their special fields of production.

With the growth of large corporations into monopolies or virtual monopolies, public opinion became aroused and demanded govern-

[5] *Cf.* Daugherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 720–725. Also Robert E. Riegel (ed.), *An Introduction to the Social Sciences*, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1941, pp. 342–345.

mental action to compel competition. In 1890 the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed which declared "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise or conspiracy in restraint of trade" to be unlawful. In 1914, in an attempt to strengthen the anti-trust laws, the Clayton Act was passed. Corporations were forbidden to purchase the stock of competing companies, and interlocking directorates for the purpose of unifying the control of different corporations were prohibited.

The Sherman and Clayton Acts, however, did not prevent the growth of large-scale business organizations. Distinctions came to be made between "good" and "bad" trusts. The factor of size and the extent of control of a trade became less important than the way the companies or trusts exercised their powers. The International Harvester Company was prosecuted in 1927 under the terms of the anti-trust laws. At that time over 80 per cent of all farm machinery was made by the Harvester Company. The court decided, after hearing the evidence in the case, that: "the law, however, does not make the mere size of a corporation however impressive, or the existence of unexerted powers on its part, an offense, when unaccompanied by unlawful conduct in the exercise of its power."

The laws against trusts and monopolies are still on the statute books, but there is less enthusiasm than formerly for small businesses and for "trust-busting." The trend in national economic development is definitely toward greater and greater combinations of business units into single organizations. There are now vast chain grocery stores, drug stores, and other distributive agencies as well as great manufacturing and productive concerns. The trend toward larger organizations has even extended to agriculture, so that today one finds many great farms producing agricultural products, much as other producers, for distribution throughout the nation. Attempts to enforce competition by law have not been successful in the United States.

d. *Regulation of credit.* The great bulk of economic exchange in the United States is carried on through the use of credit. Even the wage earner of today, when he receives his pay, may get a certain amount of credit instead of cash for his services. His compensation may be in the form of a check drawn by his employer on some bank which has advanced credit to the employer.

The check is a promise by the drawer that the person to whom the check is drawn can obtain the amount of money or credit stated on the face of the check when it is presented to the bank. Often the owner

of the check presents the paper to the bank and requests that the amount stated on the paper be deposited to his account. He then proceeds to pay his bills and buy what he desires by exchanging his credit for the goods secured. Most of the major exchange transactions are carried on through the use of credit.

Paper money has little intrinsic value. It is accepted because the people have faith in the solvency and authority of the United States government. In general, the paper currency of a nation is in a sense a form of credit, a promise to pay in "full-bodied" money if the bearer demands such payment from the proper government agency.

When the volume of credit is reduced, purchases and exchange naturally decline in volume; when credit is "easy," the volume of business is great. Many students of business cycles maintain that credit is an important if not the most important factor in bringing about business depressions.

Obviously the number of men the employer can hire and pay, the quantity of raw products which he can buy, and his ability to buy new machinery depend upon the amount of credit he has in the form of deposits at the bank, or upon his ability to borrow from the bank. When business is contracting and the individuals who have money to loan are afraid to make loans, the business man may be required to reduce the number of men employed because his deposits are insufficient to meet the usual demands, and the bank is unable or unwilling to give him further credit. He consequently buys smaller quantities of raw materials, and he does not buy new equipment except as absolutely necessary for the curtailed operation of his establishment. When the forces operating to cause reduction of production are on a nation-wide scale, the results are a business depression.

The federal government has always had considerable influence on the quantity of credit available in the nation, but since 1933 it has gone into the business of extending credit to private businesses and to individuals to an extent never before contemplated. In order to aid farmers to secure credits at a lower interest cost and on easier terms, there have been set up under the administration of the Farm Credit Administrator: the Federal Land Bank; the Federal Intermediate Credit System; the Production Credit Corporations; and the Bank for Cooperatives. To aid families to build new homes or to repair their old homes, the government, under the New Deal, has established institutions such as the Federal Home Loan Banks and the Home Owners

Loan Corporation. To aid home owners or those who desire to become home owners, the government, through the Federal Housing Administration, insures loans made by private financial institutions. To extend credit to various types of financial institutions, railways, agricultural projects, and construction programs, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was established in 1932.

The federal government to control or regulate the flow of credit raises or lowers the discount rates of the Federal Reserve System. Simply, that means that the Federal Reserve Banks are used to control or regulate the flow of credit by raising and lowering the interest rate on money loaned to member banks. If credit is easy and there appears to be danger of speculation and over-expansion, the discount rate is raised. If the price of money is high, less will be borrowed. When there is scarcity of money and when the obtaining of credit is difficult for private individuals and for businesses, the discount rate to banks is lowered to encourage them to loan more liberally to reliable borrowers. Not only does the raising and lowering of the discount rate affect the flow of credit to business, but the psychological effect on business is thought to be very great. When discount rates are raised, business men become more conservative, fearing an economic contraction. When discount rates are lowered, the psychological effects are such as to encourage business expansion.[6]

2. REGULATION TO PROTECT

a. *The consumer.* Power resting in the hands of one individual or a small group of individuals is likely to lead to abuses by the controlling group. That is as true in economics as it is in government. A corporation with an absolute monopoly on an essential commodity is likely to increase the prices of its products beyond a "reasonable" figure for the sake of increasing the profits of the business. When a country has large scale businesses which are able to form monopolies, the government is bound to take steps to protect the consumers who constitute the population in the nation.

Among the acts taken by the federal government to protect the consumers against undesirable practices by producers and distributors of products there are: the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; the Clayton Act of 1914; the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914; the Pure

[6] *Cf.* D. W. McConnell and others, *Economic Behavior*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1939 pp. 313–315.

Food and Drug Act first enacted in 1906, later amended and intrusted to the Food and Drug administration of the Department of Agriculture for enforcement; and taxation.

The Sherman and the Clayton Acts have been briefly discussed. The Federal Trade Commission was established for the purpose of investigating competitive practices which appear unfair and to take appropriate action against companies engaging in unfair practices. Through the efforts of the Trade Commission, false labels on foods, clothing, and other goods are prohibited.[7] The Pure Food and Drug Act was first passed to prevent the adulteration of food and drugs, and the improper labeling of such articles. Since the act was first passed, it has been amended so as to increase its scope and to protect better the consumers.

Taxation is a device which has been employed to control business concerns. Taxes are graduated so that the higher the incomes of the businesses, the higher the rates of taxation. One purpose of this graduation of taxes, beside that of raising revenue, is to keep companies from becoming too large. The success of taxation in regulating business has not been very great. Either the economies of large scale business are greater than the amount of increased taxes, or the larger companies have been able to hide their incomes successfully so as not to pay as the law intends they should.

The government regulates the activities of the so-called public utilities by direct supervision and in some places by government operation of certain enterprises. Competition is very wasteful when applied to public utilities — electric light and power, gas, water, telephones and telegraphs, pipelines, bus and truck lines, street railways, and railroads. Such services as the telephone, street railways, and the like practically require that the companies be granted monopolies in the areas they serve. In order to protect the consuming public against high rates for services rendered by interstate railroad companies, the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887. The act of establishment has been amended and the powers of the commission expanded until now it has the power practically to fix the rates charged by railroads, to control their capital expansion, and to regulate other practices. Both federal and state governments similarly regulate other public utilities.

[7] Silver plated ware may not be sold as solid silver; rayon goods must not be described without using the word rayon, proper labels must be put on goods which contain carbolic acid, lye, ammonia and similar ingredients for the protection of anyone who may use them; and other practices which are injurious to consumers and unfair in competition are prohibited.

One of the New Deal acts was the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority, providing that the government shall generate electricity from the Tennessee River and sell the current for lighting and for power at a fair price to all persons living in the region. The establishment and operation of the T.V.A. has been attended by a reduction of electricity prices or rates to consumers, even those not living in the T.V.A. area, by as much as fifty per cent. The T.V.A. electricity rates have been set as a measuring stick for gauging the fairness of electricity rates charged by private companies.

A form of organization which has had much more influence on prices of commodities to consumers in Europe than in America is the cooperative. There are producer, marketing, and consumer cooperatives. The basic idea back of the cooperative movement is that, by uniting, a group of individuals can secure to themselves the economic advantages of large-scale business. Producers can secure more if all hold their products until the demand assures a price such as they desire. Consumers by uniting can buy in large quantities on the wholesale market or from factories, and can secure better prices on their purchases than individuals buying independently.

The federal government has encouraged the cooperative movement in the United States by exempting them from laws regulating general business corporations. Cooperatives may not be prosecuted under the anti-trust laws, and they are exempted from certain regulations regarding price discriminations.[8]

b. *The workers.* The government has protected laborers by laws prohibiting children from working in industry and women from being employed in mines and other hazardous occupations. Some states require that men in some industries must meet certain physical requirements and that they must possess certain technical training. Most states of the nation now require such safeguards against accidents and other causes of disability as the proper guarding of dangerous parts of machines; adequate protection against fire hazards; the guarding of stairways, doors, and elevator shafts; proper lighting, heating, and ventilation; boiler inspection; the furnishing of proper seats, toilets, rest-rooms, and washing facilities; and the general provision of proper sanitation.

(1) *Workmen's compensation laws.* The requirements that factories,

[8] *Cf.* Willard L. Thorp (ed.), *Economic Problems in a Changing World*, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 136–155.

mines, and other industrial establishments provide for the health and safety of their employees have not been enough. Even the best-equipped factories do have accidents. What is to happen to the employee and to his family while he is unable to work? Shall the employer be held responsible for accidents which occur to employees while they are working? The common law held the employer responsible only when he was actually to blame for the injuries. Today the law holds that the company must protect its employees by providing them with insurance against accidents and against disability for other reasons. The first states to enact laws providing for workmen's compensation[9] — insurance against disability — were Maryland (in 1902), New York and Montana (in 1910). Today all the states but Mississippi have such statutes.

As in other matters which have been left to the states for legislative regulation, there are wide variations among the state systems of workmen's compensation. There are variations as to the classes of laborers who are covered by the laws. In some states only those workers who are employed in the most "hazardous" work are protected. Farm labor is excluded from protection in nearly all states. Public employees are frequently partially or wholly exempted from the provision of compensation laws. Casual workers are usually not included. Some states provide that employees earning more than a certain income are excluded from the provisions of the act. In more than half of the states, employers with less than a certain number of workers are not included in the provisions of the act.

The federal government has enacted compensation laws for all federal civilian workers (1916), longshoremen and harbor workers (1927), and for private employees working in the District of Columbia (1928). Seamen and workers in interstate commerce — railway and bus line employees — are not protected by compensation laws.

(2) *Old-age pensions and insurance.* With the low pay received by a large portion of American workers, it is virtually impossible for a man to rear a family and at the same time put aside savings sufficient to provide for himself and his wife during old age. What is to happen to the increasing number of old persons after they have reached the age when they can no longer work for wages? Some companies have

[9] The Workmen's Compensation Law provides for a form of insurance which provides medical treatment and pays to the employees disabled by accident or "occupational" disease a proportion of his earnings for a period of time or during his period of disability providing the period does not extend beyond the time set by the insurance provisions.

voluntarily established pension plans whereby employees after years of service receive an income for the remainder of their lives. Practically all the states, encouraged and stimulated by the Social Security Act of 1935 have passed old-age assistance laws. Under these laws all indigent old people secure a small monthly income.[10]

As an encouragement to states to pass old-age assistance laws, the federal government through the Social Security Act has agreed to contribute half of the monthly payment to each person drawing a pension, with the provision that the federal contribution should not exceed $20 per person a month.

At best the old-age pension system just mentioned is a form of charity in that only those who are unable to support themselves are eligible to receive the payments. Men and women who have given their life's efforts to constructive work should be worthy of better consideration than to be classed as objects of charity when they are no longer able to work. To prevent the stigma of charity and to reward worthy efforts, a part of the Social Security Act provided for a system of compulsory contributory pensions or annuities. Old-age benefits were, according to the provisions of this section of the Act, to be paid to all workers upon reaching a certain age without regard to their financial needs. The annuities were to be based on accumulated contributions made during the working periods by the workers themselves and by their employers. The rate of payment of workers increases from one per cent in 1936, the year the act became effective, to three per cent in 1949. The assessment on employers likewise increases from one per cent in 1936 to three per cent in 1949. (See Table 41.)

The terms of the Social Security Act exclude from the benefits of its provisions all agricultural, domestic, and casual laborers; members of ship crews of the United States or foreign countries; employees of the government — national, state, and local; employees of religious, charitable, scientific, literary, and educational institutions; and interstate railway employees.

The Act provides for payments to workers after they have reached the age of 65 years, if they have earned total wages of not less than $2,000 after 1936 and before they have reached the age of 65, and if

[10] The term "old" is variously defined. Most states start the pension at the age of sixty-five years. "Eligibility usually depended on the possession of American citizenship, residence of five years in the state, and lack of means of support The benefits usually aimed to permit pensioners to live at home with their families. They were administered by local authorities and were commonly limited to $30 a month" Daugherty, *op. cit.*, p. 807.

TABLE 41. PAYMENT RATES OF EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT *

INCOME TAX ON WAGES OF EMPLOYEES

Calendar Year	Tax (per cent)
1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1942	1
1943, 1944, and 1945	2
1946, 1947, and 1948	2½
1949 and thereafter	3

EXCISE TAX ON WAGES PAID BY EMPLOYERS

Calendar Year	Tax (per cent)
1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1942	1
1943, 1944, and 1945	2
1946, 1947, and 1948	2½
1949 and thereafter	3

* Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in American Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, pp 817, 818. Reprinted by permission.

wages have been paid to the individual on some day during each of the five years after December 31, 1936, and before the age of 65. The payments under these terms of the Social Security Act were to begin January, 1942.

The rate of payments under the terms of the Act varies according to the earnings of the workers. A man who worked at the rate of $50 per month for ten years would on reaching 65 years receive a monthly income of $22.00. The minimum monthly rate of payment is $10 and the maximum is $85. (See Table 42.)

TABLE 42. ANNUITY PAYMENTS UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT *

Average Monthly Salary	Years of Employment			
	10	20	30	40
$ 50	$22.00	$24.00	$26.00	$28.00
100	27.50	30.00	32.50	35.00
150	33.00	36.00	39.00	42.00
200	38.50	42.00	45.50	49.00
250	44.00	48.00	52.00	56.00

Minimum monthly benefit, $10; maximum, $85.

* Carroll R. Daugherty, *Labor Problems in America Industry*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 813 Reprinted by permission.

(3) *Minimum-wage laws.* Many examples of labor abuses can be cited in any industrial country, particularly where capital is organized and labor is unorganized or but partly organized. Unskilled labor is more often subject to abuse from employers than well-trained, technical labor. One of the abuses found in the United States after the abolition of slavery was peonage — a system which kept the workers, most frequently Negroes, in virtual bondage through never-ending debt. Statutes were passed and the courts came to hold that all labor contracts could be terminated at will. Consequently workers cannot now be legally held to work out debts owed to their employers. Not only do workers not have to work out their debts, but they cannot be imprisoned for debt in any states. Provisions are likewise made that only a certain amount or percentage of a worker's wages, tools, and personal property can be seized to satisfy a debt claim. Most states also provide that creditors may not garnish the wages of workers, that is, cannot go to the employer and attach or seize the wages before pay-day for payment of debts.

One of the problems which has confronted workers has been compensation too low to permit decent planes of living. Low incomes result in part from competition with sub-standard workers: children, women, immigrants, Negroes, transient labor, and even convicts. In attempting to improve the lot of workers through legislation, minimum-wage laws have been passed. These laws are usually aimed to benefit the laborers who are least able to help themselves — women and children. Child labor in many industries has been prohibited, and minimum rates of pay have been set for women in industry and commerce. The first of such laws was passed by Massachusetts in 1912. By 1923, seventeen states had passed minimum-wage laws for women. About that time a series of court decisions declared the minimum-wage laws which had been enacted up to that time unconstitutional and consequently void.

With the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, codes were established which fixed the minimum pay not only of women but also of men. Stimulated by the N.I.R.A., certain states once more passed laws which fixed the minimum pay of women. When the N.I.R.A. was declared unconstitutional in 1935, the field of protecting labor by minimum wages belonged once more to the states. In 1936 the United States Supreme Court in a decision declared the recently enacted minimum-wage law for women in the State of New

York unconstitutional, even though great efforts had been made to avoid the objectionable features of the laws previously ruled invalid. However, in 1937, the Supreme Court reversed itself when it declared that the State of Washington's minimum-wage law was not in violation to the constitution. The 1937 decision set the stage for action by many states, and by 1941, twenty-nine jurisdictions had minimum-wage laws in operation.[11]

In 1938 the federal government passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, or, as it is popularly called, the Wage and Hour Law. This law attempts, on a nation-wide scale, to eliminate child labor, to fix minimum-wage rates for workers engaged in interstate commerce or in producing goods for interstate commerce, and to set a maximum length working day in such industries. The act attempts by a series of gradual steps to raise the wage rates and lower the hours of workers in industries coming under its jurisdiction. From October 24, 1938, when the law went into effect, until October 24, 1939, the minimum wage was fixed at 25 cents per hour, the maximum length of the working week at 44 hours. From October 24, 1939, until October 24, 1945, 30 cents was fixed as the minimum wage; and the working week was to be 42 hours until October 24, 1940, after which time it was to be fixed at 40 hours. After October 24, 1945, the minimum wage was to be fixed at 40 cents per hour. The Fair Labor Standards Act creates a Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor, headed by an Administrator to enforce and administer the provisions of the act.

The act specifically exempts the following from its provisions: all employees employed in an executive, administrative, professional, or local retail capacity or in work as outside salesmen; employees in the sea food and fisheries industries; agricultural employees; employees of local weekly or semi-weekly newspapers of less than 3000 circulation; employees of street railways and local bus lines; employees engaged in making dairy products, in handling, packing, storing, compressing, pasteurizing, drying, canning, or preparing in their raw (natural) state, agricultural or horticultural commodities; and switchboard operators of telephone exchanges having fewer than 500 stations.

The immediate effect of the Fair Labor Standards Act was to raise to 25 cents per hour the wage of approximately 300,000 workers in American industry. At the same time, the act shortened the working week of about 1,300,000 employees. When the second step in the law

[11] *Cf.* Daugherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 820–836.

was reached, about 690,000 workers had their pay increased to 30 cents per hour, and about 2,382,000 had their work week shortened to 42 hours. The 40-hour week which went into effect October 24, 1940, shortened the hours of approximately 2,000,000 workers.

Up to the present, the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act has been upheld at every point by the United States Supreme Court.

(4) *Laws dealing with hours of labor.* In 1840, President Van Buren ordered a ten-hour working day for workers in the government navy yards. Later, by means of the acts of 1868, 1892, and 1912, an eight-hour working day was established among government employees. The states followed the example set by the federal government in fixing eight hours as the working day for state employees.

The federal government possesses power to regulate the length of the working day of laborers engaged in interstate land transportation and in manufacturing and mining where the products are shipped across state lines. It was under this power that the federal government enacted, and is attempting to enforce, the Fair Labor Standards Act described above, which fixes a maximum length of the working week for persons coming under its provisions.

(5) *The National Labor Relations Act of 1935.* Probably the most significant law passed by the New Deal for the protection of laborers was the National Labor Relations Act. This act established a National Labor Relations Board of three members who represented neither labor nor the employers. The basic functions of the Board are twofold: (1) to prevent employers from engaging in certain unfair labor practices; and (2) to conduct elections among employees to determine which representatives shall bargain collectively with the employers on basic terms of employment. The unfair practices which the board was empowered to prohibit by the terms of the act are as follows: (1) employers' interference with employees in their self-organization and collective bargaining activities; (2) employers' domination of, or interference with, any labor organization; (3) any form of activity by employers for the purpose of discouraging employees from joining labor unions; (4) penalizing employees in any way because they might have made charges or given testimony against their employers under the act; and (5) refusal to bargain with the organization selected by the employees to represent them.

The election-holding function of the Board has been used to allow

employees to decide which labor organization, if any, they wish to represent them, namely, a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a union belonging to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or an independent, non-affiliated union.

The National Labor Relations Act expressly presumed the right of employees to strike and also protected employees against unjust discharge from their positions because of their activities in a strike or lockout.

The chief aim of the N.L.R.B. seems to be to protect laborers against organized capital by encouraging them to organize or to choose organizations to represent them collectively in their relations with their employers.

c. *The investors.* American history is filled with examples of great numbers of individuals ruined economically through speculation and investment in unsound securities. The Mississippi Bubble of the early eighteenth century was a period of frenzied speculation in land in the New World. When the Bubble burst, many persons had lost their life-time earnings and some were stranded in a strange land. From then until recent times, periods of intense speculation have been followed by ruin of many investors who had invested in unsound securities — stocks and bonds which were worthless. In order to correct the conditions, many states passed blue-sky laws which were intended to force individuals and companies to make public the resources upon which the stocks and bonds were issued; but these state laws did not afford adequate protection to investors.

In 1934, after millions of dollars had been lost to investors in the stock market crash of 1929, the federal government passed the Securities Exchange Act. The purpose of the Securities Exchange Act is to protect the investors of the nation through government regulation of stock exchanges throughout the nation. The act does not attempt to prevent investments by persons with money. It rather seeks to give each investor a fair chance by making "full and fair" disclosure of the character of the stocks or bonds offered for sale.

d. *The producers.* After the War of 1812, the manufacturers of America were faced with ruin from the flood of goods made in England and in European countries. European labor was cheaper and goods were produced at a lower cost; consequently the European manufacturers could ship the goods across the Atlantic and still sell them at a lower price than that at which the American factories could make

them. In order to protect the American producers against the competition of foreign factories, the Congress of the United States, in 1816, passed a tariff law. The law has been periodically amended or a new law written as a substitute for the prevailing regulations. The trend from the passage of the first tariff law to the present has been toward higher and higher duties levied on all incoming foreign articles which compete with the same kinds of articles manufactured or otherwise produced in the United States. There would be no point in enacting a tariff law against importation of corn — maize — or cotton because the United States is the chief producer of these commodities and has no reason to fear competition from outside producers.

From the beginning of tariff legislation, the claim has been made that the levies protect one class of society at the expense of another. The producers, particularly the makers of manufactured goods and the growers of commodities (such as sugar) which cannot be raised as cheaply in the United States as in other countries, are protected at the expense of the consumers. For example, for many years in order to protect American sugar growers against the sugar of tropical countries like Cuba, there has been a tariff of about one cent per pound on sugar imported into the United States. In Cuba the cane from which the sugar is extracted grows from year to year without having to be replanted. The chief cost is cutting the cane and extracting the sugar. In the United States, both sugar beets and sugar cane require intensive and costly cultivation. American sugar growers cannot compete with Cuban producers. In order that the production of sugar will not be destroyed in the United States, all consumers of sugar must pay a higher price for sugar than they would if no sugar tariff existed. Similar conditions exist in other fields of production.

The group of people who have most seriously opposed the tariff laws have been the producers of commodities which are not protected. These people are consumers and are required to pay higher prices for the goods they must buy; yet they receive no benefit in return from high tariffs. The American farmers constitute the largest body of people who are thus adversely affected by tariff laws. Since the advent of the New Deal, attempts have been made to subsidize agriculture by payment of bonuses in the form of rent for areas of land not planted in crops which the farmer might put on the market. For example, a cotton grower is paid rental on a portion of his arable land if he does not plant cotton on it. He may grow food for his family or for his livestock.

B. *Alternative Economic Systems*

Since ancient times, men have devised new political and economic systems wherein injustices and inequalities would not exist. Among the more famous books portraying life in an "ideal" society are these: *The Republic* by Plato, who lived from 429 to 347 B.C.; *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More (1478–1535); *City of the Sun* by Campanella, 1620; *New Atlantis* by Francis Bacon (written about 1623); *Harmony* by Charles Fourier, 1808. Not only have many books been written depicting the ideal society, but colonies have been established in which utopian principles have been put into operation. The essential aims have been to increase human happiness by removal of social injustice and inequality. It is appropriate that attention now be directed toward a brief analysis of some of the systems proposed as alternatives to capitalism.

1. SOCIALISM

Socialism has been defined as follows:

> ...That movement which aims to vest in society as a whole; rather than in individuals, the ownership and management of all nature-made and man-made producers' goods used in large-scale production, to the end that an increased national income may be more equally distributed without materially destroying the individual's economic motivation or his freedom of occupational and consumption choices.[12]

If one examines the definition carefully, he must note that "society as a whole" rather than the individual entrepreneur is to own, control, and direct land and capital when used in large-scale production. Under socialism a man may operate his own farm with the labor of himself and family; a person may manufacture goods if he does not do so on a scale which requires hired assistance. Where the producers' goods — land, factories, transportation facilities, and the like — are on a scale so large that labor must be employed to operate them, then "society as a whole" shall own, control, and direct their operations. Operation by "society as a whole" is usually interpreted as meaning the operation by that group of representatives of society which make up the governmental agents of the state.

[12] William N. Loucks and J. Weldon Hoot, *Comparative Economic Systems*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1938, pp. 276–277. Reprinted by permission.

Socialism aims to increase the national income and to distribute it more equally. This implies that production can be greater than at present, and that the increased production can be distributed in such a way that members of society in the lower income levels can enjoy consumers' goods in greater abundance than is now possible, and that those in the upper levels will not be able to enjoy exclusively so many of the "luxuries." In short, the aim of socialism is to flatten the social pyramid, in so far as economic possessions are concerned, and to shorten the social distance between the very high and the very low when measured in terms of ability to consume economic goods.

Socialism does not propose to make "all men equal," but rather to reduce the existing degree of inequality. It does not propose to place all producers' goods under control of society as a whole. Socialism does not attempt to destroy the economic motivation of the individual by choosing for him the field of economic activity he must enter. Each individual is free to choose for himself what he will do as an economic producer (so long as the activity is socially useful) and what he will consume as a consumer of economic goods. He will not be urged or persuaded by high pressure salesmen, advertising, and by "easy-payment" schemes to purchase goods for which he has no real need.

Socialism is more than a system of production and distribution of economic goods, although it is primarily that. It involves a reorganized system of government, a new social organization which involves great changes in all forms of living. Socialism involves a greater degree of control of the individual by the group as a whole, or at least a different type of control. Under the capitalistic system, individuals are free to produce whatever types of commodities they may desire, as long as the goods do not harm others and are not illegal. Under socialism, all production except for personal consumption is strictly regulated. The regulating power of society is usually vested in the government. In a socialistic society the state is much more powerful than is customary under the capitalistic system, and controls individual economic activities to a greater extent.

2. COMMUNISM

It is rather difficult to draw a clear, definite distinction between socialism and communism. This is especially true if one depends upon the proponents of the two economic systems for information about their economic beliefs. Rather few followers of socialism or of com-

munism understand clearly the differences between the two systems which in reality do blend into each other.

Communism is more extreme than socialism in that it advocates that not only producers' goods used in large-scale production should be owned and operated by society, but consumers' goods as well. Thus not only the agents of production, but the commodities produced should be socially owned and controlled. Since consumers' goods are to be owned and controlled by society, a basis must be found upon which distribution of the goods can be made. Under socialism, the distribution of economic goods is on a basis similar to that under capitalism; that is, each person consumes in accordance with his ability to pay with his earnings for the goods. Under communism, the distribution of consumers' goods is on the basis of one's needs without regard to producing ability. In other words, under socialism an individual's earnings depend on his skill, energy, and efficiency; in communism, skill, energy, and efficiency do not affect one's income — ability to consume. The unskilled laborer or the lazy incompetent worker receives as much pay in the form of consumer's goods as the skilled or industrious employee. Remuneration for productive efforts are on the basis of need alone. Communism does not depend upon individual economic motivation, but upon non-economic, social stimulus for the productive efforts. Each person works to the best of his ability out of his desire to be useful and to be of service to society.

Under socialism, each person might own his home and other intimate possessions. Under communism, individuals are allowed the services of such consumer's goods but actual ownership and control rest in the hands of society in general.

Socialists frequently feel that communism is the ultimate goal of socialism. In other words, they believe that under the socialistic system society will be eventually drawn into communism. Communists frequently look upon socialism as a "stop-gap," a short-lived step leading to communism. Both groups hold that communism is the goal toward which society must travel.

3. SYNDICALISM

One thing which socialism and communism have in common is the desire to displace the employer of labor from his position of power and raise the worker to a more dominant place in society. Syndicalism aims at the same general idea, but it proposes to reach this goal through

different means. Syndicalism, a movement which appeared in France between 1895 and 1904, favors the organization of labor into strong units for the purpose of achieving a revolution. The weapons to be used in bringing about the revolution are the general strike, sabotage, and the boycott. If laborers refuse to work and destroy the industrial machinery, the syndicalists argue, the capitalist class of society will be destroyed and the workers can assume their rightful position, namely, the control of industry and of production.

Syndicalism opposes alike individual ownership of producers' and consumers' goods, and government, that is, the state. In their stead, syndicalists would place a free and flexible federation of autonomous productive and distributive associations based on collective ownership and set up to perform the necessary operations in accordance with the needs of the group and the community. Syndicalism is communistic in its idea of collective ownership of goods and in its suggestion that distribution of consumers' goods shall be on the basis of need rather than on individual efficiency. It is anarchistic in its idea of statelessness.

The American group of syndicalists was known as the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization grew in strength during the first two decades of the twentieth century. After 1920 many members, the most prominent of which was William D. Haywood, were won over to the side of communism because of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Since that time, the importance of syndicalism has waned steadily.[13]

4. FASCISM

Fascism like socialism, communism, and syndicalism implies a complete social reorganization rather than merely a new economic system. Fascism is based on an unlimited sovereignty of the state wherein the individual has no rights except in so far as they are in agreement with the needs of the state. The individual is nothing; the state is supreme. Instead of attempting to raise the lower economic groups to a level more nearly equal to that of the higher strata of society, Fascism maintains that inequality is "immutable, beneficial, and fruitful." [14] The principle upon which democracy and socialism rest, that is, rule by the

[13] *Cf.* Lewis L. Lorwin, "Syndicalism," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1937, vol. 14, pp. 496–499.

[14] Benito Mussolini, *Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions*, Ardita, Rome, 1935; quoted in Loucks and Hoot, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

will of the majority, is thoroughly disapproved by fascism. Authority of one strong man is the ideal of the fascist state. This authority reaches farther than the usual realm of politics and government; it includes economic activities and social and religious matters. In short, the authority of the leader under fascism is almost absolute in all matters concerning the individual and his group.

Whereas socialism, communism, and syndicalism propose the abolition of private ownership of property, fascism considers "that private enterprise in the sphere of production is the most effectual and useful instrument in the interest of the nation." The economic incentives in use in fascist states are essentially those used in capitalistic countries with the provision that these (economic incentives) must operate to the advantage of the nation. Self-interest activities are controlled and directed toward national advantage.

The essential principle of fascism is that individual and group behavior in all fields of activities must be controlled for the welfare of the state.

C. *Summary*

Under the capitalistic system, the proper functions of the states are conceived as being to protect, to encourage, to stimulate economic activities so that the entrepreneurs may secure greater profits from their activities.

Suggestions to control the business cycle in the capitalistic system include economic planning; public works to provide employment for individuals who lose their jobs because of business contraction; enforcement of competition by prevention of monopolistic control of productive activities; and regulation of credit by the federal agencies.

The federal government makes regulations governing business activities for the purpose of protecting: (1) the consumer; (2) the workers; (3) the investors; and (4) the producers.

Economic systems which are suggested as alternatives to capitalism are socialism, communism, syndicalism, and fascism.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Would you agree that in the capitalistic system the state is the "servant of big business"? Is big business the servant of the state? Explain your answers.
2. What systems of economic planning have been suggested and attempted in seeking to control the business cycle? What are the weaknesses of economic planning?
3. Do you regard the W.P.A., the P.W.A., the C.C.C., and the N.Y.A. as examples of economic planning?
4. What legal attempts have been made to enforce competition?
5. What legal devices have been used to prevent competition in industries and businesses?
6. Can the government control business operations through the regulation of credit? Explain.
7. Are the government regulations devised to benefit primarily the consumer, the producer, or labor? Explain.
8. How does taxation control industry? Does taxation control the liquor traffic?
9. Why are old-age pensions and insurance more necessary now than formerly in the United States?
10. How can you justify the establishment of minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws at the present?
11. How has tariff benefited industries but injured agricultural producers of certain goods?
12. Compare communism with fascism; with capitalism under free enterprise.

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CHAPTER 27

Government: Its Origin, Nature, and Functions

PREVIOUS CHAPTERS have dealt with various institutions of man, such as the family, marriage and divorce, religion, education, play and recreation, art and aesthetics, health, and economic organizations. In all these institutions, the force and activities of government are to be found.

The state regulates marriage and dictates who may and who may not marry. The government under which modern man lives sets forth the ground upon which marriage may be dissolved by divorce, and it fixes the method whereby divorce may be obtained.

In most countries of the modern world, the church and the state are separate, but in some countries taxes are collected by the state for the support of the established church. In most if not all countries, the rights of the religious orders are safeguarded by law. In the United States, property devoted to religious activities is exempt from taxation.

The education of the young has become in large measure the function of a formal state-supported, state-directed agency — the public school. Not only does the government provide schools for the youth of the land, but it compels all children between the ages prescribed by law to attend school.

Recreation is regulated by law, and recreational equipment is provided at public expense. Playgrounds are furnished, equipped, and supervised by municipal authorities. Parks are established and maintained by city, state, and national governments.

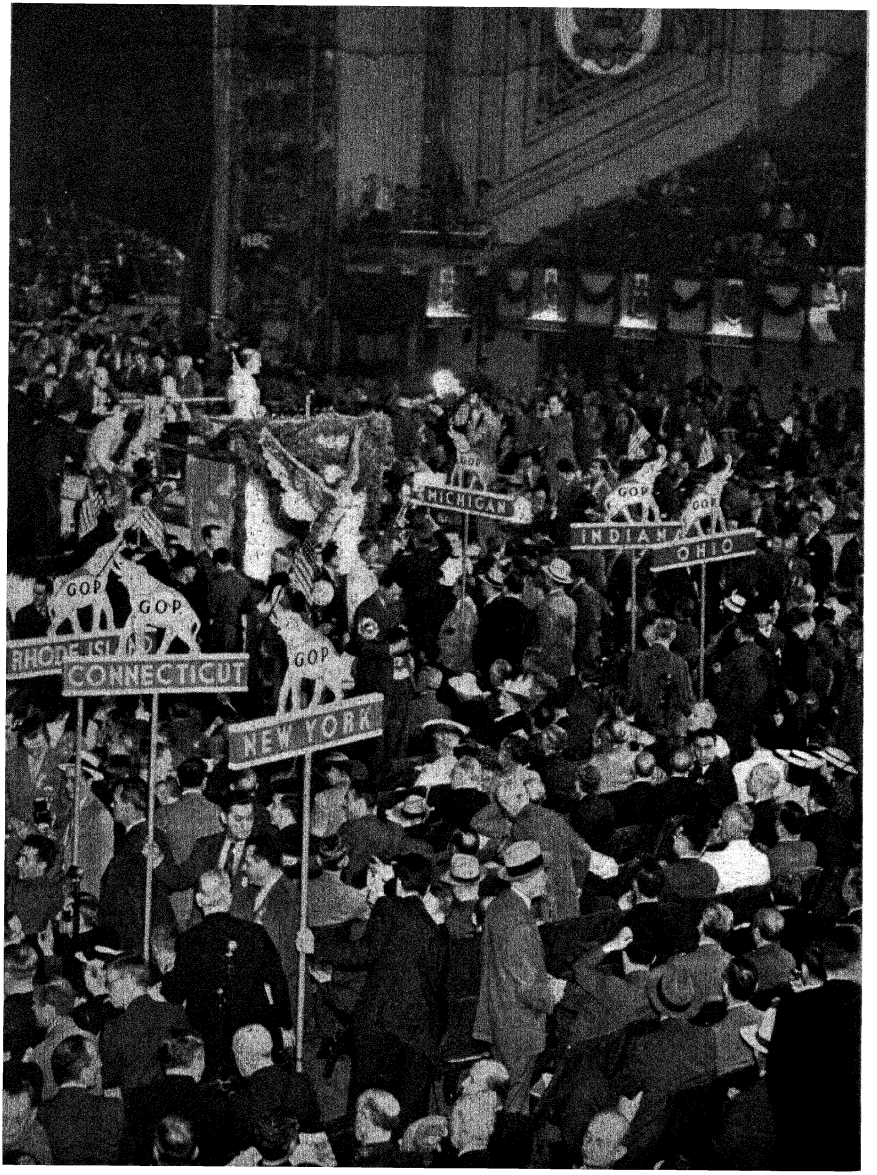
The state sponsors and supports fine arts in many different ways. Some countries have national operas, museums, art galleries, and theaters. In the United States, the promotion of the fine arts has

SECTION H:

Political Institutions

Galloway PLATE 26

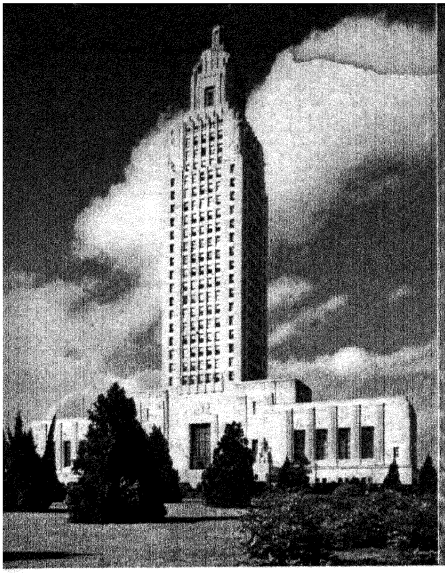




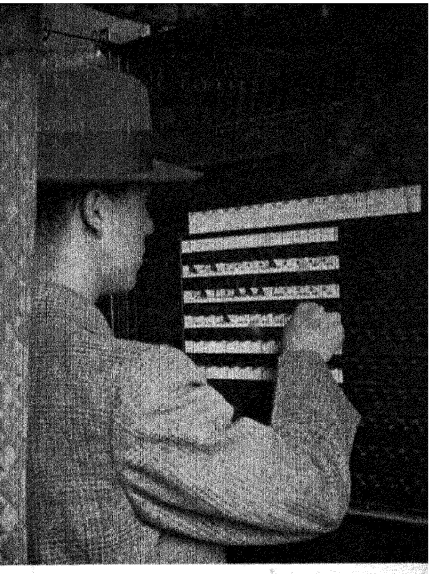
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PLATE 27

The history of political parties in the United States is to a large extent the history of American Government. Political parties are the agencies through which popular opinion may influence government action. The election of representatives to government office is the privilege and duty of the people in a representative democracy.



Gendreau



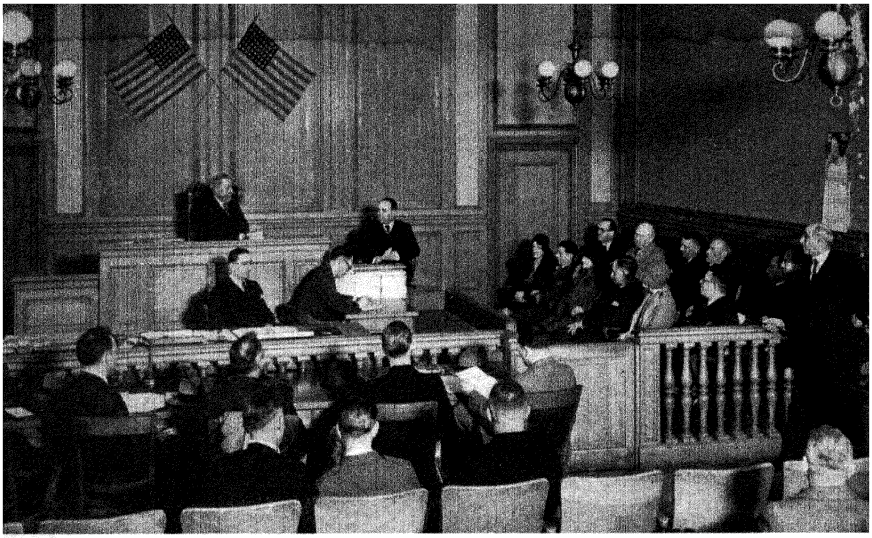
Galloway



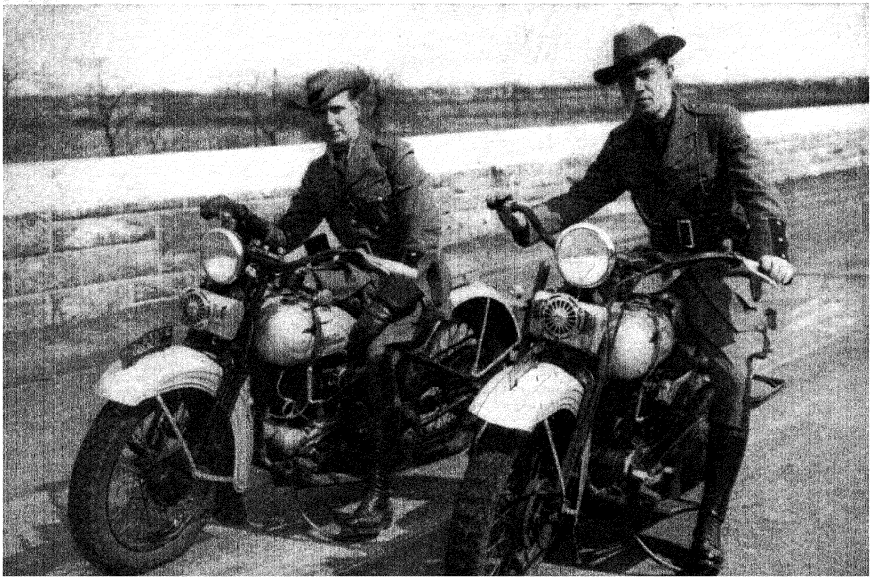
Black Star

PLATE 28

Not every citizen of the United States is a qualified voter, but citizenship is one of the prerequisites. At election time, in school houses or other public buildings, in vacant stores or specially devised portable buildings, by ballot or by voting machine, hundreds of thousands of people exercise their right to choose the political leaders of local, state, and federal government.



Galloway



Galloway

PLATE 29

The Executive-Administrative branch of the state government is just one of three major branches of governmental organization. Another is the Legislative (The Senate and House of Representatives). The third, represented above (top), is the Judiciary or system of courts.

Law enforcement, by local, state, or federal agents, is one of the essential responsibilities of government.

been left, until recently, almost entirely to individual initiative. Now the federal government is providing encouragement for various forms of art expression and for the cultivation of artistic appreciation.

The health of its citizens has become more and more a responsibility of the state. In order to prevent illness and physical disability of its citizens, nations and their subdivisions provide for sanitary inspection of food, housing, sewerage disposal, and general living conditions of the people. Persons suffering from contagious or infectious diseases are quarantined to prevent the spread of such ailments. In some countries, systems of state medicine are provided so that medical care and hospitalization are assured to all persons living within the national boundaries. In the United States, states and local subdivisions provide hospitalization for the indigent population.

Economic and political institutions have been closely related from very early times. The government acts to protect the wealth of individuals and organizations, and in turn, exacts a portion of that wealth in the form of taxes for the operation of the state. In most countries, the individuals who have the greatest wealth also exert the greatest influence and power in the government.

It is therefore appropriate that consideration be given to the several political institutions which coordinate, regulate, and protect the other institutions of man, and which protect and regulate individual and group behavior. The nature of government and of the state will be examined first, then the various theories of the origin of the state. Attention will subsequently be focused on the functions of government, the development of American government, the nature of the American political system, and a comparison of the American system of government with those of England, Germany, and Russia.

A. *The Nature of Government and of the State*

1. GOVERNMENT

Wherever human beings are found living together, cooperating in the various activities of life, and competing for individual advantage, one finds rules which regulate those activities. In the family the parents establish regulations which govern the various members and prescribe the bounds of responsibility and of authority. When children play games, they soon learn to set up rules to regulate the participants. In early childhood these rules are few and rather indefinite, but as the

children grow older and engage in more complicated games which involve more individuals in the play, the rules become more definite and more rigid.

In small primitive groups where the individuals live in close personal relationship with one another, the rules to which the members submit are usually informal patterns of behavior — customs, folkways, mores. As the size of the group increases and its activities become more specialized, more and more formal regulations are required to protect individuals in their group participation. There is no clear-cut, qualitative distinction between the customs of primitive groups and the laws of complex, highly organized societies. There is little doubt that laws have grown out of the customs of groups as the need for more formal rules appeared.

Government varies greatly in time and in place. The governments of primitive societies are quite different from those of modern man living in great nations. Likewise, the government of the German people is very different from that of the people living in the United States.

In spite of differences, however, there are similarities in the systems of government which are fundamental. All governments have these basic essentials: (1) authority; (2) unified effort — teamwork; and (3) regularized behavior.

a. *Authority.* Authority may be vested [1] in certain individuals or groups of individuals according to the type of group and the kinds of activities involved. In primitive hunting groups, a leader chosen because of his proficiency in the hunt was often the source of authority. His rule was limited to the period of the hunt. In the family, the authority in most societies has been vested in the father, or in an elder male if the father is dead. In schools, the faculties or certain officials of the faculties — superintendents, principals, teachers — hold the authority under the sanction of the state laws. Authority in religious organizations is vested in the church board or designated officials — elders, deacons, vestries, stewards, and the like, together with bishops, priests, or pastors. In business corporations, there are boards of directors, business managers, presidents, and superintendents who make decisions and exercise authority over the operations of the concern. Wherever human beings act together in groups, there is inevitably some form of authority being exercised over the individuals.

[1] *Cf.* Chester C. Maxey, *The American Problem of Government*, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York. 1935, pp. 1–11.

b. *Unified effort.* Unified effort is characterized as team work, for it is often necessary for the individual to sacrifice his own interests to the welfare of the group. The efforts of football players are coordinated and directed toward winning games for the team. The skill of primitive hunters is directed toward securing food for the entire group. The activities of soldiers are designed to accomplish the aims of the army and of the nation of which they are citizens. Some forms of coordinated activity on the part of the individual members of the group are characteristic of all governments. No group of people can act together in a cooperative, closely knit body without the unifying characteristic of team work. If each individual sought his own advantage at the expense of the other members of the group, the unity of purpose would be lost, and instead of a relatively harmonious group, there would be simply an aggregation of warring individuals.

c. *Regularized behavior.* Regularized behavior is to be found in any organized mass of human beings. The individuals conform to certain patterns of conduct. The regulations to which people submit tend to become more formal and more inclusive as the number of individuals constituting the group increases and as the activities of the group membership become more specialized and complex. In a small primitive society, there may be no formal rules or laws, but the individuals conform to the informal patterns, such as folkways and mores, with great rigidity. In the modern state, which includes millions of people as citizens, informal customs are insufficient to bring about the necessary conformity, and laws and systems of law enforcement are required.

2. THE STATE

The state is of more recent origin than government. Long before the state as it is usually conceived came into existence, people submitted to recognized authority, coordinated their efforts in a form of team work, and regularized the behavior of individuals. In the patriarchal families of early nomadic groups, the essential elements of government are to be found, but no one would class such families as states. Within the school, the church, the business organization, and many other types of associations, one finds forms of government but not states.

The essential characteristics of a state are as follows: (1) The state must have citizens — people who make up its population, recognize themselves as a part of the political body, and admit the authority of

the established state government. (2) The state must have a fixed and definite territory which is recognized as the geographical area controlled by the established government. (3) The state must have supreme authority over the actions of the people who constitute its citizenry and over the land which comprises its area. If any one of these three essential characteristics is lacking, a state does not exist. The Jews constitute a group of people who recognize a common bond, but they do not constitute a state for they have no common territory nor do they have supreme authority over their own affairs. The "states" of the United States have definite territories and populations of citizens, but they do not have supreme authority over their territories or people, and thus they do not constitute states in a true sense. These political organizations are subdivisions of a state — the United States of America.

B. *Origin of the State*

People have always been interested in the origin of things. There are legends relating to the origin of man. There are theories as to how marriage and the family developed as social institutions. Likewise, there has been much inquiry as to how the state first developed, and there have been many theories to explain its origin.

1. DIVINE RIGHT THEORY

The theory that the king was a divinely appointed ruler of his state was accepted in England under the Stuarts, in Germany under the Hohenzollerns, and in France under the Bourbons. James I of England cited the instance where the Ancient Hebrews prayed for a king.

> That we also may be like all the nations; and that our kings may judge us and go out before us, and fight our battles.[2]

They received what they prayed for. James I felt that he, like Saul, had been chosen by God to govern his people. During the greater part of the seventeenth century, most loyal subjects of the throne accepted the belief that the monarch was divinely appointed and that he was answerable to no earthly power for his acts. If the king oppressed his subjects, they thought God was punishing them for their misdeeds or was preparing them for greater happiness in the life to come. The

[2] 1 Samuel VIII: 19–20.

king, who could do no wrong, needed no such preparation for the Next World.[3]

Additional support to the divine right theory was given by the theory of "natural right." Since God is the author of nature, it was argued, whatever is "natural" is approved by God. It is "natural" for the father to be head of his family. The king stands in the place of the father, and hence is the "natural" head of his nation. Thus God approves the king's rule, for it is according to the "natural" order.

This theory was very convenient for kings to use in defense of acts which were unpopular and oppressive. The subject who objected to the king's acts or revolted against his rule was held to do violence against divine authority.

There is little evidence to support the divine right theory at the present time. However, vestiges of the idea may still be seen in popular reference to our constitution as "divinely inspired" and "divinely ordained."

2. SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

According to the social contract theory, men at some unspecified past time, recognizing the value of a stable government, came together and formed a contract by which certain individuals or a particular individual was granted the recognition and power characteristic of a ruler. According to this theory, the ruler held his authority only so long as he was able to maintain peace and to protect his subjects. Should he lose power, anyone who acquired it was entitled to the obedience and support of the citizens.[4]

Evidence to support the social contract theory of the foundation of states can be gained from the union of the American Colonies for their protection and government.

3. THE FORCE THEORY

The theory that the state had its origin in conflict and conquest is held by some people. For example, two tribes living in adjacent territories wage wars. In the course of time one group gains an advantage over the other and forces it to surrender. The conquered group is subjected to the authority of the victorious people, and both

[3] *Cf.* Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1923, pp. 217–219.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 219–222.

territories are consolidated under one rule. According to this theory the progressive growth from tribe to kingdom and then to empire is but an extension of the force theory of the origin of states.

Many writers of the past have held the view that force — conquest by an outside enemy or exploitation by an aggressive, powerful group within the area — is the basic factor in the origin and the development of the state. Pope Gregory VII wrote in 1080:

> Which of us is ignorant that kings and lords have had their origin in those who, ignorant of God, by arrogance, rapine, perfidy, slaughter, by every crime with the devil agitating as the prince of the world, have contrived to rule over their fellowmen with blind cupidity and intolerable presumption.[5]

Force must be recognized as an important factor in the development of all states, but too great emphasis has often been placed on it. Force should be regarded as but one among other factors in the state's origin.

4. EVOLUTIONARY VIEW OF THE STATE

It is incorrect to attribute the origin of the state mainly to any of the theories advanced above. The institution of the state cannot be traced back to any single point of time, nor can it be ascribed to any single cause or factor; rather has it been the result of a number of factors such as struggle, force, religion, geographical location, industrial and commercial development. The state, like all the various organizations and institutions of man, has been a gradual development — and evolution from earlier forms of group activities. In some societies the family was undoubtedly the primal unit of political organization. In the patriarchal family the father exercised control over the members of his household. A regular order of descent of authority from the father to the eldest son provided the means of control over the members of his household.

Aristotle says:

> The family arises first . . . when several families are united and the association aims at something more than the supply of daily needs, then comes into existence the village. . . . When several villages are united in a single community perfect and large enough to be nearly or quite self sufficient, the state comes into existence.[6]

[5] Quoted in Stephen Leacock, *Elements of Political Science*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921, p. 36. Reprinted by permission.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

To assume however, that the state everywhere originated with the family is again an oversimplification of the matter. There can be no doubt that some states did develop from kinship groups, but certainly not all. States pass through the process of evolution from relatively simple political organizations embodying only the basic political functions to those very complex structures of our times which have assumed many of the functions which were formerly thought to belong to the family and the church.

C. *Forms of Governments within States*

1. DIFFERENCES IN STRUCTURE

The governments within different states vary as the people, the geography, and other conditions vary. The government of one state may allow a great deal of power to rest in the hands of its citizens, or the authority may be largely vested in one man or in a small group of individuals. In no nation will one find the power of government assumed by all the population on a basis of equality, nor will any nation be found where the power of one man or a small group of individuals is entirely unlimited and absolute for a long period of time. Somewhere between the two extremes, all forms of government can be found.

2. THE STRUCTURAL CYCLE

The differences in governments and the fact that governments in different states change with the passing of time, have drawn the attention of great scholars from the time of Plato and Aristotle up to the present. Various theories of political change have been advanced from time to time. None of these has received more attention and more widespread acceptance than that of Aristotle. At the beginning of the cycle of government, Aristotle declared, the government is a *monarchy*. The monarch is devoted to the welfare of his people and the state flourishes. In the course of time men who are self-seeking and who disregard the public good inherit the position of power. Then follows a period of tyranny. The oppression becomes so offensive to a group of men in the state that they rise up and unseat the tyrant from his position of authority and assume power to themselves. These men are public spirited and work for the good of the state and its people. This form of government Aristotle calls *aristocracy*. In the

course of time, new men who are not inspired by the desire to serve the public good take over the power, and the government again degenerates, this time into an *oligarchy.* Instead of a single degenerate, self-seeking individual at the head of the government, there is in an oligarchy a group of men who work together and support each other in their governmental control. Finally the control of this group of rulers is broken by a revolt or revolution on the part of the citizens, and a *democracy* is established. In its extreme form the democracy becomes an instrument for the oppression of the rich by the masses and becomes a form of organized *mob rule.* The confusion which results from this, leads to the emergence of an all-powerful military leader who assumes the rôle of a single ruler. Thus the cycle is completed and starts around once more.[7]

Although there is abundant evidence that governments often follow the cycle of Aristotle, it must not be assumed that all governments naturally and inevitably follow that course. Aristotle himself indicates that he does not consider the cycle inevitable, for he discusses means of preventing revolutions.

3. CLASSIFICATION BASED ON CENTRALIZATION

Depending upon the relations between the central government and the local divisions, states may be divided into *unitary* and *federal.* The unitary state is one in which the local governmental branches exercise their power by delegation from the central authority. The Third French Republic was a good illustration of the unitary state. There all local officials secured their authority from the national government. Every public school was under the direct supervision and control of the Minister of Education, who was a member of the national cabinet of ministers.

The federal state is one in which the local divisions have, or are conceived as having, a relatively independent legal existence. The United States is a good example of a federal state. The states of the union have certain rights guaranteed by the constitution of the nation, and in matters relating to certain state subjects the national government has no authority.[8]

[7] *Cf.* Stephen Leacock, *Elements of Political Science,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921, pp. 112–117.

[8] For a more extended consideration of the state and national powers in the United States, see chs. 29, 30, 31.

4. DEMOCRATIC VERSUS TOTALITARIAN TYPES

Depending upon where governmental authority rests, the state may be classified as *democratic* and *totalitarian* or *despotic*.[9] In a democratic state the authority rests in officials elected by the qualified voters to represent the citizens. England and the United States stand as the two great democracies. In each the lawmaking body is elected by free expression of preference on the part of the qualified voters. The executive in whose hands rests the responsibility for carrying out the laws is selected by representatives of the electorate of the respective nations.

In the totalitarian states the governmental power is vested in one man or in a small group of individuals who are not directly responsible to the citizens of the nation. Germany under Hitler, Italy under Mussolini, and Russia under Stalin are examples of totalitarian states. Each ruler secured his power through party leadership and not through free expression of preference on the part of the citizens of his state. In most if not all cases, the party of which the individual is leader secures control of the government through force and through propaganda to subdue or to convert the public to the desired point of view. The totalitarian state maintains control through military force, through intimidation of the citizens who may oppose the existing order, through the use of propaganda, and through indoctrination of the youth of the land with the desired beliefs.

Not all despotic governments in history have resulted from military or quasi-military action and propaganda. Some have had hereditary monarchs, such as Peter the Great of Russia and Louis XIV of France. Always, however, control is maintained through intimidation by means of an active and powerful military and police force.

One difference is noteworthy in the operation of the modern totalitarian government and the former despotic states. Where formerly the education of the populace was neglected and the peasants and lower class members of society lived in ignorance, the modern dictator uses the education of the masses to his advantage. He rigidly controls the schools, and through indoctrination develops a body of citizens who regard his rule as proper and their own suppression as necessary for the welfare of the state.

[9] *Cf.* Leacock, *op. cit.*, p. 120

D. *Functions of the State*

What functions of the state may be considered basic? The preamble to the constitution of the United States gives the following functions of the government:

> . . . to form a more perfect union, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity . . .

1. PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION

The functions of insuring domestic tranquillity and of providing for the common defense (as stated in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States) can be considered jointly under the general heading of protection. Every state has as its basic responsibilities: (1) the defense of the state against all those who would do it harm, and (2) the protection of the lives and property of its citizens. Of the two types of obligations, the responsibility for national defense must come first. If a state is unable to defend itself against foreign aggression and against internal disorders and insurrection, it cannot possibly protect the lives and property of its citizens. Illustrations of this fact are numerous. China, because of her weakness and inability to defend herself against Japan after 1938, was unable to perform the other basic functions of a state. Her people were killed and their property desolated. The same could be said of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and France by the end of 1941.

On the other hand, the Russian government did not fall mainly because it was invaded by foreign powers in 1917 but because the government was unable to defend itself against insurrection. During the period of the revolution many Russian lives were lost, and the property of the citizens was confiscated by the insurgent forces.

In order for a state to perform the functions of national defense, it must maintain armies, navies, and a police force, together with their appurtenances such as arms, fortifications, and mechanical equipment. In addition to the above agencies for defense, there must be a secret service organization operating in close conjunction with the military and police forces.

The objective of national defense is to protect the lives and property of the citizens and to maintain the social order which is thought appropriate to that particular state. Each state wishes to preserve that

portion of its system which seems to its citizens to be essential to national life. The social order which most Americans desire to maintain is democracy. In addition to the agencies mentioned above for the protection of its citizens and existing institutions, a state has a legislative body to make laws, an executive branch to enforce the laws, and a judicial system made up of courts, prosecuting attorneys, trials, prisons, and judicial procedure.

2. REGULATIONS

The establishment of justice and the securing of liberty mentioned in the preamble to our constitution require the regulation of the activities of individuals, of groups, and of organizations for the common good or for the greatest good to the greatest number of the population.

a. *Regulation of relations of individuals with one another.* The terms "liberty" and "individual freedom" are used very commonly in American society and without any very definite understanding of their significance. Just what is liberty? Why is it necessary to secure liberty by law? Does not law take away one's liberty rather than grant or guarantee it?

In a frontier society such as is often portrayed in the "western" pictures at the cinema, one would feel that the cowboy's liberty would be severely curtailed if he were prevented from shooting up the town and of settling his personal disputes with a gun. Investigations of relatively small primitive and "frontier" groups show that individuals there often have the liberty to settle disputes arising between themselves and others as they see fit. In such settlements, might apparently makes right, and the person who does not have the might must suffer for the deficiency. Obviously the person who does not possess the physical strength, the "quick draw" of his gun, cunning, or other qualities which may give him an equal chance with an aggressor is deprived of his liberty. It is clear that conditions characteristic of a society wherein each man is allowed freedom of action in so far as his physical powers are able to enforce it could not be tolerated in a densely populated and complex society. In such a society the welfare of the group, as well as that of the weaker individuals, demands regulations which restrict the acts of those persons who are aggressively inclined. Liberty can never be absolute. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, adopted in France in 1789, stated, "Liberty consists in the power to do everything that does not injure another." Herbert Spencer expressed

the same thought when he said, "Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man."[10] Laws are thus designed to provide the needed regulations.

Laws regulating the actions of individuals in their personal relationships do not deprive men of their liberty, except in so far as it may be for the public good, if the laws do not appear unjust or unreasonable to the great mass of the citizens, and if the laws are applied with equity so that every individual and every group receives equal protection. As Holcombe says:

> Obedience to just laws is not only not incompatible with the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty: it is an essential part of it. The enforcement of just laws is, indeed, the means of securing liberty, since it is the condition upon which, other means failing, the individual accomplishes those of his purposes which require for their consummation the assistance of others.[11]

In every state, laws are enacted which regulate man's relations with his fellows by prohibiting certain acts which may prove injurious to his fellows. Many activities of men which are prohibited in a well-organized state are designed to protect the population not only from direct personal injury but from indirect harm as well.

Not all regulatory laws are negative, that is, designed to prohibit certain acts. Some are positive in that they require certain things. The state requires that a contract entered into by two or more parties must be fulfilled if the contract itself is not illegal. If a man, for example, should agree to sell a piece of land to another person and if the agreement constituted a legal contract, the state would, upon demand of the purchaser, require a fulfillment of the sale. The state expects a man to protect his family and to provide for the support of his wife and children to the best of his ability, and it will take steps to force the legal head of the household to fulfill his responsibilities.

In brief, the laws of a state are designed to regulate individual conduct for the protection of all members of society, both for the welfare of individuals and of the population as a whole.

b. *Regulation of individuals and institutions.* The state makes laws to support the existing mores of the citizenry, such as the marriage relations and family responsibilities of individuals. In our society a man or woman is forbidden to practice any but the monogamous form of

[10] *Cf.* Leacock, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[11] Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Foundations of the Modern Commonwealth*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1923, p. 289. Reprinted by permission.

marriage. The responsibilities and privileges of parents and of children in a family are prescribed by law. A father may punish his children, but not in a manner regarded as brutal and inhuman. The state fixes the grounds upon which the marriage relationship may be legally dissolved and the responsibilities of the individuals whose marriage has been legally terminated. For instance a woman is not required to continue as the wife of a man who abuses her, and the man may be required to provide for the support of children which may have been born to the couple. Also the man may be required to contribute to the support of his former wife.

The state can and does regulate the relations of economic concerns with their employees. A factory may be held responsible for accidents to its workers. It may be required to continue to keep its employees on the payroll during periods of illness. The factory is required to provide proper safeguards for the safety and health of those employed therein. Workers are granted the right to organize for collective bargaining with employers. There is a growing tendency for the state to fix minimum-wage rates which employers must pay their employees, and to establish maximum numbers of hours which employers may require employees to work. There has also been a growing tendency for the state to regulate child labor by prohibiting the employment of workers below certain ages.

The state safeguards the health of the people by passing quarantine laws and by requiring those who have contagious or infectious diseases to be secluded from their fellows during the period in which the disease can be transmitted. Various other measures are enforced to safeguard the health of the inhabitants of the state.

The relations of the citizen with his state are regulated. The privilege of voting, whereby the citizen expresses his approval or disapproval of the government and voices his preference for elective officials, is restricted by qualifications set up by the state. Provisions are made, through collection of taxes, whereby the citizen bears his share of the cost of operating the government and of performing the state functions

3. PROMOTION OF THE GENERAL WELFARE

A number of operations of the state are designed to promote the general welfare. The great body of the populace must be educated according to the established customs and ideals of society within the nation. The complexity of modern civilization makes it more im-

portant now than at any time in the world's history that education be available to all classes of society. This is especially true in a democracy where the welfare and the future progress of the state rest on the intelligent vote of the citizens of the commonwealth. The state is the only organization with wealth and power enough to establish a system of schools which will reach all levels of society. For that reason the state must provide, maintain, and regulate the public school systems.

It has already been pointed out that in order to promote the general welfare the state acts to safeguard the health of its people.

In the complex economic system of modern times, it is necessary to make provisions for the disabled members of society. People incapacitated through ill health, accident, old age, or innate disability cannot be left with no other care and protection than that which they themselves are able to afford, nor is it desirable that the young, able-bodied kinsfolk of the disabled members be burdened with their care and support. It is becoming increasingly more apparent that general welfare requires that society in the form of the state must be responsible for the care and support of the disabled.

In the monotonous, highly specialized industry of the present day the hours of labor are much shorter than they formerly were. Moreover, people are living in crowded urban centers in greater numbers than ever before. There are, in addition, few places available for the play of children. The general welfare of the populace therefore requires that the nation through its central or local governments provide wholesome and suitable recreation for the people of all ages at all seasons of the year.

In a world of great corporations which employ thousands of employees and have capital investments of many millions of dollars, general welfare requires that the government regulate businesses. No other organ within the area of a nation can wield enough power to hold in check the actions of the great business concerns and to protect individuals and other agencies.

The general welfare functions of government are interpreted broadly to mean all types of activities considered desirable and necessary for the good of the great mass of individuals who make up the population of a state.

E. *Summary*

Political institutions serve man by regulating the activities of individuals and of groups for the protection of the weak against the strong.

Human conduct is regulated wherever individuals live together in cooperation and in competition. In primitive society the regulating forces are informal customs, whereas in modern society there are laws as well as customs.

Although there are characteristic differences in systems of government, all have the basic essentials of: (1) authority; (2) unified effort (teamwork); and (3) regularized behavior.

The state has been variously defined, but it can be described by its essential characteristics, whatever definition may be accepted. The characteristic traits are: (1) a population of people who recognize themselves as a part of the political body and who accept the authority of the established government; (2) a definite territory with fixed bounds controlled by the established government; and (3) a supreme authority over the population and land.

No one knows just how the first state came into being or where it first appeared. Various explanations of the origin and development of the state have been advanced. The more common and best-known theories of the growth of the state are: (1) the divine-right theory, (2) the social-contract theory, (3) the force theory, and (4) the evolutionary-development theory.

Within the states of the world there are and have been in the past a variety of forms of governments. Scholars have been led to speculation as to why there are and have been in various times and places such differences in governmental types. Aristotle suggests the cycle which includes the following governmental types: (1) monarchy, (2) tyranny, (3) aristocracy, (4) oligarchy, (5) democracy, (6) mob rule, (7) dictatorship. On other bases of classification, there are unitary governments and federal governments; democracies and totalitarian states.

The question of why it is necessary to have a state has been asked many times. What are the essential functions of a state? Many differences of opinion are encountered in the discussion of what is the proper field of a state's activities. There is quite general acceptance of the belief that the responsibilities of the state can be grouped under the headings of: (1) protection and preservation of the nation, its people, their property, and the institutions which are established as a part of the social order; (2) regulation of the behavior of individuals and of groups through regulating man's relations with his fellows and with social institutions, and through regulating the relations of social institutions with individuals and with other institutions; (3) promotion of the general welfare of the state, its people, and its institutions.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what ways are political institutions related to the other institutions previously studied?
2. Is occupied France a state at the present time? Justify your answer.
3. What examples of the theory of rule by divine sanction or right can be found before the modern period?
4. Differentiate between a monarchy and an oligarchy.
5. What do you regard as the first duty of a state? Justify your answer.
6. Give examples of state regulation of institutions.
7. What are some ways in which the state provides for the general welfare of its people?
8. The American Constitution guarantees freedom of religious worship. It is a part of the religious faith of some creeds that the members trust their God to protect them from illness. How can you reconcile this constitutional guarantee with the requirement that all persons be vaccinated against smallpox in order to attend the public schools?

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CHAPTER 28

Development of American Government

AS AN INTRODUCTION to the study of a particular political system, a student should have an understanding of the basic principles of government, the nature of the state, the forces which led to its development, and its essential functions. The preceding chapter was designed to provide the background for a survey of the American form of government. The present chapter is devoted to a study of the origin and development of the federal system of the United States.

A. *Early Backgrounds of American Government*

The government of any country is an appropriate subject for study by the people who live under its jurisdiction. The government of the United States is deserving of special study by all students of political institutions, for this country is the oldest of any of the world's republics, and the greatest in size of population.[1] Furthermore, it has been the most successful of all federal states. There were other federal governments prior to the formation of the American republic, but before 1800 the world-wide belief was that the federal form of government was suitable only for small states, and that a federal state was inevitably a weak government.[2] There have been and are other federal states in the modern world, but none are characterized by such comparative harmony and internal peace as the United States.

[1] The republic of Brazil has a larger area than that of the continental United States — 3,275,510 square miles to 3,026,789 square miles respectively. However, if the territorial possessions of the United States are included, its area becomes 3,738,395 square miles. The population of the United States according to the 1940 census is slightly more than 131 million compared with a 1938 estimated population of 43 million for Brazil.

[2] *Cf.* William Bennett Munro, *The Government of the United States*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, pp. 14–15. Also, Chester C. Maxey, *The American Problem of Government*, F. S Crofts & Co., 1935, pp. 42–43.

1. ENGLISH ORIGINS

The colonies which later comprised the Thirteen States of the United States were settled by migrants from Europe who, for the most part, came directly or indirectly from England. These early settlers brought with them the language, the form of family life, the religion, and the governmental ideals which were characteristic of the mother country.

Among the English colonies established in what later became the United States, there were three types: the royal colonies whose governors were appointed directly by the king; the proprietory colonies whose governors were appointed by the proprietor of the region with the approval of the king; and the charter colonies whose governors were selected by the qualified voters of the respective jurisdictions from the few families who were eligible for such honors. In reality, the systems of government in the colonies varied but little. All were based on the English system, with the rights of Englishmen, such as trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, and guarantee of free speech. In every colony the key man was the governor, who ruled over his colony much as the English king ruled his subjects. There was a colonial legislature, which was commonly, like the British Parliament, made up of two houses. The upper houses were in most instances appointed by the king on the recommendations of the governor or the proprietor. Also there was a system of courts in every colony — local (justice of peace) courts, intermediary (county) courts, and a highest (supreme) court which often consisted of the governor and his council. Appeal from the decisions of the highest court might be taken to the Privy Council in England.

The legal system of the colonies was rooted in the common law of England, the Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights. Out of this early colonial system of government evolved the democratic system of the United States.[8]

The idea of representative government also had its origin in England. According to Maxey's explanation in his book *The American Problem of Government*, the system of representation in government had its beginnings in England, during the time of William the Conqueror, as an

[8] The common law of England itself evolved from the customs of the Ancient Germans — the Angles, Saxons, and the Jutes. It illustrates how legal systems develop from tribal customs. Today most of the states of the United States regard the common law as the basis for their existing statutes.

outgrowth of the king's distribution of land as the spoils of war to his followers. The king did not trust his barons — the recipients of the grants of land; hence he selected four or five of the richest men from each township to carry out his orders. These men did not represent the people of the district in a true sense, but they probably did reflect the local opinion to a considerable extent. In the course of time, the king summoned the local groups to select certain of their number to attend the royal council. Each person selected represented the district from which he was drawn. This marked the beginning of the British Parliament.

2. COLONIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

a. *Local government.* Although the early settlers in America brought the customs of the mother country with them, certain modifications were made, owing to the new conditions under which the colonists lived. The changes varied according to the different geographical conditions in the new world. In the New England area, the land was unsuited for settlement in large agricultural tracts. There were few fertile spots. The population was concentrated in close, compact groups, which developed into towns. The unit of government thus became the New England town. It provided the characteristic form of local government for towns which later developed in other regions of the nation.

In the South, conditions were very different from those in New England. Large tracts of land suitable for agriculture were available for the southern settlers. The type of farming was favorable to the use of slave labor. As a consequence, people lived on scattered farms or plantations instead of in towns. The county, an area much larger than that embraced in the land of the New England town, became the political unit. The county organization spread until now every state has its county government.

In the middle colonies — Pennsylvania and New York particularly — a combination of the town and the county governments became the rule. One group of officers, elected in the town, exercised authority in the town, while another set, elected in the county at large, made up the county officials.

b. *Plans of union.* Another contribution which the colonies made to the government was the idea of a united nation or of a federal government. The mother country had no desire for the colonies to form any

union or cooperative association.[4] On the contrary, England preferred that the colonies remain divided to prevent solidarity of action in all matters.

Suggestions of colonial union were made as early as 1643 when the settlements of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven united in a league of friendship, known as the New England Confederation, for their mutual protection against the Indians. This organization disappeared after the danger of attack by the Indians was removed. In 1754 the Albany Plan of Union was advanced by Franklin: one delegate from each colony would form a Congress which would determine the means of common defense, the number of troops each colony should supply, and the amount of money each colony should contribute. Franklin's plan for colonial union was unanimously approved by the representatives who met at Albany, but it was rejected when submitted to the colonial legislatures for their approval.

The next serious attempt to unite the colonies was the meeting of the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774, with delegates present from every colony except Georgia. In common peril, this assembly considered various suggestions for colonial cooperation. The Congress adopted addresses to the mother country and adjourned to meet the next year. In 1775 the Second Continental Congress assembled and proceeded to take the necessary steps for waging a war.

From the above statement, one can see that only the recognition of a common danger finally led to a successful cooperative union of the American colonies.

c. *Philosophies of government.* Although the underlying philosophies of government adopted by the federal union of American states did not originate in the colonies, it was in the various constitutions and statutes adopted by the new settlements that the theories were worked into a form which could be incorporated into the federal system.[5] Virginia in its Bill of Rights, which was the first document of its kind in American history, embodied the following principles: (1) that all men are by nature equally free and independent, with certain inherent rights; (2)

[4] One exception to this statement is to be found in the suggestion of the Lords of Trade to call a Congress whereby a Union of the colonies could be perfected for colonial defense against the French. This led to the Albany meeting in 1754, where Franklin presented his plan of union.

[5] To such political writers and philosophers as Blackstone, Vattel, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, the source of the philosophies of government upon which the colonies evolved their political philosophies must be traced.

that all political power is vested in and consequently derived from the people; (3) that all governments exist for the common benefit; (4) that the people have the right of revolution when government becomes despotic.[6] The other states followed the statements of the Virginia constitution closely. Furthermore, the Declaration of Independence incorporated several features of the Virginia Bill of Rights. The first ten amendments to the United States Constitution drew heavily from the Bill of Rights of Virginia.

d. *Fear of a powerful executive.* Colonial history is replete with strife between the colonial governors and the representatives of the citizens — the colonial legislatures. The colonists distrusted whoever was governor.

> Whether elected by the people, or appointed by the King, or named by the proprietor, he [the governor] represented the principle of external authority. His office smacked of royal prerogative, his person gave forth a faint aura of the dignity and pageantry of potentates.[7]

The experiences which the colonists had with their governors, coupled with their difficulties with the King of England, led the citizens to fear and dread the power which a single executive could wield. This feeling was the source of much of the weakness evident in the government of the United States throughout the period of the Revolution and until after the adoption of the Constitution. It further led to a great deal of difficulty in finally formulating and adopting a system with a strong central government. The checks and balances for which our system is noted are devised to limit the executive power. A vestige of the fear of a strongly entrenched executive is still to be seen in the repugnance of many Americans to electing a president for more than two terms.

e. *Power of the legislative branch.* In the disputes arising in the colonies over the acts of the governors, the lower branches of the legislatures stood as the sole guard to defend the people against what they regarded as arbitrary and unjustified assumption of authority by the executive. Furthermore, the colonial legislatures led the fight against the exercise of authority by the British king. As a consequence, the legislative branch of government became very popular. In all the attempts to establish a union of the colonies and to organize a stable government,

[6] Jeremiah S. Young, John W. Manning, Joseph I. Arnold, *Government of the American People*, D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1940, p. 17.

[7] Robert Phillips, *American Government and Its Problems*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p. 8. Reprinted by permission.

the first move was to establish a congress which not only assumed legislative but also executive functions, in so far as executive powers were allowed.

B. *Constitutional Unions*

1. THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL UNIONS

When the Second Continental Congress gathered in Philadelphia on the tenth of May, 1775, the war against England had already begun. The Congress assumed control of the situation, organized an army, appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief, and addressed the British Crown, asking for justice for the colonies. The desire of most Americans in 1775 was to remain a part of the British Empire but with the right to govern themselves to a much greater extent than had been allowed. As the year wore away, with no indication that England would yield to colonial demands, it became apparent to a leading portion of the colonists that secession from the mother country was the only way to secure the desired liberties.

a. *Articles of Confederation.* On June 7, 1776, Richard Harry Lee introduced a resolution into the Congress declaring the colonies free and independent. Accompanying this resolution was a provision for the appointment of a committee to draw up a plan for the confederation of the Thirteen States of America. It became apparent to all members of the Congress that some form of organization was essential for the operation of the war then in progress. It later became very clear that a form of union was also essential in peace. The committee provided for by the resolution was appointed shortly thereafter; and later that summer, plans for union were submitted to the Congress. Debate over the measures suggested for the union took place from time to time. The proposed union was given congressional approval on November 15, 1777. It had then to be ratified by the state legislatures.

In the discussion of plans for uniting the states into a confederation, the following three problems presented themselves: (1) Were the states to have equal or proportional representation in the Congress? (2) Were the states to share the cost of maintaining the government of the union equally, or were the expenses to be borne in proportion to the extent of territory and wealth of the states? (3) Were the states claiming vast expanses of western land to continue to hold these areas? The latter question involved the point of giving Congress authority to limit the size of the existing states.

The first two questions were settled in the articles by allowing each state one vote in the Congress, thus securing equality of each state in voting, and by providing that the Congress should call upon the states for contributions of money for the continuation of the war and for the expenses of government in proportion to the wealth of the state.[8]

The third question presented a more troublesome problem. Certain states like Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and Rhode Island were relatively small in area and had their boundaries definitely fixed. On the other hand, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, by the terms of their grants, claimed western areas.

After Congress approved the Articles of Confederation, they were ratified very promptly by all the states except Maryland. That state refused to ratify the Articles until the Congress should be empowered to fix the limits of the states holding claims to western lands. In this demand, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware joined, but not to the extent of refusing to ratify the proposed plan of union.

After a lapse of much time, New York in February of 1780 acceded to Maryland's demands and agreed to cede her western territories to the Congress. Other states followed New York's example, and finally in 1781 Virginia agreed to cede her land to the central authority, whereupon Maryland promptly ratified the Articles of Confederation which became the established form of government March 1, 1781.

The settlement of this problem was of extraordinary significance to the later development of the nation. As a result of the ceding of the western lands by the states to the Congress, the territorial boundaries of the Thirteen States were fixed in such a manner that no one state could become so vast in area and resources as to endanger the safety of the others. The Congress of the Confederation increased its prestige by being made the arbiter of the destiny of such a vast expanse of land as that between the western boundaries of the states and the Mississippi River. Provisions were made for the formation of new states from the western lands. These states were to become members of the Federal Union with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the original members.

(1) *Land Ordinance of 1785.* By the Land Ordinance of 1785, provi-

[8] The problem of equal or proportional voting representation of the states arose ten years later to trouble the delegates of the Constitutional Convention.

sion was made for surveying the land of the newly acquired territory.[1] The plan of survey used became the adopted pattern for surveying the areas of territories acquired by the nation at later dates.

Another significant provision of the Land Ordinance was that in each township the sixteenth section should be reserved for the "mainte-

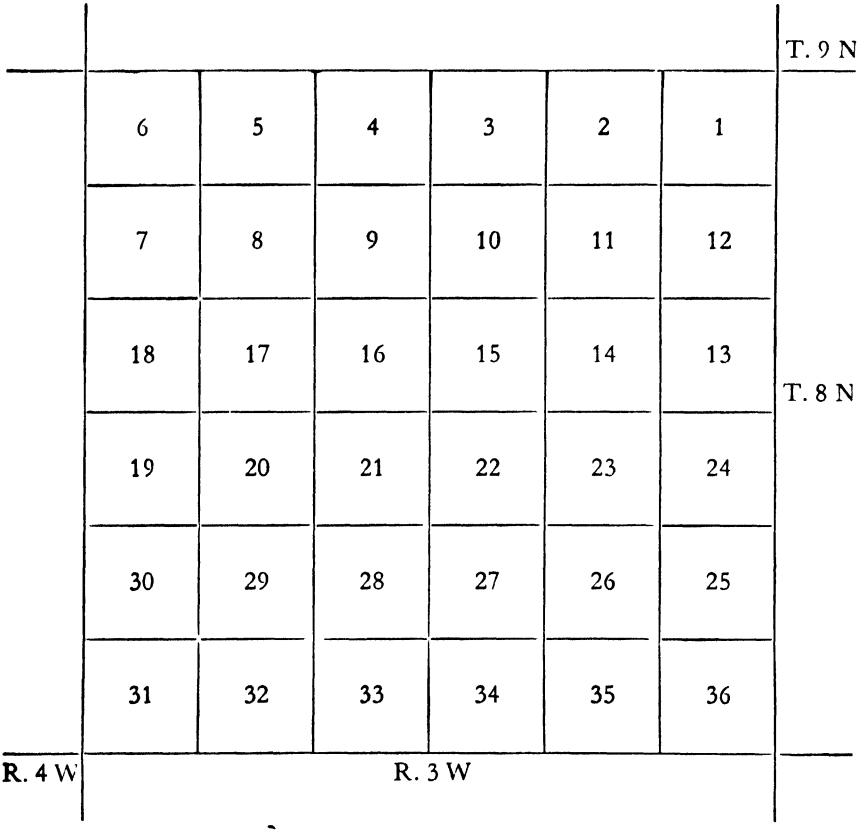


FIGURE 20. THE OFFICIAL CHECKERBOARD PATTERN OF LAND DIVISION IN THE UNITED STATES

Note the arrangement of the thirty-six sections in the township.

[1] The American checkerboard system of land surveys utilized the principal meridians as the bases of the system. Starting from the measurements of longitude and latitude the lands are surveyed into rectangular tracts six miles square which are called townships. A range is any series of contiguous townships north or south of each other. The townships are counted either north or south from the base, and the ranges are counted either east or west. Each township is subdivided into 36 sections of one mile square, or 640 acres. *Cf.* T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1940, p. 250.

nance of public schools within the township." The provision that the sixteenth section of each township should be devoted to schools likewise became a fixed policy of the nation in handling its public lands.

(2) *The Ordinance of 1787.* The Ordinance of 1787, better known as the Northwest Ordinance, is probably the most important legislation of the entire Confederation. This Ordinance provided for the government of the western lands ceded by the states to the Congress. It guaranteed to all residents within the territorial area the rights enjoyed by citizens of the United States. It provided for the subdivision of the territory into states and for the admission of these states into the union on an equal status with other states when any of the subdivisions had "sixty thousand free inhabitants." The Northwest Ordinance established a form of territorial government and provided for representation of the territories in the National Congress, a plan which was later followed in all the other territories.

(3) *Analysis of the Articles of Confederation.* Until the Federal Constitution became effective in 1789 the Articles of Confederation provided the structure of government under which the thirteen states operated. The structure proved to be very weak, but served during the period of transition from a form of independent cooperative organization (wherein each state was held in the union by the realization of a common danger) to a centralized federal union which had the power to exert authority superior to that of the state. The Articles of Confederation were important in that they operated to prepare the states for a more powerful form of central authority, for it became increasingly evident that the existing form of organization would spell disaster to all.

Thus, in the very weakness of the Articles of Confederation lay their greatest benefit to American society. Moreover, the portions of the Articles which worked out well were retained as a part of the system which was developed later.

By the provisions of the Articles of Confederation the thirteen states entered into a league of amity, but each state retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.[10] Such authority as was granted the Confederation was vested in a Congress made up of not less than two nor more than seven representatives from each state. Each member state had only one vote. The Congress had authority to conduct war and to make peace, to enter into treaties to provide for admiralty

[10] *Cf.* Henry Steele Commager, *Documents of American History*, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1938, pp. 111–115.

courts, to grant letters of marque and reprisal, to coin money, to fix the standards of weights and measures, to regulate trade and all other relations with the Indians, to establish and maintain a postal system, to provide for and maintain an army and navy, to appropriate money to defray the public expenses, to borrow money, and to issue bills on the credit of the United States.

In practice the Articles of Confederation showed faults which made it impossible for them to endure long as the instrument of government. No provision was made for an executive department of government. The Congress could make laws, borrow money, and determine the number of soldiers needed for the army, but the vote of nine of the thirteen states was required to pass a new measure through the Congress. If money were borrowed, the Congress could not tax the states to repay the loan. Instead, each state was to be requisitioned for money to repay the loans made by the Congress. The national legislature could decide on the number of men needed for the army and navy, and could make a levy on the states for the requisite number of men. The Congress, however, was vested with no power to compel the states to meet the demands either for money or for men. There was no national judiciary system. Instead, the state courts were to try judicial cases.[11] States were permitted to levy tariffs and tolls, to prohibit shipment of goods from other states through their territory and to pass retaliatory measures aimed at the commerce of other members of the Confederation. The great weakness of the Articles of Confederation can be summed up briefly in the statement that the central government was woefully weak, whereas the jealous and competing states were individually vested with almost complete independence, supreme power, and authority in problems wherein they were involved.

b. *The Federal Constitution.* Conditions under the Articles of Confederation became intolerable. The newly founded nation was without credit or respect abroad and without authority at home. Interstate jealousies threatened to cause civil war. Currency was so worthless that the expression "not worth a Continental" came to be used to express the utter contempt for the "Continental Currency."

[11] Controversies between states were to be referred to the Congress, which was to appoint arbiters, not more than one from any given state, to deliberate and to report their findings; but if the decisions were unacceptable to the contending parties the findings could not be enforced. *Cf.* Robert Phillips, *American Government and Its Problems*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, p 22.

(1) *Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.* As a result of these conditions, a convention was summoned to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation. Every state with the exception of Rhode Island sent delegates to take part in the proceedings, and the men who met in Philadelphia to consider the problems of the young nation have been characterized as the "ablest body of Americans that ever considered political questions."[12] Among the members were Washington, who was unanimously elected president of the Convention, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton, John Rutledge, the two Pinckneys, John Dickinson, Rufus King, Elbridge Gerry, Roger Sherman, James Wilson, Oliver Ellsworth, and others. In all, fifty-five delegates attended the meetings during its sessions. The Convention lasted throughout the summer of 1787. The Constitution was finally ratified by a majority of the delegates on September 17, 1787.

(a) *Plans of Union.* The meeting had scarcely opened before it became apparent to the delegates that something more radical than merely amending the Articles of Confederation would be required to make the meeting worth while and to establish a stable government for the United States. Two plans of organization were submitted for consideration by the Convention. One plan, presented by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, was largely the work of James Madison. This scheme of government came to be known as the Virginia Plan of Union. Its provisions were, briefly: that a real federal union was to be established with central executive, legislative, and judicial branches; that the legislative department was to consist of two houses, with the members of the lower house elected by the voters of the states and the members of the upper branch selected by the lower chamber; that membership in the lower house was to be proportional to the population or to the amount of taxes paid into the national treasury by the states; [13] that the National Congress was to have a veto over acts passed by state legislatures.

Another plan of union was presented by William Paterson of New Jersey. It is known as the New Jersey Plan. This scheme of union provided for the continuation of the Congress on substantially the same lines along which it had been organized under the Articles of Con-

[12] *Cf.* Young *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[13] This plan was favorable to large and wealthy states for it would give them more representation in Congress. The small states naturally opposed such legislation.

federation — one house in which each state had a single vote. The plan further provided for an executive to be selected by the Congress and for a judiciary to be established with the judges of the supreme tribunal selected by the executive. The Congress was also to be given the power to levy and collect assessments against the states and to levy duties and excises.

(b) *Connecticut Compromise.* The conflict which arose between the representatives of large and of small states threatened to disrupt the Convention until a compromise measure known as the Connecticut Compromise was introduced. This compromise measure provided for a bicameral legislature in which the upper house would represent the states equally and the lower house would represent the people of the jurisdictions on the basis of proportional representation.[14] Furthermore, all measures providing for the raising of revenue should originate in the lower house. The Connecticut Compromise was adopted, since it removed the most objectionable features of the other two plans and provided for equal as well as for proportional representation of the states.

(c) *Other compromises.* With the problem of proportional representation in the Congress, another problem arose. How was population to be enumerated? Were slaves to be included as part of the population or were they to be counted as property? The southern states desired to count the slaves as population, thereby securing increased representation in the lower house of the Congress. The states with few slaves, on the other hand, wished to consider the slaves as property. In relation to the Negro portion of the population, another problem arose. Was the Congress to have the right to prohibit the importation of slaves into the United States? If Congress had the right to regulate traffic in slaves, could Congress go farther and impose import and export duties on all trade? These questions were solved by compromise. Slaves were to be counted in the enumeration of the population on the basis of five slaves to three free men; a slave was to count as three-fifths of a person. Slaves were to be counted in the same ratio in the levy of direct taxes on the states. It was further agreed that slave trade could not be prohibited by the Congress prior to 1808, and that no export levies might be passed.

[14] The basic idea of the Congress of the United States was for the Senate to represent the states, whereas the House of Representatives was to represent the people. Since some states had larger populations than others, they had more members in the lower branch of Congress.

After a long period of consideration, discussion, and compromise which lasted throughout the heat of the summer, the Constitution was approved and signed by thirty-nine members of the Convention. Some members were openly hostile to the ratification of the new document and refused to sign it. Others were dissatisfied with the product of their work, but felt that it was the best measure of government attainable at the time.

(2) *Ratification of the Constitution.* After approval by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the measure was sent to the Congress still operating under the Articles of Confederation with these suggestions: that conventions be held in each of the Thirteen States to consider ratification of the new organ of government; and that when nine of the states should ratify the Constitution, it should become effective.

Many objections were raised to the new government. Some persons felt that it would destroy the power and importance of the states; others complained that the states retained too much authority. Some persons believed that monarchy was being restored through the strong executive department; others were of the opinion that the central government was not powerful enough. Some held the idea that the government provided for a rule of aristocracy, of wealth; others maintained that the system was too democratic. There were some individuals who objected to the document because it did not mention the name of God. Many agreed that the Convention had exceeded its authority in bringing out a new constitution instead of revising the Articles of Confederation.

From many quarters arose the objection that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights — no guarantee of the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, religious liberty, and other assurances that the rights for which colonists had struggled against England would be secure under the new government.[15]

Some of the most influential men of the period opposed ratification of the new Constitution. Among the most energetic opponents of ratification were Patrick Henry of Virginia and George Clinton, Governor of New York. The opposition to ratification was particularly strong in the western frontier sections of the states, among the

[15] In order to correct the omission of a Bill of Rights, ten amendments were adopted very shortly after the new government went into effect which effectively provided for the guarantees of personal liberty such as a Bill of Rights would include.

struggling farmers, among debtors, and among the non-property class which was disfranchised in all of the states but one.[16]

In order to secure the ratification of the Constitution, Hamilton and Madison waged a very aggressive campaign to gain support for it. By means of letters, essays, and debates the delegates to the state conventions and the people whom they represented were "educated" to see the merits of the new governmental system.

Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey held state conventions and ratified the Constitution very soon after it was sent to the states for consideration. Georgia and Connecticut followed the lead in a few weeks. In Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, opposition grew, and a bitter struggle was waged before these states finally ratified the Constitution by a very narrow margin of favorable votes. By midsummer in 1788 the necessary nine states had ratified the measure, and its adoption was assured. Virginia and New York gave their consent and brought the number of ratifications to eleven. When North Carolina accepted the Constitution in the fall of 1789, and Rhode Island accepted it in the spring of 1790, the Thirteen States of America became in reality the United States of America.

(3) *Later development of the Constitution.* The United States for which the Constitution was drawn up was vastly different from that same nation 150 years later. In 1790 the nation's area extended from Canada on the north to the Florida Territory held by the Spanish on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Mississippi River on the west. The population of the nation in 1790 was 3,929,214. During the next 150 years the continental area of the United States increased almost three and a half times, while the population increased by more than thirty-three times the original figure. Obviously the system of government of any people must change as the needs and conditions of the nation change. The Constitution of the United States has been changed throughout the years in order to adjust it to the new conditions of the country. These changes in the system of government have come through: (1) amendments to the Constitution; (2) court decisions; (3) usage; (4) statutes passed by legislative bodies; and (5) administrative interpretation of the Constitution.

(a) *Amendments to the Constitution.* Recognizing that new conditions would demand changes in the Constitution, the framers of the document provided a means for its amendment. Such amendments are

[16] *Cf.* Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-59; Young *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-46; Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp 41-47.

made by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Congress and ratified by three-fourths of the states, either by action of the state legislatures or by conventions held in the states for consideration of the proposed amendment.[17]

The first ten amendments — sometimes called the Bill of Rights — were adopted in 1791. Since that time — a period of 151 years — eleven additional amendments have been added to the Constitution, so that the total now is twenty-one.

(b) *Court decisions.* Decisions of the courts of the nation have greatly altered not the wording of the Constitution but its interpretation Thousands of court decisions have had a very important part in determining the rights of the central government, the state authorities, the executive department, and of the legislative branch of government. Court decisions have brought about other needed changes which the spirit if not the letter of the law permitted.

(c) *Usage.* Changes have come about through usage. The president is still elected in the form set forth by the Constitution, but usage has developed a system whereby each eligible voter has a right to vote for the president by voting for his party's nominee. Usage, not the wording of the Constitution, prohibits the President and Vice-President from being residents of the same state. There is no provision in the Constitution for political parties, but, through usage, such organizations have come to play a very important part in determining government policies and action. Many other examples might be given of how usage has developed our political system.

(d) *Statutes passed by the Congress.* The framers of the Constitution recognized that laws would have to be made to provide the details for government and regulation. In each session of the Congress during the more than 150 years in which the Constitution has been in effect, numerous laws on a great variety of subjects have been passed. The nature and content of the laws have varied greatly with the passing of time. Various departments of the government have been established by acts of the Congress. Banks have been established and bank deposits have been guaranteed by federal law. The Constitution makes no mention of an annual budget, yet there now exists a budget system

[17] Although the method of amending the Constitution was provided to make possible the necessary changes in the document, in reality amendment of the Constitution is resorted to only when there is no other way by which desired changes can be made. It has become the last method of changing the Constitution rather than the first.

established by statute for regulating the expenditure of revenue. The early framers of the Constitution would not have considered such a matter as regulating hours of labor and wage rates as within the province of government, but wage and hour laws are now in effect in the United States. Statutes covering many other subjects not formerly conceived as falling within the realm of governmental control have been put into effect and now comprise a part of our legal system.

(e) *Administrative decisions.* The courts are not the only agencies whose decisions influence the course of government. Often the various administrative officers from the President down are confronted with the necessity of making decisions. Sometimes the acts are challenged and reviewed by the federal courts and perhaps declared unconstitutional, but more often their decisions remain unchallenged and are a precedent for future acts of the same kind. A striking recent example was the transfer to England of fifty destroyers of the United States Navy in return for the long term lease of naval bases on the Atlantic Ocean. It appears to be more and more customary for the administrative officers to make important decisions after consulting with the Attorney General for his opinion as to the legality of the act.

C. *Summary*

The American form of government evolved directly from the English system after which it was originally patterned. Many changes crept into it through the different conditions under which the colonists lived. In New England the town system developed, while the county form of government grew up in the South. The idea of a union of the several English colonies established along the Atlantic coast also evolved from the early colonies. Within the free air of pioneer societies the various philosophies which were current in the colonial period had chances to develop into practical systems wherein the rights of the individual were of paramount importance. Fear of authority in the hands of one man or of a few men had its inception during the struggles between the colonial governors and the people whom they were expected to control and govern. The importance attached to lawmaking and to the legislative department had its beginnings during the early colonial period. Numerous minor attempts were made and plans advanced for unions of the colonies. The more important attempts to form unions were the New England Confederation of 1643, the Albany Plan

of Union in 1754, the First Continental Congress in 1774, and the Second Continental Congress in 1775.

The first constitutional form of federal government was established in North America under the Articles of Confederation, which were ratified in 1781. The Articles of Confederation provided a very weak structure of government, but they served to bridge the gap and to mould the sentiment of the states into a form which would permit a stronger system of government to be established. Under the Articles of Confederation were passed two measures which had a very important influence on later development within the nation. These measures were the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Ordinance of 1787.

The Federal Constitution became operative in 1789 after the leaders of the nation realized that the Articles of Confederation were leading to the disruption of the union of the states. The Constitution represents the work of the greatest political leaders of that period and perhaps of any other period in American history. The measure was the product of compromise both between two philosophies of government — one of them proposing a strong central government and the other a very liberal form of democracy — and between two different groups of states — the large wealthy states and the smaller states.

Since the Constitution has become the supreme law of the land, it has undergone great modification and change in order to meet new and changed conditions in the nation. The changes in the Constitution have come about through: (1) amending of the Constitution; (2) judicial interpretation; (3) usage; (4) statutory enactment by Congress; and (5) administrative interpretation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain how the distrust of a strong executive form of government developed in the early American colonies.
2. What particular contribution to our system did the New England colonies make? the Southern colonies?
3. Why was the Virginia Bill of Rights such an important document?
4. What weaknesses are evident in the Articles of Confederation?
5. What valuable services did the Articles of Confederation render the American people and their government?

6. Of what significance in American development were the Ordinances of 1785 and of 1787?
7. What difficult questions arose for settlement in the Constitutional Convention? How were they solved or settled?
8. What objections were raised to the ratification of the American Constitution?
9. In what ways has our Constitution been changed?
10. What is the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution? the Sixteenth?

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CHAPTER 29

The National Government of the United States

WE CANNOT SECURE an understanding of a particular system of government merely by studying the forces which led to its development and by tracing the most important events in its growth. We must study the present structure and functioning of the system. The preceding chapter was written to give the historical setting. This chapter offers an analysis of the existing features of our national political system.

A. *General Features of the National Government*

1. A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

A pure democracy scarcely exists outside the imagination. In any society there are those who are held apart from the ruling class — who can have no direct voice in making decisions on governmental policy. Women and children are relatively voiceless in political councils. In addition, most societies have other groups — such as criminals, the insane, slaves, aliens, propertyless individuals, races held in inferior positions — who are not permitted to take part in governmental affairs. In every society the group which actually participates in political decisions is a small part of the total population. The United States probably has as liberal laws governing eligibility to vote as can be found in any country of the past or present, yet in the election of 1940, out of a total population of more than 131 million, fewer than 50 million votes were cast.

A pure democracy in which each individual personally expresses his preference in government and personally takes part in decisions relating to the passing of rules or laws is impossible except where a small group of persons live in close proximity. The New England town meeting of colonial days was almost a pure democracy. Even in these meetings, however, some classes of society — children, women, propertyless persons — were debarred from participation.

As a practical substitute for pure democracy certain individuals are commonly selected to represent larger groups in political meetings. In the United States the government is based on representation of the citizens by persons chosen for definite periods of time by the qualified electorate. In the National government the President is chosen by means of such a representative system. Candidates for the presidency are nominated for the office by political parties in conventions to which representatives are sent by the party members in the different states, territories, and possessions. In theory, at least, the President is then elected from among the candidates by representatives of the voters. Similarly, in the legislative division of the national government the lawmakers — members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives — are selected to represent the states and the people. The Senate represents the states. The House of Representatives represents the people of the Congressional districts of the states. Within each of the states there is a governor and a legislature chosen to represent the citizens of the state and of various areas within the states. Likewise in the wards, cities, towns, and counties there are officials to represent the residents of each particular area.[1]

Although elected officials are vested with authority appropriate to their particular office, the basic principle of the American political system is that the ultimate source of all authority is the popular will — the desires of the governed. Lincoln spoke of "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Madison writing in *The Federalist* defined Republican government as:

> . . . a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior.[2]

Chief Justice Marshall in his decision in the case of Marbury versus Madison made the following statement:

> . . . that the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected.[3]

[1] The term "republican form of government" means a representative form of government. The Constitution guarantees every state in the Union a republican form of government. Article IV, section IV.

[2] Quoted in John Mabry Matthews and Clarence Arthur Berdahl, *Documents and Readings in American Government*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1930, p. 57. Reprinted by permission.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 388.

2. LIMITATION OF POWERS

a. *Specific limitations of public officials.* The fact that the ultimate source of all governmental authority rests with the citizens is in itself a limitation of the powers of the constituted authorities. However, because a minority group might, through the use of propaganda or other means, gain control over a portion of the people and assume excessive powers, the American form of government sets up certain specific limitations on the authority of public officials and particular guarantees of liberty to individuals. In some instances the individual is protected against the federal government, in others against the state and local governments, and in still others against a combination of all branches of the constituted authority.

b. *Checks and balances.* One of the most potent means of limiting the authority of the national and state governments is the system of checks and balances which has grown up through the years. These checks on authority are to be found in all governmental divisions. Some of the checks were provided in the Constitution for the specific purpose of limiting governmental power; others have developed within the system with the passing of time. The Constitution provides for the existence of three branches of government — the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. Each is specifically designed to check the activities of the others. For example, the President is vested with authority to appoint numerous officials, but the selections are for the most part subject to the approval of the Senate. The President is permitted to make treaties with foreign nations, but the Senate must give its approval, in this case by a two-thirds vote. The President may even be impeached by the Congress for misuse of his authority. The President, on the other hand, checks the Congress by his power of veto of legislation passed by that body, although the Congress can by a two-thirds vote pass a measure over the veto. The President also exerts great influence on legislation through his dispensation of political patronage.[4]

[4] The patronage system has developed in the United States without constitutional provision. At present the President has the power to appoint many federal officials within the various states. These appointments may or may not require senatorial approval. Obviously the President cannot know the individuals in all parts of the country who are available and worthy of appointment to such offices as he has to fill. He must depend upon the advice of the residents of the particular state wherein the office is to be filled. Usually the adviser is a member of the President's particular party and in the National House of Representatives or the Senate. His prestige is enhanced through the responsibility of advising with the Chief Executive on state and local appointments. A President's refusal to seek or to accept advice from a national legislator on appointments is a serious blow to that person's standing with his people.

The Supreme Court of the United States can check the power of a President by declaring that his acts violate the Constitution and can declare a law passed by the Congress unconstitutional and therefore null and void. The justices are appointed by the President, however, and when vacancies occur he can select men for appointment who will be favorable to him and to his point of view. The Congress checks the power of the federal courts by having the right to impeach the justices for misuse of court authority. As a check against hasty legislation within the Congress, the two branches must each pass every law.

c. *Two-party system.* A very important check — not anticipated by the framers of the Constitution — on the power of any constituted officer in the federal, state, and local government is the two-party system operating in American government. Within the chambers of Congress and of most of the states an organized minority group becomes a brake on the freedom of action exercised by the ruling party. The existence of a group known to be on the lookout for flaws in the armor of the party in power acts to forestall unwarranted and unauthorized authority.[5]

3. A PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

In the presidential system of the United States the chief executive has no seat in the legislative body. The President may or may not be a member of the majority party in the Congress.[6] He is elected for a specific term of office and can only be removed by the process of impeachment. The President appoints to his cabinet, subject to senatorial approval, a group of men who are responsible directly to him. The cabinet members do not hold seats in the Congress, nor are they permitted to debate a measure before the legislative body even though it vitally concerns them.[7] They are, however, frequently called upon to testify before committees on matters with which they are familiar.

[5] *Cf.* Robert Phillips, *American Government and Its Problems*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1941, pp. 164–166.

Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, pp. 40–59.

[6] The President usually is head of the party which controls one or both houses in the Congress. Certain recent exceptions have been Woodrow Wilson in the last two years of his second term and Herbert Hoover in the second half of his term as President.

[7] Important differences between the presidential system of the United States and the Parliamentary form of government found in England are as follows:

(1) The English Prime Minister must be a member of the Parliament and the leader of the majority party of the Nation, except in very exceptional cases. When he is no longer able to direct or lead his party, as is indicated by a vote of the Parliament contrary to his stand as Prime Minister, he is called on to resign his position as head of the government or to call

The presidential system has many strong points and also some serious weaknesses. By concentrating the executive powers in the hands of one man, the system facilitates energetic and efficient administration of the law. The President of the United States may be a very powerful national executive if he possesses the necessary ability and at the same time has the support of a majority in the Congress. However, the system offers opportunities for discord and even for a complete deadlock between the President and the Congress when the legislative organ is controlled by members who belong to a different political party from that of the Chief Executive. Walter Lippmann has pointed out that the President has two main tasks. He is the Chief Executive with all the powers and duties of that office and, at the same time, the leader of the majority political party which plays a decisive part in the national government.

4. A FEDERAL SYSTEM

The American nation is a federal state. The Constitution distributes power to the central government and to the states as well. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution the states were recognized as the units in which the greater portions of authority should be vested. In order to safeguard the rights and authority of the states, the Tenth Amendment — part of the so-called Bill of Rights — made the following provision:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Beard says:

> Some Jeffersonians even went so far as to hold that the Federal Government should confine its activities principally to foreign affairs and to national defense, leaving everything else to the states.[8]

With the development of railways, waterways, highways, and other systems of communication the people residing in different states were

upon the people of the nation to uphold him in a general election by returning or sending to the Parliament members who hold beliefs similar to his on the issue involved. His term is indefinite, depending upon the will of the Parliament.

(2) Every member of the Cabinet must be a member of the Parliament. The Prime Minister and each cabinet officer are entitled to debate in the Parliament and as members they vote on measures under consideration.

(3) The courts cannot declare any act of the Parliament unconstitutional nor can the Prime Minister veto it.

[8] Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

drawn closer together. Problems arose which required action beyond that which the states, themselves, could provide. Interstate regulations were necessary. These regulations were provided by the federal government. Also, finances were needed for building interstate projects. The federal government supplied them. Of course, control by the central authority followed. With each passing decade the power of the federal government has grown and the authority of the states has declined in a corresponding degree. In spite of the changes and the growth of centralized authority, however, the states still possess many definite rights and serve as integral parts of the federal union. Each state has its own government which exercises great responsibility and authority over individuals and property within state boundaries.

B. *Citizenship and Suffrage*

1. CLASSES OF PERSONS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES

Within the boundaries of the United States reside four classes of persons: citizens, aliens, wards, and stateless individuals. Citizens constitute the great majority of the population. They are members of the body politic called the state, and they enjoy all the rights and privileges conferred upon such persons by the Constitution and laws of the nation and its subdivisions.

Aliens are persons who live in the United States but owe allegiance to other nations. During the period of residence in the United States an alien is entitled to protection of his life and property. He is allowed to work and to receive compensation for his labor. He is not permitted to vote or to hold public office. He must obey the laws of the United States and of the state in which he resides even though they may not agree with the statutes of his own nation.[9] During the period when an alien is in this country, he owes allegiance and respect to its government. If an alien abuses the privileges and rights to which he is entitled, he may be deported to his own land and forbidden the right ever to return to the United States.

Wards are neither citizens of the United States nor aliens. Members of the various Indian tribes, until 1924, were regarded as citizens of "domestic dependent nations." As such they were largely ineligible to American citizenship. As nationals, the Indians were free from

[9] Thus, an alien from a country wherein polygyny is permitted may not have more than one wife during the period of his residence in this country.

taxation and were protected by the United States. In 1924 Indians were given full citizenship, but they continued to hold the rights enjoyed by Indians under the protection of the nation. Since the passing of the Act of 1924, Indians have been both citizens and wards. The Filipinos are at the present time wards of the nation, not entitled to citizenship. Presumably, when the act granting the Philippines their independence becomes effective, the inhabitants will no longer enjoy the protection given to wards.

Stateless persons are persons without countries. They have lost their citizenship. People who have committed crimes which provide for loss of citizenship fall within this class. Refugees from Russia, Germany, and other countries, who come to America, have no claim on their native land and are citizens of no other nation. They can become naturalized citizens of the United States by satisfying the requirements of our naturalization laws. Immigrants who have given up their allegiance to their home nation and have not taken out final naturalization papers are, during the interim, essentially stateless persons.

2. CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

There are two classes of citizens — United States citizens and state citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution gives the following definition of citizens:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.[10]

Customarily, we consider citizenship as national and subject to the laws of the federal government (although some students believe that a person can become a citizen of a state without becoming a citizen of the United States). Ordinarily an individual is born or naturalized a citizen of the nation, and by consequence he becomes a citizen of the state in which he resides. However, a person may be a citizen of the United States and not a citizen of any state if he has no fixed residence within a particular state or if he lives outside the Continental United States.

a. *Natural-born citizens.* All persons born within the territorial bounds of the United States are entitled to the rights of natural-born citizens

[10] *Cf.* Jeremiah S. Young, John W. Manning, and Joseph I. Arnold, *Government of the American People*, D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1940, p. 76. Reprinted by permission.

even though the parents belong to a race or nationality not entitled to citizenship.[11] For instance, although Chinese are not permitted to immigrate to the United States, a child born in this country of Chinese parents already here is a natural-born citizen and is entitled to all the rights of citizenship.

Children born of American citizens residing in a foreign land are citizens of the United States. A provision is made, however, that the rights of citizenship do not descend to the children unless the parents have themselves lived in the United States. For example, a son born to a missionary couple (American citizens) living in China would be an American citizen. Should that child continue to live in China and at maturity marry a woman who was similarly an American citizen, any children born to the couple would not be American citizens because the parents would never have lived in the United States.

b. *Naturalized citizens.* Persons born in foreign countries may become citizens of the United States by the process of naturalization. In a number of instances citizenship has been bestowed on entire groups of people by treaty agreement, by statute, or by joint resolution of Congress. Thus, citizenship was bestowed upon the residents of the area obtained by the Louisiana Purchase; of Florida, and of the other lands gained from Mexico and Spain.

The process of naturalization, established by the Congress for aliens who are free white or of African nativity or descent, consists of three steps. The first step is a declaration of intention. This declaration may be made by an applicant eighteen years of age or over; it may be made immediately on arrival in this country; not less than two years nor more than seven years may elapse between the declaration of intention and a final examination.

The second step is filing of a petition and proof of qualifications. This action must be taken not less than two and not more than seven years after the declaration of intention. The petition gives the important facts relating to the applicant. It must be supported by two witnesses who testify that the prospective citizen has been a resident of the United States for five years preceding the filing of the petition. The petitioner must present a certificate showing the date, place, and

[11] There are certain exceptions to the rule that all children born on American soil are citizens. Children of diplomatic representatives of other countries born in the United States are citizens of the country their parents are representing. Children of aliens born on board a public vessel from another country, or of enemy aliens invading the United States, are not citizens of America.

manner of his arrival on American soil. The witnesses further testify that the applicant is a person of good moral character.

The third and final step is an examination and the issuance of a certificate of citizenship. An interval of not less than ninety days must elapse between the filing of the petition and the issuance of the certificate of citizenship. During the intervening period an investigation is made by the Bureau of Naturalization. When the examining official — either a judge or a bureau official selected for the purpose of examining the applicant — is satisfied that the individual has met the demands of the law, he orders that the oath of allegiance to the United States be administered to the candidate for citizenship. In this oath the applicant renounces all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign nation or sovereignty to which he formerly owed loyalty; he promises to support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and to bear true faith and allegiance to his newly adopted country.

To become a naturalized citizen a person must be able to speak the English language and must sign the petition with his own hand. He must not be an anarchist nor a polygamist. When all the requirements are satisfied, the applicant is given his "final papers" — his certificate of naturalization.[12]

3. SUFFRAGE

A person may be a citizen of the United States and not be a qualified voter. Although citizenship is determined by federal authority, the privilege of suffrage is largely a matter for the state to decide. Since there are forty-eight states no universal pattern has been established whereby citizens may become voters. More than one-third of the states impose certain prerequisites such as payment of taxes; ability to read, write, and interpret the Constitution; and ownership of a certain amount of property.[13] However, certain general principles have been adhered to

[12] *Cf.* Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 462–463.

[13] *Cf.* Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

In many Southern states suffrage is effectively denied to a portion of the citizen population — the members of the Negro race living there — by unequal operation of educational tests as preliminary to registering to vote and through the one-party system. There the state governments are controlled by the Democratic party. Only persons who are registered as Democrats are permitted to vote in the Democratic primaries. At these primaries each voter is required to pledge himself to support the party's candidates for the various offices. The pledge of course cannot be legally enforced but rather effective means are used to keep the voters from bolting the party.

In elections of 1928 several states in the Solid Democratic South voted for Hoover, the

in all jurisdictions; for example, no person is entitled to vote before he reaches the age of twenty-one years; a specified period of residence within the state and its local subdivisions is required; no state may deny the right to vote to any individual because of race, previous condition of servitude, or sex.

4. POLITICAL PARTIES

a. *Importance of political parties in American government.* One can hardly discuss suffrage in the United States without taking into account the part political parties have played and now play in the government. The early founders of the federal government heartily disapproved of political parties. Washington, Franklin, and even Jefferson felt that such organizations tended to divide the people and that they were therefore undesirable. However, from the very beginnings of our national government, individuals who have supported different viewpoints have tended to group themselves according to their political philosophies. At first such organizations were very loose; later on they became complex well-organized groups which tried to influence, to manage, and to control, in so far as they were able, the election machinery in each state and in the nation. The purpose for which any political party is organized is to win and control elections so that it can place its members in the seats of authority and can thus put into practice its principles of government.

The history of political parties in the United States is to a great extent the history of American government. The two-party system which has dominated the national political scene had its origin in the struggle to ratify the Constitution. Those who favored its ratification by the states were called Federalists. Those who opposed it were Antifederalists. Later, national expansion and growth in population brought new issues and new parties. Throughout the history of the nation parties have risen and served their followers for a period, only to be displaced by new organizations. Since the Civil War the organizations which have struggled for national leadership have been the Democratic and Republican parties. As circumstances have brought about new problems the parties have modified their policies

Republican candidate for president. As a consequence many of the voters who were known to have voted for Hoover were dropped from the Democratic party rolls. Such persons were not allowed to vote in the Democratic primaries or to run for public office on that ticket. Since the Democratic party is the only one to put out a state and local ticket, the individuals thus barred are virtually deprived of their right to vote and to hold office.

to take into account the changed conditions. The governmental philosophies of either the Democratic or Republican party at the present time would not have been accepted by members of the parties forty years ago.

b. *Two-party system.* The two-party system in the American form of government is said to be desirable for a number of reasons. Through the activities of two parties to present different points of view on political subjects the voters are better informed and more able to vote intelligently. The temptation of certain interested groups to select selfish politicians rather than capable statesmen for public office is lessened, for the risk of defeat in the election is increased. A party is held responsible for the acts of its candidates for public office and of the men elected to office under its sponsorship. The existence of two strong parties, each eager to point out weaknesses and shortcomings in the other, is an incentive to honesty, efficiency, and caution in all political activities. On the other hand, if one party becomes so powerful that it dominates the political scene, the public loses interest in government. Centralization of power in the hands of the party leaders through control of elections and of party meetings is likely to lead to dishonesty, extravagance, incompetency, and disregard of the wishes of the citizens. One of the first moves of a dictator is the establishment of a one-party system with control in his own hands.

c. *Services rendered by political parties.* Although certain objections to political parties can with justice be made, the parties render valuable service to the nation and to the electorate. In the complex government of the present it is impossible for any great number of the citizens to acquaint themselves with the merits and demerits of political problems. It is very difficult for all voters to know the qualifications of different candidates for office. It is likely that many of the ablest persons would not take the trouble to seek public office if there were no political parties to encourage them and to support them in the campaigns for election. Through the party system political issues are analyzed for the voters, and recommendations for the best course of action are made. Persons who regularly follow the Democratic or the Republican party trust the suggestions of their organizations. Similarly, the voters generally accept the judgment of the party in the endorsement of candidates for office rather than depend on their own judgment based on insufficient knowledge of the persons' records. Political parties play an important rôle in interesting citizens in their

government. Through the press, the platform, and the radio, party leaders not only inform the electorate on political issues but also arouse among the voters concern for the vital problems of the time. In brief, the functions of political parties can be summarized as follows:

(1) To select public issues and to present them to the electorate;

(2) To select candidates for public offices;

(3) To provide a system of collective and continuing responsibility for the issues chosen and for the candidates selected;

(4) To bring out the voters; to interest them in political matters; to educate the public on the merits and demerits of propositions.[14]

d. *Defects in political parties.* Political parties are institutions which are established for the purpose of serving the citizens as agencies through which popular opinion influences governmental action. They are means to an end. The end is popular control of government. In any political system there is danger that the means may become an end; that is, that the members of political parties will become more interested in serving their party than in working for good government or for the advancement of the state. Members are likely to stress the importance of party loyalty rather than national or state loyalty. Individual members of political parties are discouraged from "scratching" (dividing their vote between parties) their ticket in elections.[15]

Persons who benefit by their party's power attempt to maintain party domination even though the state may thereby suffer. The activities of such interested individuals may be legitimate or may be such illegal practices as buying votes or intimidating voters. One of the most widely used devices for maintaining the party in power is the use of patronage. Political patronage may develop into a "spoils system" unless proper safeguards are set up.[16]

When political parties become more interested in choosing good politicians than men who are able and honest for public office, the functions of political parties are inadequately or improperly performed

[14] Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

[15] A striking example of this was evident after the national election in 1928 when many Democrats in Southern states were virtually disfranchised for having bolted their party to vote for Hoover.

[16] The "spoils system" refers to the practice by a victorious party of discharging all state or national employees who are not recognized as staunch supporters of the party in power without regard to the ability of the employees to perform the tasks for which they were selected. A device used to control party patronage is the civil service system. Through civil service a person is provided with security of employment without danger of discharge for political reasons.

and the institutions become public liabilities rather than benefits.

e. *Political machines and party bosses.* Through the improper use of party organization political machines and party leaders have at times assumed powerful rôles in American government. Such organizations as Tammany Hall in New York, the "Vare Machine" in Philadelphia, the "Huey Long Machine" in Louisiana, and others have risen in different states and cities and for a period have completely dominated the political powers of their areas. In some instances the influence of the political machine, although centered in some local area, has reached out to such an extent that its influence has been felt in national politics.[17]

5. ELECTIONS

An election as it is employed in the United States government is a device which enables the qualified voters to express their preferences on legislative and other measures and to make known their choices of individuals nominated for political offices. Elections, in a general sense, are necessary in all group activities wherein more than a very few individuals are permitted to voice preferences on the questions which arise. Elections are held in business corporations, churches, fraternal orders, labor unions, and school societies, as well as in nations.

Within the United States there are village, town, school district, city, county, state, national elections and special elections of various kinds. Elections are usually held at stated periods. The time, place, and manner of holding elections, as well as the qualifications required for voting are left in a large measure to the decisions of the states. Elections wherein the President and members of Congress are chosen are held regularly on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The President is elected only in leap years whereas members of Congress may be elected in any even numbered year.[18] City and local elections are often held at periods of the year different from the times used for the national and state elections so as to avoid confusing the issues arising among the various governmental systems.

The polling places and the personnel of the local election board are determined by the state. In charge of the process of voting are certain local and state judges, watchers, and the like. Before an election,

[17] For more detailed discussion of political machines see Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 542–547.

[18] In a few states, notably Maine, the members of Congress are elected at the time of the state elections — a different time from the November presidential election.

other persons take charge of the registration of voters and attend to the other necessary preliminary arrangements, such as determining the location of polling places, appointing the polling officials, and providing the ballots and other necessary equipment.

a. *Nomination of candidates for office.* Before a person can be elected to a public office he must, in most instances, submit his name as a candidate for the office with the endorsement of some political party. Nomination by parties is made by means of party caucuses,[19] conventions, and by direct primaries. The convention procedure usually follows a pattern. First, a meeting of eligible voters in each voting unit is held wherein representative delegates are selected to meet in county conventions. In the county meeting nominations for the offices under the jurisdiction of that meeting are made and representatives to the state convention are selected. At the state meeting the delegates select various nominees for the party and often, if the meeting takes place in the year of a presidential election, name delegates to the National Convention.

The convention system of nominating party candidates for local and state offices has been severely criticized on the ground that the meetings become controlled by political rings or bosses and that they do not reflect the wishes of party members in general. To correct the defects of the party conventions direct primaries have become the approved way of nominating party candidates in nearly all the states. Under the direct primary system the state takes over the selection of nominees by providing for and governing a primary election. The purpose of the direct primary is to allow the party members to express directly their choices of persons to be nominated for the offices. The winners in the primary election — Democratic, Republican and other political parties' nominations — must then go before the entire electorate for election to the offices sought. The final selection is known as a "general election." [20] In most instances the law of the state permits individuals

[19] "At Boston, according to John Adams, the 'Caucus' club assembled in a garret, and, in an atmosphere reeking with tobacco smoke, drank flip, and agreed on the names they would present for town officials. These 'parlor caucuses' gradually lost their cryptic character and became public meetings of political groups or parties, seeking control of the city." Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

[20] The direct primary system requires each state to hold two elections before an individual is finally selected for office. In some states, particularly those in the South where there is but one major political party, the laws require that a nominee must secure a majority of the votes. In cases where no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast by his party members a second primary is held between the two candidates receiving the highest votes.

to present their names as "independent" candidates — not running on any political party ticket. If such "independent" candidates can secure a required number of names on a petition, their names are included on the printed ballot as candidates for the particular offices sought. The use of the petition to place a candidate's name before the voters provides the electorate with an instrument whereby the control of political parties over elections may be threatened and at times actually broken.

b. *Voting procedure.* A person to be entitled to vote must, before a specified time prior to the election, register to prove his qualifications. When registering, an individual must give his name, and, with variations among the states, certain facts as to his age, residence, nativity, citizenship, previous voting place, party affiliation, and so on. The name of each person registered is entered in the list of qualified voters which is used to check individuals as they present themselves at the polls on election days.

The polling place is usually located in a school house, or other public building, a vacant store building, or in a specially devised portable building on a vacant lot or on a street corner.

The voter, after satisfying the election officials that he is entitled to vote, secures an official ballot which he takes into a booth. After marking the ballot according to his wishes, the voter folds it and deposits it in a ballot box.[21]

After the hours of voting have passed (the polls close at different times in different states; they may remain open until 9 P.M.), the polls are closed and the tabulation of the ballots begins. Counting of votes sometimes requires much time, especially when there are many candidates for office. After the count is made, the election judges make up an official statement of how the votes were cast at their respective polling places. The "returns" are then sent to a central authority — usually the Secretary of State — where they are kept subject to recount in case of a contested election.

C. *Summary*

The United States is a representative democracy. In that form of government citizens have an indirect voice in the government through

[21] In some cities voting machines have been installed as a means of insuring honest elections and a more rapid tabulation of election returns. Owing to the initial cost of the equipment, such machines are not regarded as practical in sparsely settled districts.

the right to elect individuals to represent them in national, state, and local affairs. Each elected political official is, in theory at least, a representative of the people who chose him. Each political party delegate is acting in behalf of a great many people. In a representative democracy the ultimate source of all political power, the "original right" to rule, rests with the great mass of the people.

The government of the United States provides certain limitations on the power of national and state officials. The most effective means of limiting the authority of such officers has been the system of checks provided by the Constitution and developed through the course of years. The President checks the activities of the Congress; the Congress in turn can check the power of the President. The Judicial system can check the power of both the Chief Executive and the legislative branch. During the development of the American political system the two party organizations have come to act as an important check on the exercise of power and authority of governmental leaders. The division of the Congress into two bodies, with the approval of each required to pass a bill, is an important check on the power of the legislative branch of the government.

The American political system is a presidential system. The President and his cabinet are divorced from the legislative branch of government. The President usually is head of the political party which has the majority of members in the Congress, although he can be President without being the majority party head. The term of the President in office is fixed at a definite period of time and the President can be removed from his position only by impeachment.

The United States is a federal state. The power and authority of government is divided between the central and the state organizations with certain specified rights and responsibilities vested in each. In the beginning the greater power was held by the states. With the passing of time the central authority has become more powerful as the states have lost their former position of importance.

The population of the United States is made up of citizens, aliens, wards, and stateless persons. Citizens are of two classes: those who are born in the United States or its possessions or are born to citizen parents in foreign countries; and those who have taken the necessary steps to become naturalized citizens. Aliens are persons who live in the United States but at the same time claim citizenship in some other country. Wards are individuals who are under the protection and

care of the nation but are not citizens. Stateless persons are those who for any reason have lost or forfeited their citizenship in this or any other country and who are not citizens of this nation.

Citizenship is determined by federal authority, whereas the right to vote is fixed by laws of the different states. The general eligibility requirements for voting specify that an individual must be twenty-one years of age; and that he must have lived a specified period of time within the state and within its local subdivisions. Some states have laws requiring that the voter be a taxpayer, own property, or possess a certain degree of education. The federal government provides by amendment to the Constitution that a state may not deny the right to vote because of race, previous condition of servitude, or sex.

Political parties play a very important part in the voting of American citizens. Political parties are the natural outgrowth of differences of opinion on matters of state. Such organizations are organized to control the elections of the nation so that the nominees of the respective parties may secure positions in the government to put into practice the principles held by that particular group.

The United States has had a two-party system for the greater part of its existence. There are certain advantages of such a political system. Because the two parties present different points of view the voter can become better informed on the various issues involved in problems of government. Competition tends to make parties more careful in their selection of candidates for office and to be more efficient and careful in the exercise of governmental authority.

The election is a device whereby members of an association register their wishes on certain issues and on the selection of individuals to office. In the United States government there are national, state, county, city, school district, town, and village elections, as well as elections for special purposes.

There are two ways which have been widely used in states and the nation by which a candidate can be nominated for political office. They are the party caucus or convention and the direct primary. Within recent years the primary election is more widely used in local and state elections.

Registration at a time prior to the election is required as a prerequisite to voting. The purpose of the registration is to assure the officials of the government that the voters are properly qualified according to the law.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is meant by a representative democracy?
2. What checks and balances are found in the American government? Do checks and balances in government make for efficiency of governmental functioning?
3. What are the advantages and the shortcomings of a two-party system of government?
4. May a person be a citizen of New York and not be an American citizen? Explain.
5. How is it possible for a person to be a citizen of the United States and yet not be a qualified voter?
6. What are the services and disservices rendered our government by political parties?
7. How do political machines develop?
8. In what ways may a candidate for office have his name placed before the people as a candidate for public office?
9. Trace the election process from the nomination of a candidate to his election.
10. Why have voting machines been installed in certain cities? What are the advantages of such machines?

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CHAPTER 30

Departments of the Federal Government

THE GOVERNMENT of the United States is separated into three somewhat distinct divisions. These are the Executive-Administrative Branch, which consists of the President, the Vice-President, the Cabinet and various administrative bureaus; the Legislative Branch, made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and the Judiciary, composed of the various Federal courts and court officials.

A. *The Executive-Administrative Division*

1. THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES

a. *Powers and responsibilities of the President.* The chief officer of the executive-administrative branch of the United States government is the President. His powers are great and varied. With each new administration the duties and responsibilities of the Chief Executive have been increasing. His duties and responsibilities can be discussed under the following headings:

(1) *Law enforcement.* The President is charged with the enforcement of the Constitutional provisions, of the laws passed by the Congress, of the treaties made with foreign powers, and of the judicial decisions rendered by federal courts.

(2) *Appointments.* The President appoints, with the approval of the Senate, superior officials of the nation such as ambassadors and other public ministers, consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and other officers whose appointments are not otherwise provided for.[1] In addition to the superior officers named in the Constitution, the President appoints cabinet members, bureau chiefs, members of numerous boards and commissions, revenue collectors, postmasters, and others. Closely related to his power to appoint men to office is his right to remove from

[1] See Article II, Section 2, United States Constitution

official positions such individuals, except those protected by civil service rules.

(3) *Administrative direction.* The President has the responsibility for directing the work of the numerous departments, bureaus, commissions, and other governmental organs responsible to him or to his appointees.

(4) *Foreign affairs.* The Chief Executive exercises control over foreign affairs through diplomatic intercourse. He negotiates and, subject to Senate approval, makes treaties with foreign nations. He has the power to recognize or to withdraw recognition from any foreign government.

(5) *Military powers.* The President is Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the nation. As such he has great power in the fields related to military affairs in times of war or domestic disorder.

(6) *Judicial powers.* The President has the right to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States.

(7) *Legislative rights and responsibilities.* The President issues orders, decrees, and proclamations which are in the nature of laws. By a presidential decree the date for celebrating Thanksgiving is changed; and the shipping of gasoline and scrap-iron to Japan becomes illegal. The power of the President to make laws by decrees is exercised in minor matters and in measures of crucial importance to the nation and to the world.

The President shares, in a measure, the legislative powers of Congress. Usually the fame of the Chief Executive rests more upon his ability to get his policies written into laws than on his success in administering the laws. The Constitution provided that:

> He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.[2]

The presidential message to Congress may be either read to or delivered in person before the joint assembly of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Not only is the President expected to outline or suggest the legislation needed at the time, but he has power to convene Congress at any time to consider problems which he feels demand immediate attention. Through his use of patronage the President is able to exert great pressure on the members of Congress to support his legislative program.

[2] Article II, Section 3, United States Constitution.

The President holds the power of veto over any legislative act of which he disapproves. The right of veto in the hands of the Chief Executive may be used to prevent legislation from being passed, and it can be used as a lever to force the adoption of measures favorable to the administration's program. An agreement may be made whereby the President allows a bill which he considers inoffensive to become a law on the condition that Congress passes another measure which he regards as vital. The threat of a veto often causes Congress to modify a bill to conform to the policies of the President.

b. *Compensation.* For his services the President draws an annual salary of $75,000 and emoluments. The emoluments go for traveling expense, entertainment, and the maintenance of the White House, the official residence of the Chief Executive. At the present time the President receives $25,000 a year for travel and entertainment. The upkeep of the executive establishment, including the hire of domestics, secretaries, clerks, ushers, and the like bring the annual cost of maintaining the Presidency to approximately $500,000.[3]

c. *Qualifications required for the presidency.* A man to be eligible to hold the office of President of the United States must be thirty-five years of age. He must be a natural-born citizen of the nation and must have lived within its borders for fourteen years.

d. *Electing the President.* The President and the Vice-President are elected, each leap year, for a term of four years. They are eligible for re-election as many times as the electorate feel the particular individuals are needed by the nation.[4] According to tradition and political necessity no President and Vice-President may be residents of the same state or of the same section of the United States. The home of Franklin D. Roosevelt, President from 1933 to 1945, was in New York; that of Vice-President, now President, Harry Truman, is in Missouri. The home of the presidential nominee of the Republican Party in the election of 1944 was in New York; that of the vice-presidential nominee was in Ohio.

Political parties have, since the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency in 1800, played a very important part in the selection of the President. No man can secure that position without first obtaining the nomination of one of the political parties.

[3] *Cf.* Jeremiah S. Young, John W. Manning, Joseph I. Arnold, *Government of the American People*, D. C. Heath & Co., New York, 1940, p. 289.

[4] Prior to the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 no man had ever been elected President for more than two terms. No Vice-President has ever served for three terms.

(1) *Securing the party nomination.* In the early summer of each presidential election year each political party holds a national convention for the purpose of nominating men for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency. Delegates from the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, the territories and possessions of the nation assemble at an appointed time and place to plan for the political campaign. Delegates to the national convention are selected by state conventions, by the state committees, or by direct primaries within the states.[5] The national convention of a political party is a "Big Show" with banners endorsing this or that candidate carried by groups of cheering men and women ready to stage a demonstration in favor of "their man" on the slightest provocation. Various party workers are alert to find delegates who will make political trades favorable to the man or men whom they are striving to nominate. Radio commentators carry the proceedings to the nation at large. Often in the heat of such a meeting delegations are "stampeded" to the candidate for whom there appears to be the greatest popular appeal. This swinging of the members of a convention to a particular candidate may be accomplished by an eloquent speech in the convention, by the cheers of the galleries, by telegrams sent to the delegates endorsing a particular candidate, by political trades, and by the sudden endorsement of a candidate by some powerful individual or organization.

The national convention of each of the major political parties is held in some huge building within the convention city. Before the meeting opens the schedule of activities is arranged and the men who are to act as temporary officers are decided upon by various committees appointed for the particular purpose. Before nominating its candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, the convention adopts a party "platform" — a statement of (a) the principles of government on which the party will stand in directing the government if their candidates are elected, and (b) the position of the party on important domestic and international issues.

After the platform is agreed upon, the convention then turns its at-

[5] More than a third of the states allow voters to express their preference for the presidential nominees through the medium of Presidential primaries prior to the National Convention. However, the primary has never been a deciding factor. In the primaries of 1940 Willkie was not presented as a candidate, yet he won the Republican Nomination for the Presidency.

For an excellent description of the process of nominating and electing a President see Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, pp 143–162

tention to the selection of standard bearers — presidential and vice-presidential nominees. The names of various candidates for the presidency are placed in nomination by prominent persons who speak eloquently of the virtues of their candidates. Following each nominating speech there may be a number of seconding speeches. When all the candidates for the presidency have been presented and thoroughly seconded the convention proceeds to the ballot. Voting for the party nominee is done by roll call. The clerk of the convention calls the roll of states in alphabetical order. Each state chairman announces the vote of the delegation. The delegates from a state may vote as a unit for a particular candidate or they may split their vote — a certain number to one man, others to other candidates. Balloting is continued by calling the roll of the states until some one individual secures a simple majority of the votes and is declared nominated.

After the party's nominee for the presidency has been selected, a vice-president is nominated through the same procedure. Often the man selected for President is consulted as to his wishes for a "running-mate," and his desires are usually given important consideration in making the vice-presidential selection.

(2) *Campaign for election of a President.* A short time after his selection at the party convention, the presidential nominee is given his official notification of nomination; at a later date the vice-presidential candidate is likewise notified. The notification is a formality which permits a candidate to open his campaign for election by setting forth to the people of America his political views and his stand on certain political issues and principles.

The acceptance speech of the candidate is the signal to the party for the opening of an active campaign to elect its candidates to office. Usually election of the party's candidates for President and Vice-President means election of a great many of the party's congressmen and state officers as well. The work of directing the presidential campaign is in the hands of a National Committee, made up of representatives from each state of the Union. The chief work of the National Committee is done by a chairman, a secretary, and a treasurer.

The conduct of a presidential election campaign requires that a great deal of money must be raised by private subscription in order to defray the expenses of advertising, travel, radio time, and other means of leading voters to favor a party's candidate. Speaking campaigns must be planned for the presidential nominee and for a host of less prominent

speakers. Radio time must be contracted for. It is probable that radio is the most effective means now employed of getting political issues before the people. Use of the radio places a premium upon a candidate's speaking voice. Use of the radio has also shortened the time of presidential campaigns because candidates no longer need to spend months traveling from place to place on speaking tours. By means of the radio a speaker can appeal to millions at one time.

(3) *Voting for the President.* At the time of the Constitutional Convention the method of selecting a chief executive presented a serious problem. After much consideration it was decided that electors should be chosen by the voters of the different states to select as President the man whom they felt was best qualified to fill that important position. With the passing of time the method of choosing a President has been greatly altered and the electors remain as mere vestiges of a system long since obsolete and retained only in form.

Voters on entering the polls may vote a straight party ticket — vote for the electors for the party candidates for President and Vice-President and the nominees for other national, state, and local positions — or they may "scratch" their ballot — vote for the presidential electors of one party and the nominees of another. Thus, by "scratching" their ballot voters may vote for a Democratic President and Vice-President, and, at the same time, for a Republican senator or governor.

Although the voters mark their ballots for presidential electors, in reality they cast their ballots for the nominee for the presidency of the particular party which they favor. A majority of the popular votes within a state gives to a nominee all the electoral votes of that state. The number of electoral votes which a state possesses depends on the ratio of that state's number of members in the national Congress to the total membership in the two houses. For example, the State of New York has forty-seven members in the United States Congress. The total membership of the Congress is 531. New York, by casting its vote for a particular party candidate for President, gives that individual forty-seven out of the total 531 electoral votes cast in the national election. Although the votes are still called "electoral votes" and although electors are chosen for each state to go through the form of voting for a President, the votes are in reality states' votes and the President-elect is known within twenty-four hours after the election even though the electors will not vote for several days. Under the American system of electing a Chief Executive, a candidate may receive a plurality or even

a majority of the popular votes in the nation and still not be chosen to the presidency. He may not receive a majority of the state electoral votes.[6]

The Vice-President must have the same qualifications as the President; that is, he must be thirty-five years of age, a natural-born citizen of the nation, and must have lived within its borders for fourteen years. He is selected by the same election procedure as the President. He must be nominated by the same political party.

2. THE CABINET

The cabinet of the United States is made up of ten members who theoretically direct the activities of various branches of the Executive Department, namely: (1) State, (2) Treasury, (3) War, (4) Justice, (5) Post Office, (6) Navy, (7) Interior, (8) Agriculture, (9) Commerce, (10) Labor. The cabinet members are directly responsible to the President and are subject to his authority. Any individual cabinet officer can be forced to resign if he finds himself at odds with the Chief Executive on matters concerning the conduct of his department. The President is responsible for the official acts of the cabinet members and may not shift the responsibility to the individual officials.

There exists no constitutional basis for a cabinet in the American form of government. However, Washington appointed four department heads to serve as a cabinet. Since that time no President has failed to appoint men to cabinet positions. The amount of authority and influence exerted by the members of the cabinet is determined largely by the personality of the President, by his attitude toward his cabinet, and by the ability and temperament of the cabinet officers. Some Presidents have held regular meetings of the cabinet, have discussed with the members the problems confronting the nation and have asked for advice; the President is in no wise bound to accept suggestions given by the cabinet even though the entire membership is of the same opinion. Other Presidents have seldom held cabinet meetings and have given but scant regard to the counsel of the members. Instead such chief executives have often had informal advisory groups, "kitchen cabinets." Franklin D. Roosevelt developed the super-cabinet known first as an Executive Council and later as the National Executive Council. This group was made up of department heads, heads of recovery

[6] Tilden in the election of 1876 and Cleveland in the election of 1888 each received a plurality of the popular votes cast, but they were not thereby elected President.

agencies, and outside advisers — the so-called "brain-trusters." [7]

Certain general rules have usually been followed by a President in his appointment of men to cabinet positions.[8] Prominent leaders in the political party of the President are usually selected for the posts. Often the positions are distributed among the various factions of the party as a means of gaining regional and political support for the administration.[9]

3. INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

Not all the administrative work of the federal government is under the direction of the ten major departments. A number of independent administrative agencies have been established for the performance of some specific function or functions. Members of the independent administrative bodies are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate and are responsible directly to the Chief Executive. The duties of the agencies are executive, legislative, and to an extent judicial, within the realms of their particular operations. For example, the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, one of the oldest of the independent agencies, are charged with regulating "in the public interest, common carriers subject to the act engaged in transportation in interstate commerce, and in foreign commerce insofar as taking place within the United States"; [10] they pass orders fixing the rates to be charged for the services rendered by the common carriers; and they investigate charges of violations of their orders and may prohibit carriers from engaging in interstate transportation unless such carriers comply with the requirements; they may also investigate charges of criminal acts on the part of common carriers and report their findings to the Attorney General for prosecution.

For more than one hundred years the United States carried on the administrative activities of the government without any other agencies than the regularly established departments under the various cabinet officers. In 1883 the Civil Service Commission was established for the

[7] Young, Manning, Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–323.

[8] The President appoints his cabinet members subject to approval by the United States Senate. Actually the Senate seldom interferes with the appointments. The Senate realizes that the President is to be responsible for their acts and Senators feel that the President should have a rather free hand in the selection of his workers. He has in his power complete freedom to dispense with the services of a cabinet member.

[9] President Roosevelt, however, appointed two Republicans to his original cabinet, and the State of New York at one time was the home of four of his cabinet members.

[10] The National Emergency Council, *United States Government Manual*, p. 184.

purpose of administering the newly passed merit system. Four years later the Interstate Commerce Commission was established for the purpose of directing the interstate commerce of the nation. Since 1887 there has been a great increase in the number of independent agencies and in the work administered by such agencies. Among the more important agencies now functioning in the federal government, in addition to the two already mentioned, are the following: the Federal Trade Commission, Federal Power Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, National Labor Relations Board, National Mediation Board, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Federal Housing Administration, Social Security Board, Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, and others. The national government at present seems to favor increasing the number of independent agencies rather than adding to the work of the ten departments or establishing new departments of the cabinet.

B. *The Legislative Division*

Legislation under the American system of government is vested in a Congress made up of two chambers — the Senate and the House of Representatives.

1. THE UNITED STATES SENATE

The upper house of the Congress — the Senate — was originally designed to represent the states of the Union. Each state has two senators which, prior to the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1913, were chosen by the legislatures of the respective states. Now the Senators are chosen by a vote of the qualified electorate of the state.

a. *Terms of office of senators.* Senators hold their office for terms of six years, with the terms so arranged that one third of the membership are elected every two years. Through this device, at no time is a Senate composed of entirely new members nor can a majority be newly elected persons.

b. *Qualifications for membership.* To be qualified for the United States Senate an individual must be at least thirty years of age.[11] He must

[11] Henry Clay of Kentucky and Rush Holt of West Virginia were less than thirty years of age when elected to the Senate. Holt waited until he reached his thirtieth birthday before taking the oath as senator. Clay, however, served before he was of legal age to be a senator.

have been a citizen of the United States for nine years prior to his election. He must be a resident of the state from which he is elected. The Senate is given the power to judge the qualifications of its members and the legality of their election. Sometimes individuals elected by the state have been refused a seat in the Senate by the members of that body on the grounds that the election was not properly conducted, that the individual spent too much money in securing his election, or that the views held by the individual elected were of such a nature as to disqualify him from serving his state in the National Congress.

c. *Officers of the Senate.* The presiding officer or president of the Senate is the Vice-President of the United States. He performs the ordinary duties of a presiding officer — recognizes speakers, decides points of order, puts motions, maintains discipline, and votes in the case of a tie. He is not permitted to debate matters before the Senate, nor is he expected to try to manipulate the forces of legislation.[12]

The Senate elects a president pro tem to serve in the absence of the Vice-President. He is almost invariably a member of the majority party and a senator of long standing. Other officers of the Senate chosen from outside the membership of the Senate, are the secretary, chaplain, and sergeant-at-arms.

d. *Special functions of the Senate.* The special functions and responsibilities of the Senate aside from the usual rôle of assisting in the passage of laws are as follows: approving appointments made by the President; approving treaties between the United States and foreign powers; conducting impeachment trials of federal officials such as the President, Vice-President, cabinet members, diplomats, United States marshals, commission members, postmasters, and federal judges.

2. THE NATIONAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

a. *Selection of representatives.* The House of Representatives was designed to represent the people rather than the states of the nation. For that reason the members were chosen by popular vote. The number selected from each state was determined by the population of the state, with the provision in the Constitution that no state could be without at least one representative in that body. The membership of the first House of Representatives was 65, with an average of about 33,000

[12] The Vice-President as president of the Senate does not hold a very important position. Although the Senate was in session for several months after the Democratic National Convention of July, 1940, Vice-President Garner returned to his home in Texas and did not go near the Senate during the period. The activities of the Senate proceeded as usual.

inhabitants for each member of the House. At the present time the membership is 435, with an average of about 303,000 inhabitants for each representative. Since the members of the House of Representatives are expected to represent the people within the states, each state is divided into congressional districts of approximately 300,000 population for the election of representatives. Many people argue that the election of members of this branch of the Congress from congressional districts brings the representatives into closer touch with those whom they represent than would be possible were the members elected from the state at large.

b. *Term of office.* The term of office of members of the House of Representatives is two years. Thus, in theory, the membership could be changed completely every two years. Although in practice a complete change has never occurred, frequently a majority of the membership is newly elected. Tenure of office in the House is considerably shorter than it is in the Senate. Between 1790 and 1924 the average turnover of personnel in the Senate was 27.2 per cent, whereas in the House it was 44 per cent.[13] It is not uncommon to find Senators who have served in that legislative branch for twenty years and more.

c. *Qualifications.* To be elected to the national House of Representatives an individual must be twenty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States for seven years, and a resident of the state from which he is elected. No law requires that a representative be a resident of the congressional district from which he is elected. However, usage has established such a rule, based upon the argument that a man can better know the wishes of the people if he lives among them, and upon the demands of local pride that the representative be selected from the district population.

d. *Officers of the House.* Unlike the Senate, the House chooses its presiding officer — the Speaker of the House — from its own membership. Besides the Speaker, the House selects such other officers, from outside the House membership, as clerk, sergeant-at-arms, chaplain, doorkeeper, and postmaster. The Speaker of the House wields much more power than the president of the Senate over the activities of the members. As a member of the House he may take part in the debates He is the recognized leader of the majority party and has considerable influence on the course of legislation through the chamber. Having the power of recognition, the Speaker as presiding officer may dispense

[13] Young, Manning, Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

the rules of procedure in such a way as to favor the majority party. By refusing to recognize a member, the Speaker can prevent his taking the floor to argue a measure. This power gives to the majority party and to measures supported by that group a decided advantage in the chamber.

e. *Special functions.* The Constitution decrees that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives. Custom has established the practice that all appropriation measures also begin their legislative course there. The House also has the exclusive prerogative of bringing impeachment proceedings against federal officials. If the House, after presenting charges and prosecuting the charges against an official, drafts articles of impeachment against him, the case then goes to the Senate for trial.

3. SIMILARITIES IN THE TWO LEGISLATIVE BODIES

a. *Compensation.* Members of the Congress receive compensation at a rate fixed by the acts of the Congress. The compensation, per member, has been increased from $3000 per year as provided in 1855, to $5000 in 1865, $7500 in 1907, and $10,000 in 1925. In addition to his annual salary a congressman receives a travel allowance of 15 cents per mile to and from the sessions of the Congress, and an allowance for secretarial and clerical assistance, together with the privilege of the frank — the right to send official documents and official correspondence through the United States mails without cost to themselves. The Vice-President and the Speaker of the House, as presiding officers of the Congress, each receive an annual salary of $15,000 together with the other allowances of members of Congress.

b. *Privileges and immunities.* The members of the Congress enjoy complete freedom of speech during discussions within their respective chambers. They cannot be held liable for slanderous remarks about individuals if these remarks are made in speeches offered in the discharge of their legitimate duties. Likewise, they have complete freedom in directing attacks against the actions, the policies, or the officials of the government, even of the President.

Members of the Congress are free from arrest — except in cases of treason, felony, and breach of the peace — during attendance at sessions of their respective houses and in going to and returning from such meetings. Thus, although a congressman can be arrested for murder; for behavior which disturbs the peace, such as drunkenness or fighting

in a public place; or for committing any of the crimes listed as felonies, he cannot be forced to appear in court to testify as a witness; he cannot be required to serve on a jury; or to respond to civil action. In reality, the freedom from arrest enjoyed by members of the Congress is in civil cases rather than in criminal action, that is, in cases where the action involves collection of money or property for damages rather than the violation of criminal law.

c. *Committee system.* The work of legislation in both the House of Representatives and the Senate is carried on largely by small groups of members of each division known as committees. There are two general types of committees, standing and select. The latter type are appointed by the chairman for the performance of some special and temporary task or function. The standing committees are appointed by a committee of committees in each party in Congress. The greater number of committee members is assigned to the party having the greater number in that particular chamber of the Congress. The chairman of all important committees is a member of the majority party. There are from thirty to thirty-five standing committees in the Senate and about forty-five in the House of Representatives. The most important committees in the Senate are finance, appropriations, foreign relations, judiciary, education and labor, military affairs, naval affairs, interstate commerce, and pensions. In the House of Representatives the most important are ways and means, appropriations, rules, banking and currency, interstate and foreign commerce, rivers and harbors, military affairs, naval affairs, post offices and post roads, public lands, labor, and pensions. The membership of the committees varies from ten to twenty-five individuals.

Membership and chairmanship in committees are assigned to congressmen on the basis of seniority. A newly elected senator or member of the House of Representatives is assigned to minor committees and to inferior positions in those committees. As a member is returned to office term after term his rank increases and he may be assigned to more important committees, even to the head of such groups if he serves long enough. Since the work of legislation is so largely done through committees and since term of service increases the senator's or representative's position, it is to the advantage of states and congressional districts to re-elect men who have served for a long time in order that these states and districts may receive the greatest possible recognition in the Congress. Under the present organization of the body, a new member of the Congress is virtually powerless.

4. PROCEDURE IN PASSING LAWS

When a proposed law, called a bill, is introduced by a member of the Congress, it is at once referred to a particular committee for consideration. The subject matter of the measure and political considerations determine the committee which gets the bill. Appropriation bills are generally referred to the Committee on Appropriations; taxation bills are sent to the Ways and Means Committee of the House and to the Finance Committee of the Senate. A committee may completely disregard a bill and thus kill it by never bringing it to the House or Senate for consideration. If a committee decides to consider a measure, it fixes dates for hearings. At the proper time opponents and supporters of the bill are permitted to appear before the committee to give evidence and to express their opinions on the merits of the measure. After the hearing the committee may: (1) table the bill — refuse to report it, thus killing it; (2) report the bill favorably — recommend its passage; (3) report the bill unfavorably — recommend that it not be passed; or (4) amend the measure or even draw up a substitute bill and recommend its passage.

When a bill is reported to the chamber, with a favorable or an unfavorable report, it is then debated on the floor of the House or the Senate. If, after due consideration, it is passed by one branch of Congress, it is then sent to the other branch where the same procedure is followed. If the bill passes the second branch of the Congress in the exact form that it passed the first chamber, it immediately goes to the President for his signature. Often, however, the second branch of the Congress changes some portion of the bill. In that case the branch where the measure originated is asked to accept the changes. If the changes are not accepted, a conference committee is appointed from the Senate and House to work out an agreement on the changes. The report of the Conference Committee is usually accepted by the Congress, and the bill then goes to the President. If the President signs the measure it becomes a law, as provided in the terms of the bill. Should the President refuse to sign it — that is, veto it — the bill goes back to the Congress, and it is lost unless the supporters of the measure can get a two-thirds vote in each chamber to over-rule the President's veto.

5. PRESSURE GROUPS

Various pressure groups, powerful and acquisitive corporations and associations of many kinds such as the National Chamber of Com-

merce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, the American Automobile Association, the American Railway Association, the American Agricultural Association, the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, the League of Women Voters, the Federal Council of Churches, exercise great influence on the legislative processes. These pressure groups maintain many well-organized, well-trained lobbyists in Washington to induce congressmen to support or to oppose measures which seem to the particular groups either desirable or objectionable. Phillips states that there are no fewer than two thousand lobbyists in Washington who are receiving high salaries to study ways whereby the aims of the various pressure groups which they represent may be carried into laws or used to prevent the passage of laws.[14]

Not only congressmen but also cabinet members are subject to the influences of the lobbyists. Congressmen are frequently deluged with letters and telegrams urging the passage or nonpassage of certain bills. Often the messages have been found to be the work of pressure groups who have influenced home constituents to communicate with their congressional representatives, or who, in some instances, have sent letters bearing forged or fictitious names. Of the activities directed against cabinet officials, Phillips states:

> The strategy employed to influence their decisions ranges all the way from gross intimidation to amiable patronizing. Drinks, card games, friendly golf, promises of social preferment and of admittance to the exclusive sets of the city of Washington, are counted on as profitable means of manipulating the ambitious administrator.[15]

C. *The Judicial Department*

The Judiciary, the third branch of the Federal government, was the weakest and least highly regarded at the birth of the nation. Today, its importance is second to none, since it has assumed a power not specifically provided in the Constitution, that of declaring acts of the other branches of the Federal government unconstitutional and for that reason unlawful.

1. REASONS FOR HAVING A JUDICIARY

Many reasons have been advanced to justify the existence of the

[14] Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–203.

[15] *Ibid*, p 202.

Judiciary Department of the government. The more prominent reasons are:

a. Because the federal government was given only the powers delegated to it by the Constitution, a branch of the government was needed to determine when the central authority had exceeded its legal rights.

b. The states were vested with certain inherent powers, and limitations were necessarily fixed on the rights of states. An agency was needed to enforce the limitations on the authority of the states, that is, to decide between the claims of the federal government and the states.

c. The Constitution declares that the Constitution, the laws made thereunder, and the treaties made under its authority shall be the supreme law of the land. Enforcement of the "supreme law of the land" can be accomplished with the greatest degree of uniformity by a national system of courts.

d. Finally, the control of foreign relations is vested exclusively in the federal government. Decisions of controversies arising out of foreign relations can be decided most impartially by courts of national jurisdiction.[16]

2. JURISDICTION OF FEDERAL COURTS

The jurisdiction of the federal courts is limited to controversies which are national in character and which affect the states of the Union. According to the Constitution:

> The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies in which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State,[17] between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of Different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.
>
> In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have

[16] See Young, Manning, Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 412–413. Under the Articles of Confederation there was no system of federal courts. All cases were referred to state courts. Hamilton regarded the absence of a national judiciary as the greatest weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation.

[17] Modified by Amendment XI.

original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.[18]

One will observe that the judicial power of the United States extends to cases concerning certain subjects and to certain persons. The subject matter under the control of the federal courts is that concerned with cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the statutes, the treaties of the United States, and including admiralty and maritime questions. (Cases in equity are those which arise because the usual rigidity of law works an injustice on an individual. Laws are formal and rigid. Equity is flexible. To illustrate: many highways have speed laws which are rigidly enforced. A situation may arise in which an individual feels that it is necessary to exceed the legal speed limit. Although the laws are rigid, a court of equity will consider the reasons for violation of the statutes and will judge the offender in the light of the cause for his offense. Equity may also require a person to fulfill a contract rather than to allow him to pay a money damage for failure to fulfill the contract. The purpose of equity is to grant justice to individuals where the usual operation of the laws does not do so.) [19]

The persons included in federal court jurisdiction are ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls. The federal courts also handle controversies to which the United States is a party; controversies between two or more states; issues arising between a state and citizens of another state; legal action between citizens of different states; and suits between a state or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens, or subjects. The federal courts do not have exclusive jurisdiction in all the cases just enumerated; the state courts share with the federal courts by taking over legal actions of lesser importance.

[18] Article III, Section 2.

[19] Equity "is a form of justice that harks back to the fourteenth century. The law courts of the England of that period had become so stereotyped that on frequent occasions they worked injustice. The common law had crystallized into set forms, and suits could not be brought unless they fell within those forms. Moreover, in a great many instances the application of common law fell upon persons unfairly, its rigid rules allowing no variation. As might be expected, therefore, the suitor turned for relief to that 'fountain of justice,' the King . . the demands upon the time of the monarch were heavy, obliging him to establish the office of Chancellor, to be the 'Keeper of the King's Conscience' and to handle appeals for equity, that is, for escape from the rigors of the law." Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

The federal judiciary is largely made up of the Supreme Court, the circuit courts of appeals, and the district courts.

a. *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court consists of eight associate justices and a chief justice, appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate and holding office during good behavior. Associate justices receive an annual salary of $20,000. The Chief Justice receives $20,500 per year as his compensation.

The Supreme Court has both appellate and original jurisdiction; that is, some cases referred to the Supreme Court have been tried in other federal courts and are referred to the Supreme Court for final review to determine whether the decisions of the lower courts were justified; other cases originate with the Supreme Court. Cases over which the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction are those involving ambassadors and other public ministers, consuls, and those cases in which a state is a party.[20]

b. *Circuit courts of appeals.* Next to the Supreme Court in order of rank are the circuit courts of appeals. The United States is divided into ten circuit court districts with a circuit court of appeals serving each of the districts. Each court has from three to five judges, depending upon the amount of business to be transacted in the particular district.

The Constitution does not provide for any federal courts beside the Supreme Court, but as the amount of business to come before that body increased the establishment of lower court systems was necessary to relieve the judges of the highest court of some of their burden. A circuit court of appeals tries cases appealed from the lower courts for review, thus relieving the Supreme Court of a great deal of work which would otherwise fall to it. Like the Supreme Court, a circuit court has no jury; its rôle is to conduct judicial hearings to decide whether or not the lower courts were right in the decisions rendered. In most cases the decisions of circuit courts are not appealed to the Supreme Court. In some instances the court or the parties involved may ask the Supreme Court to review a case.

c. *District courts.* At the base of the federal court hierarchy are the district courts. At present there are more than eighty federal district courts in the United States, some of which have more than one judge.

[20] Frequently cases decided by state supreme courts are reviewed by the Supreme Court of the nation. Such cases are subject to consideration by federal courts only where federal questions are involved.

The district courts have original jurisdiction in most federal cases. Cases are not appealed to the district courts even from the lowest of the state courts, though cases are sometimes removed by district courts from the state courts when a federal question or diversity of citizenship warrants the transfer.[21]

Judges of both the federal district courts and the courts of appeals are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Their term of office is unlimited during good behavior. They are subject to removal only by impeachment by Congress.

D. *Summary*

The United States government has three major divisions — the executive-administrative, the legislative, and the judicial.

At the head of the executive-administrative department is the President, who, together with the cabinet officers and various other administrative officials appointed by the Chief Executive with the approval of the Senate, compose the personnel of the division. The President and the Vice-President, after nomination as candidates of some political party, secure their positions through election by the voters of the respective states.

When the President is leader of the dominant party in Congress, he is one of the most powerful executives in the world. He is charged with the responsibility of enforcing the Constitutional provisions, the laws passed by Congress, treaties made with foreign powers, and judicial decisions of the federal courts. He appoints many officials of the government such as his cabinet members, ambassadors, and other public ministers, consuls, judges of the federal courts, and officials of the nation whose appointment is not otherwise provided for. The President is held responsible for the efficient operation of many bureaus, commissions and boards operating under his jurisdiction. The President is in charge of the foreign relations of the nation. He is Commander-in-chief of the army and navy. In addition to his executive duties the President is vitally concerned with the operations of the legislative branch of the government and has a great deal of influence on the law-making activities.

The cabinet of the United States is composed of ten departments of the government manned by individuals directly responsible to the

[21] Phillips, *American Government and Its Problems*, p. 411.

President. The authority and influence of the members of the cabinet is determined largely by the attitude of the President toward his cabinet and by the ability of the individuals holding the cabinet posts.

Beside the ten departments of government there are numerous independent agencies established to perform specific work.

The legislative branch of the federal government consists of a Senate with 96 members and a House of Representatives of 435 members. The chief functions of the Senate, beside passing laws, are as follows: approving appointments made by the President; approving treaties; trying impeachments of national officials. Like the Senate, the House of Representatives has functions reserved to itself alone. All revenue raising and appropriation bills must originate in that division of Congress. The House also has the exclusive prerogative of bringing impeachment proceedings against a national official.

The greater part of the legislative work of both branches of Congress is done by the various committees of each house. Membership on the committees is based on seniority. Thus a newly elected senator or representative has very little chance to influence legislation.

Bills to become laws must follow a fixed routine through both chambers of Congress as follows: introduction in a particular house; reference to a committee; action by the committee; consideration by the membership of the Senate or House if the committee reports favorably to the chamber; passage or rejection by the particular branch considering it. If a measure is passed by one branch it is sent to the other branch of Congress where the same procedure is followed. A measure passed by both houses is sent to the President for his signature. If it is vetoed it must go back to Congress where it may become law only by passage by a two-thirds vote of each house.

The federal judiciary consists of three main courts, that is, the Supreme Court, the circuit court of appeals, and the district court. The federal courts are vested with the right to try controversies which are national in character and which affect the states of the Union. The Supreme Court consists of eight associate justices and a chief justice who are appointed, as are the justices of the other courts, for life or good behavior by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Supreme Court has both appellate and original jurisdiction, depending upon the type of case involved.

The circuit court of appeals was organized with only appellate jurisdiction for the purpose of relieving the burden on the Supreme Court.

At present there are ten circuit court districts presided over by from three to five justices.

There are more than eighty federal district courts in the United States, presided over by from one to four judges of the federal district courts depending upon the volume of business before the courts. The district courts have only original jurisdiction in cases.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Has the President of the United States the power to grant a reprieve or a pardon to a man sentenced to be executed for murdering a person if both the murderer and the person killed were living in the same state and the sentenced man was tried in the state courts?
2. What legislative powers and responsibilities has the President?
3. May the President declare war? In what ways can he engage the nation in war?
4. Trace the election of a president. Look up some particular political campaign and follow it through from nomination to final election.
5. Of what importance is the party platform?
6. Give some historic instances where a president was elected although he did not receive a majority of the popular votes.
7. Name the cabinet offices of the United States and the names of the individuals serving as head of each office at this time.
8. In what ways is the organization of the United States Senate like that of the House of Representatives? In what ways is it different?
9. What are the exclusive functions of each division of the United States Congress?
10. Of what importance are the committees in the Senate and in the House of Representatives?
11. American government has sometimes been called "government by pressure groups." What is implied by that statement? What are some active pressure groups?
12. What are the functions of the United States Supreme Court? the Circuit Court of Appeals?

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CHAPTER 31

State and Local Government

GOVERNMENT in the United States involves not only the central or federal system but also the governments of subdivisions within the federal system. Each of the forty-eight states has its own government organization, resembling the political systems of the other states in essential details, but with its own peculiarities. Within each state are forms of local government. The two preceding chapters dealt with the federal government. This chapter is concerned with the political systems operating in the subdivisions — the states and their local areas.

A. *Position of States in the Union*

The authority of the federal government of the United States is, as has already been pointed out, divided between the central and the state units. As members of the Union the states have certain rights of which the central authority cannot by constitutional act deprive them. The powers of the national government are delegated by the Constitution and the rights of the states are reserved by the same instrument. The Constitution specifically provides that:

> The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people.

1. THE RIGHTS OF STATES

The powers which have been reserved to the states include control and police power over education, public health, public welfare, highways, intrastate commerce, and business within their territorial limits. A state may decide that certain subject matter may not be taught in schools supported by public funds. A state may take steps to improve the health of its people, or it may refuse to take such steps. It may or may not make regulations which are designed to promote the general welfare of the population. Each state makes its own regulations with

respect to marriage and divorce; relations of employees and employer; support of public education; location and kinds of public highways; requirements for admission to certain professions such as law, medicine, and public instruction; and with respect to many other subjects. The states are responsible for the enforcement of law and order and for the protection of the public. The responsibility for arresting and prosecuting criminals rests with the state, except where the crimes, such as misuse of the mail, interfering with interstate commerce and other acts, violate federal statutes.

The federal government is bound by the Constitution to maintain the territorial integrity of each state; to protect the state against invasion and domestic violence; and to guarantee a republican form of government to each state. No land may be taken from one state to form another state nor for any other purpose, without the consent of the specific jurisdiction concerned. Soldiers and other military forces sufficient for the occasion must be supplied by the federal government in case of invasion or insurrection in a state. No state may be ruled by any but a democratic form of government. The question of what constitutes a democratic form of government has been left for Congress tc decide.

Each state is entitled to equal representation in the Senate of the United States and to proportional representation in the House of Representatives. Each state is likewise entitled to the right to regulate suffrage and political elections within its jurisdiction and to express its desires with respect to proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution.

2. LIMITATIONS ON STATE POWERS

Along with the rights left to the states are certain restrictions or limitations placed on their powers by the Constitution. The limitations of the rights and powers of states concern the following general subjects:

a. Foreign relations and military affairs. No state is permitted to wage war unless it is invaded; to enter into a treaty, alliance, or confederation with a foreign power, or to make any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power without the consent of Congress. The provision against waging war has as a natural corollary the provision that a state may not maintain an army or a navy without the consent of Congress. States may have militias, under the control of the President as Commander-in-Chief.

b. Money. A state may not coin money, nor may it designate anything except gold and silver as legal tender in payment of debts. Although certain states at present issue "tokens" which are accepted in payment of sales taxes, these "tokens" are not legal tender in payment of debts.

c. Taxation and internal revenue. The state may not levy any import or export duties on goods shipped into, from, or through the state boundaries. Furthermore, a state is not permitted to tax the property of the federal government; national bonds; the stock of national banks; nor items which may be used by the national government in carrying out its operations, for example, gasoline used in operating the coast guard boats.

d. Criminal and civil prosecution. Although the state has the right to prosecute violators of the statutes of the jurisdiction, it may not pass any *ex post facto* laws or bills of attainder.[1] A person may not be deprived of his life, liberty, or property without "due process" of law. Due process is defined as "a course of legal proceedings according to those rules and principles which have been established in our system of jurisprudence for the protection and enforcement of private rights."[2] Furthermore, a state may not deny equal protection of the law to any citizens and residents of the jurisdiction.

e. Private property. A state may not take the private property of an individual for public use without payment of just compensation as determined by a board of qualified persons. No state may pass any law which violates the obligation of contract — that is, no state may pass a law which violates contracts made by individuals prior to the passage of the act.

f. Interstate commerce. No state may make laws which interfere with the operation of interstate commerce.

3. FEDERAL AND STATE COOPERATION

The states cooperate with the federal government in innumerable ways. The two governing agents cooperate in such activities as the

[1] An *ex post facto* law is one which would punish a person for performing an act which was not illegal at the time it was committed. For instance, after a hunter had killed a deer, a law against killing deer might be passed; the hunter could not be prosecuted.

Bills of attainder were devices used during the medieval period and early part of the modern era, to punish persons without the rights of trial.

[2] *Cf.* Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, p. 476.

apprehension of criminals — violators of federal laws are frequently arrested by state police officers and state offenders are seized by federal authorities for prosecution by the state; improving the public health; attempting to relieve unemployment; reducing illiteracy and improving the public schools; providing relief for the poor and certain types of unfortunate members of society; conserving the natural resources; improving agriculture; and in many other ways. States often adopt legislation in accordance with federal laws on various subjects.[3] In many cases the federal government cooperates with the states by appropriating money for use on projects within a state — for example, road building, school operation, old age assistance, and so forth.

4. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES

Citizens of any state of the Union have the right to move freely from one state to another and to enjoy the same rights which are enjoyed by the inhabitants of any state. For instance, a citizen of Illinois may move to California and work or go into business there with the same rights as the residents of California. The Constitution guarantees that "citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." This guarantee provides that persons owning property in one state but living in another may not be required to pay a higher rate of taxation than those who live in the state where the property is located.[4]

"Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." For example, although the State of South Carolina does not grant divorces to married couples, a resident of that state may go to Nevada, Arkansas, or any other state where divorces are awarded; and there receive a divorce which will be recognized in his home state.

A criminal or one charged with a crime who escapes from one state into another and is apprehended by the second state, may, upon request of the first state, be returned to the jurisdiction in which the offense was committed.

In addition to the constitutional provisions for interstate cooperation, states make certain agreements providing for joint action, for example, the arrangements between New York and New Jersey pro-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 483.

[4] *Cf.* for more extended discussion of this point *ibid.*, pp. 494–495.

viding for the Port Authority; the Boulder Dam project; the building of bridges over rivers between two states; and so forth.[5]

B. *State Government*

1. STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The governments of the states of the Union resemble the federal system. Each state has its chief executive, its legislative branch, and its judiciary. In each state a constitution sets the basic structure of the governmental system. This constitution is the supreme law of the state and is subordinate only to the Constitution of the federal government.

Although the Federal Constitution is a comparatively short document comprising only fifteen printed pages, including preamble and amendments, the present state constitutions are considerably longer. The constitution of the State of Louisiana, one of the longest in the nation, comprises more than two hundred pages. The earlier state constitutions were not so long; the documents, serving as statements of "fundamental" law, incorporated only the basic principles of government. For example, the constitution of New York adopted in 1777 covered less than sixteen printed pages. The Virginia constitution of 1776 filled less than six pages. The present constitutions of the two states, however, are forty and sixty pages long, respectively.

Various reasons may be found for the increased length of recent state constitutions. The popular distrust of state legislatures, often based upon their lack of response to popular demands, leads to the adoption of desired measures through amendments to the constitutions. Then, too, laws which the public desires as a permanent part of the legislative system are often written into the constitution as amendments so that no legislative body can change the provisions without public approval. For example, a free school book law passed in the State of Louisiana was later adopted as a constitutional amendment so that no subsequent legislature could revoke the right of all school children to have free school textbooks. The length of state constitutions is also occasioned, indirectly, by rulings of state supreme courts declaring certain laws unconstitutional. In order to circumvent such rulings the desired laws have been written into the constitution as amendments.

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 497. "Article I declares that compacts among the states must have the consent of Congress, but practice is not so strict. In minor matters states often enter into arrangements without asking Congress for its formal approval, but if significant political and property rights are involved the constitutional requirement is observed."

The leading features of the constitutions of the forty-eight states of the United States are remarkably similar. All the constitutions have eighteenth-century origins or have subsequently imitated the eighteenth-century documents of other states. State constitutions can be divided into four general sections: (1) a Bill of Rights guaranteeing certain individual rights, such as freedom of speech, of worship, of assembly, and of the press; the right of trial by jury; and security of life, liberty, and property; (2) articles providing for the structure of government in the state, that is, its branches, its officers, eligibility to office, the terms, duties, and sometimes the compensation of officials; (3) direct legislation on subjects of state finance, local government, health, education, suffrage, elections, regulation of economic institutions and other miscellaneous matters; (4) provisions for amendments to the constitution.

2. STATE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

The state executive department is in most states composed of a governor and a staff of officers who perform specific functions. These officers include the following: (1) the lieutenant-governor, who is president of the senate and acts as governor when the chief executive of the state is outside bounds of its jurisdiction; (2) the secretary of state; (3) the state treasurer; (4) the auditor or comptroller; (5) the attorney general; (6) the superintendent of education; and (7) other officials, varying with the different states. In most states the various officials of the executive branch are elected by popular vote. In some, the persons selected for the executive offices, other than those of governor and lieutenant-governor, are chosen by the state legislatures. In very few instances are these individuals appointed by the governor or responsible solely or even mainly to the governor.

a. *The office of governor.* The governor and the lieutenant-governor are elected by popular vote for terms varying from two to four years. In no state is the governor vested with the broad powers which the President of the United States exercises in the nation. Where the President has authority over other officials in the executive branch of the government, governors of states have little power to direct the activities of their associates. Officers in the state executive branch look to the voters rather than to the governor as the main source of power and authority. They feel secure in their positions, whether in favor or disfavor with the chief executive of the state. Under conditions existing

in the executive branches of state government it is not surprising that governors and their associates are often at odds with one another and that the plans of the governors, the administration of state laws and of various state agencies, are inefficiently managed.

(1) *Qualifications.* To be elected to the governorship in any state, a person must fulfill certain qualifications. The individual must be a citizen of the United States and of the state, and a resident of the state for a number of years, the number varying in different states. The usual minimum is five years. Most states require that the person be at least thirty years of age at the time of his election to the governorship.

(2) *Compensation.* The annual salaries of the governors range from $3,000 in South Dakota to $25,000 in New York. Some states provide their governors with official residences — governors' mansions. In others the chief executive must provide for his home.

(3) *Removal from office.* Governors may be removed from office in two ways — by impeachment and by recall. In every state but Oregon a governor may be removed from his position by impeachment. The process is similar to that employed in the national government; charges are filed in the lower house and are tried in the upper legislative branch. The removal of governors from office by impeachment has been relatively infrequent. Impeachment charges have been brought against about a dozen governors, but only a few have been actually removed from office.[6]

Impeachment is an unsatisfactory means of holding a governor accountable for misconduct in office. In the first place, state legislatures meet only once in two years, unless called into special session by the governor. It is inconceivable that a chief executive should call a legislature into special session to investigate the governor's office. Because the length of the legislative session is limited to a specific number of days, completion of the impeachment proceedings within the time limit is difficult. After the expiration of one two-year session and before another session begins, the governor's term of office may expire or the charges may be forgotten.

In one-fourth of the states the governor is subject to recall by the voters. Recalling a governor or other state official requires that a petition stating the charges against the office-holder be signed by from

[6] Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 315. "Oklahoma seems to be the chief fomenter of these seismic disturbances. In the first twenty-three years of her state history, proceedings against various officials were instituted thirteen times. Five out of her first six governors were placed under investigation."

10 to 35 per cent of the qualified voters, the per cent depending upon the state law. A special election is then called to decide whether or not the office-holder shall be removed; if the decision indicates that he shall be removed, another individual must be selected for the office made vacant.[7]

(4) *Duties and powers of the governor.* The governor as the chief executive of the state is the head of the state militia. He is charged with the responsibilities of law enforcement within his particular state.

The legislative powers of the governor include: the right to convene the state legislature in special session; the outlining of a program of legislative action to meet the needs of the state, usually presented as an executive message to the joint assembly of the state legislature; the right to veto bills passed by the legislative bodies; and the use of personal and political pressure on individual legislators to secure the desired legislative measures.

The governor's judicial authority includes the granting of pardons and commutation of sentences of convicted criminals; [8] the asking for the return of alleged criminals of the state from another state to stand trial; and the granting or refusal to grant requests for the extradition of criminals or suspected criminals of other states.

The governor of a state is vested with power to appoint many minor or subordinate state officials. Several state administrative officials not elected by popular vote, and other employees are appointed by the governor with or without the approval of the state senate.

Despite his apparent power, in actual practice the authority of the governor in most states is considerably limited. In performing the responsibilities of enforcing the laws of the state the governor is often handicapped by associates who may, with complete freedom, refuse to cooperate with him. In some instances such associates have actually worked to block the authority of the governor in the enforcement of certain measures. The extent of the governor's legislative powers rests largely upon his personal and political strength. Some state executives have through the force of their personalities and political leader-

[7] Up to the present there has been but one governor of a state recalled from office — in 1921 the governor of North Dakota was removed in this manner. Later that individual was elected to the United States Senate from North Dakota.

[8] Some states have established pardon boards, on which the governor may or may not sit as a member, to pass on petitions for clemency. In Louisiana, the lieutenant-governor is chairman of the pardon board, comprising the "Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney General, and presiding judge of the court before which the conviction was had." The governor is not required to grant the clemency recommended by the board, however.

ship been able to secure control over the legislative activities of their states. Such individuals were Paul McNutt, governor of Indiana; Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith of New York; Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey; and Hiram Johnson of California.

In performing their judicial functions governors have sometimes been charged with unfair and even corrupt practices. In some states the pardoning power of the governor has been exercised to such an extent that thousands of criminals have been released. Pardon boards have been established to prevent such practices, but improvement under the pardon boards has not been outstanding.

The appointive powers of the state executive are such that much of his time and effort is consumed in giving jobs to his party followers. So significant is this function that for some time after an individual is elected to the governorship he is virtually swamped by applicants for the various positions at his command. Probably no part of the governor's work causes him more discomfort and more criticism than does the parceling out of jobs to the many applicants for state positions.

b. *Powers and responsibilities of other executive officials.* Duties are prescribed by law for other officials in the state executive department beside the governor and lieutenant-governor.

(1) *Secretary of state.* A secretary of state holds office in every state, elected by popular vote in forty-two, elected by the legislature in three, and appointed by the governor in three states. The secretary of state is traditionally the custodian of the public records; his countersignature is required on proclamations and other public papers; he is the keeper of the state seal. The duties of the secretary of state have to do principally with the issuance of corporation certificates, the granting of licenses, and the countersigning of proclamations and commissions. The acts of the state secretary are for the most part not discretionary but are fixed by the nature of the office.

(2) *State treasurer.* In forty-seven states there is a state treasurer, custodian of the public funds. In forty-one states the office is filled by popular election; in five, by election of the legislature; and in one, by appointment of the governor. As custodian of state funds the state treasurer pays out the money of the state under proper authorization. The duties of the office are fixed and allow for but slight discretion on the part of the individual serving as treasurer.

(3) *State auditor.* The state auditor audits all accounts and authorizes the treasurer to make payments of state money as authorized by

law. The auditor is elected by popular vote in most of the states; however, in some he is elected by the state legislature, and in a few he is appointed by the governor.

(4) *Attorney general.* The attorney general is the lawyer selected to represent the state in all civil and criminal cases in which the state has an interest. In addition to his duties as legal representative of the state, he is expected to advise the governor and other public officials and agencies on matters of law wherever such opinions are needed. In forty-three states the attorney general is elected by the people; in five he is selected by the legislature or the governor.

(5) *Superintendent of public education.* The superintendent of public instruction, or commissioner of education, as he is called in some states, has general supervision of the public school system and is responsible for the administration of school laws. In some states the office is one of great influence. In such jurisdictions the public schools are supervised and regulated so as to conform to the rules of the superintendent's office or department; in some instances the distribution of the state school funds is left to the discretion of the state superintendent and his department. In other states the powers of the office are fixed and rather nominal. In thirty-four states the superintendent is elected by popular vote; in the remaining states he is appointed by the governor or the state board of education.

3. STATE LEGISLATURES

All states of the Union except Nebraska [9] use a bicameral system of legislature. This form of state legislative organization dates back to early colonial times. In all the states the upper chamber is called the senate, and in the great majority of states the lower house is known as the house of representatives.

a. *Representation in state legislatures.* Representation in the state legislatures is usually based on geographical units, with the number of representatives determined by the population of the units. The units from which state senators are elected are larger and more populous than those from which members of the house of representatives are chosen. Many objections have been raised to several of the methods of determin-

[9] In 1934, acting under the leadership of Senator George W. Norris, Nebraska adopted a constitutional amendment providing for a single legislative assembly. In 1935 the legislature provided that the unicameral body should consist of 43 members elected from districts of the state to correspond to that number. The first meeting of the new type of legislature was in 1937.

ing the number of representatives for a legislative district on the grounds that some population groups receive more representation than others. New Jersey provides, for instance, that there shall be one senator from each county irrespective of the number of people living there. Similar situations exist in other states. On the whole, rural populations have a greater number of representatives in the legislature than urban, notwithstanding the fact that the urban population often outnumbers the rural. Such inequality of representation makes possible "spite legislation," which, directed at the cities by rural legislatures, unjustly hampers the operation of city government.

The existence of two chambers is based on the theory that the senate represents certain portions of the state and population, whereas the house of representatives represents different groups. In reality, the senates in most states are duplicates of the lower houses on a reduced scale; that is, the senate membership is smaller than that of the house of representatives and the districts from which senators are elected are larger.

b. *Compensation and term of state legislature.* The compensation received by members of state legislative bodies is not large enough to attract men of great ability unless they are prompted by a desire for public service. About half of the states pay on a per diem basis — so much per day of actual service during the session of legislature — and also provide certain amounts to take care of the expenses of traveling from the legislators' homes to the place of meeting. Some states pay annual salaries, but the highest salary paid, $2500 per year by New York, is hardly sufficient to persuade successful professional or business men to devote their time to legislative work. Despite the low compensation and lack of appeal to men of great ability, the caliber of men in the state legislatures is "not so bad as we are led to believe. Robert Luce, who has given the subject considerable examination and thought, reports that they average well above their constituencies, both in capacity for service and in personal integrity. Other studies have tended to corroborate his view." [10]

The term of the state legislatures varies. In forty-three states legislative sessions are held biennially. In four states — New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina — the legislatures meet every year. In Alabama the meetings are held once every four years. Thus, in some states a member of the lower chamber will meet only once in

[10] Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

regular legislative session during the term for which he was elected. In most states the length of the regular meetings of the legislature is restricted in time, the limits varying from thirty to ninety days.

c. *Organization of state legislatures.* The organization of the state legislatures resembles that of the United States Congress. Each house has its own officers; the lieutenant-governor is president of the senate; a president pro-tem is elected to serve when the president of the senate is unable to attend the sessions; other officers such as chief clerk and his assistants, sergeant-at-arms, and other employees are selected to perform activities similar to the activities of such officers in the Congress; [11] and in the house of representatives there is a speaker of the house chosen by the membership from among its body to preside at the meetings and to perform the usual acts of the presiding officer.

The lawmaking activities of the state legislatures are carried on through the committee system, as in the Congress. The number of committees in a state legislature varies from state to state.[12] The employment of committees is even more necessary in state legislatures than in the federal body since the sessions of the state bodies are limited in length and a great and varied mass of bills are presented during each regular session. Through the committee system a state legislator may work on some subject with which he is already familiar; it would be virtually impossible for a member to become familiar with the details of all the subjects covered by bills presented to the legislatures.

d. *Limitations of the powers of state legislatures.* In the colonial period of American history and during the early development of the nation, the legislative bodies were highly honored, trusted, and respected. Often the legislative assemblies were looked upon as the safeguards of the popular rights. In more recent times, however, state legislative bodies have not been held in such high esteem and severe limitations of their powers and responsibilities have been demanded. The fact that legislative sessions occur only once in two years and then for a limited period of time is an indication of the extent of popular distrust. In addition, definite limitations have been imposed upon powers of the state legislatures through the state constitutions. In most states special laws which operate in favor of or to the detriment of particular localities or

[11] See pages 579, 580.

[12] For a discussion of the legislative procedure see p. 583. Also, Charles A. Beard, *American Government and Politics*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1935, pp. 586–592.

individuals are prohibited. Stipulations are found in basic laws of the state that taxes must be uniform and equal for all types of property.[13] In many states the amount of the state debt is limited to a small percentage of the valuation of the taxable property of the state or local units. Appropriations can be made for public purposes only; grants to individuals and to corporations are prohibited. In some states appropriations can be made only for certain specified purposes. In some states a check on legislation is the provision that all proposed bills must be published in the newspapers of the communities affected, thus giving the citizens notice and a chance to protest.

In addition to the limitations enumerated above there are the general limitations of the National Constitution and of the Bill of Rights within each state constitution.

e. *Powers of the state legislature.* Despite the limitations on their authority the state legislatures may wield extensive power. They may make laws on practically every subject unless specifically prohibited by the Federal Constitution. They may set up the state machinery of government under constitutional provisions. They may delegate powers to the local governmental units.[14] They may grant charters to private and public corporations; may establish and provide for the maintenance and regulation of educational, charitable, and correctional institutions; may provide measures for the improvement of public health; may define the rights of the electorate and determine qualifications for voting; may make laws governing elections; may regulate by statute various economic activities of the citizens, corporations, and institutions within the various jurisdictions; may make appropriations of public funds for the performance of various state activities; may levy taxes on wealth for the operation of the government; and may use many other powers and responsibilities within their authority.

The state senates, like the National Senate, are vested with special powers. The upper chambers of the state legislatures have the responsibility of approving a great many of the appointments made by the governor. The trial of impeached state officials is conducted by a state senate.

[13] This limitation is now modified by the right to impose a graduated tax on personal incomes and to vary the rate of taxation on property according to its type and use.

[14] Often the state constitution provides that cities of a certain size shall enjoy a measure of "home rule" — the right to govern themselves within the provisions of the state constitution. In other states the legislatures may by statute provide such local "home rule."

4. THE STATE JUDICIARY

Although the judicial systems among the states vary greatly in form, in many essential details the state courts resemble the federal judicial system. Each state has an appellate tribunal of final resort, called the supreme court in most jurisdictions. The supreme courts have few if any cases of original jurisdiction; therefore they have no jury and they review cases solely on questions of law. They assume that the lower courts have collected the facts of the case; therefore, the province of the court of appeal is to examine the facts presented in the lower court to see if the decision rendered was in accordance with the state laws. The supreme tribunals are vested with the authority to declare state laws unconstitutional.

In addition to the supreme courts there are, in about one-third of the states, intermediate courts of appeal (in some states these are called courts of appeal). These courts have been set up, as was their counterpart in the federal system, to relieve the pressure of business on the supreme tribunal. The jurisdiction of the intermediary courts is both original and appellate and concerns both civil and criminal law. The original jurisdiction of the courts of appeal usually involves contested elections, civil cases involving sums of money not in excess of certain amounts, and other cases as determined by the state legislature.[15] The appellate work of the courts of appeal is the consideration of cases appealed from the lower courts.

A third class of court in the state is the general trial court, variously called district or county court according to the organization within the state. District courts may have jurisdiction over more than one county. The courts of this class try cases involving claims for money, damages for violation of contract or for other reasons, and criminal prosecutions.

> It is here that we observe the glamour, spectacle, and notoriety of public trials, with their concomitants of skilled attorneys, blinking juries, and harried witnesses. Here the "district attorney" of cinema and fiction prosecutes the gangster, while building up his own political fortune. Here Harry K. Thaw stands trial for the murder of Stanford White; and Henry Ford brings action against the Chicago *Tribune* in a million-dollar libel suit.[16]

The district or county courts have both original jurisdiction and appellate jurisdiction. Their original jurisdiction is very broad and, as in-

[15] *Cf.* Young and others, *op. cit.*, p. 439. [16] Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

dicated above, may include civil and criminal cases. The appellate jurisdiction involves minor cases which have been tried by the justice of the peace or in local courts of petty jurisdiction.

At the bottom of the state judicial system one finds the courts of petty jurisdiction, such as those presided over by justices of the peace, police judges, justices, aldermen, magistrates, squires, or even mayors in small cities and towns. The cases brought before these courts usually concern minor infractions of the laws, such as breach of the peace, assault and battery, violations of traffic ordinances, or infractions of health regulations. In many states, civil cases may be handled in these courts when the sums involved are small, not involving more than one hundred dollars. The justices often are called to perform marriage ceremonies, administer oaths, and to acknowledge legal instruments.

Officials of the petty courts are seldom versed in law or legal practice. Often these courts are presided over by shyster lawyers who use their positions to grab fees, the only remuneration which can be collected in trying the cases. Often the justice of the peace is a hindrance to the legal process within the state.[17]

C. *Municipal Government*

1. GROWTH OF CITIES

One of the outstanding characteristics of the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries was the growth of cities in the United States. In 1880 the population of the United States classed as urban — living in incorporated centers of 2500 or more inhabitants — comprised slightly more than one-fourth of the total (26.8 per cent). By 1900 the urban population had increased to 40 per cent; and, in 1940, 56.5 per cent of the inhabitants lived in urban centers. Not only have cities grown in size, but the number of urban centers has greatly increased. In 1850 there was but one city with a population of 500,000 or more and only five cities with a population of 100,000 or more. In 1940 there were nine cities with a population of 500,000 or more and fifty-five with a population of 100,000 or more.

2. CITY CHARTER

Under the American system of government the city has the status of a public corporation. It is subject to regulation by the state of which

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

it is a part and it enjoys the rights and privileges granted by the state constitution and statutes. For the regulation and government of cities the states generally grant the municipalities charters which set forth the rights and powers which may be exercised by city officials. Since the city is the creature of the state and therefore possesses only such powers as are granted by the state, the charter may be repealed or changed at will by the state.

Although there is great variation in the content of city charters, a typical charter makes provision for the following: (1) boundary lines of the city; (2) machinery and rules for elections, including in some instances provisions for initiative, referendum, and recall; (3) organization of the government and rules governing the inter-relationships of the various city authorities; (4) an enumeration of powers granted to the city, including the powers to protect the health and the welfare of the inhabitants, to raise and expend revenue, to contract for services, and to provide certain public utilities; (5) detailed procedure for the exercise of granted powers, which prescribes the manner of enacting ordinances, granting franchises and contracts, levying taxes, and issuing bonds for utility enterprises, public works and special improvements.[18]

In some states cities of a certain size are granted municipal home rule. Home rule is the right to frame, adopt, and amend a charter. Although the municipalities operating under home-rule charters enjoy more freedom than those which have charters granted by the state, their rights and powers are always subject to the state constitution and general laws. Furthermore, the rights and powers of the municipalities under home-rule charters pertain only to municipal and local, as distinct from state, or general affairs.[19]

3. CITY GOVERNMENT

The typical form of government of American cities during the greater part of the nineteenth century provided for a mayor and council system patterned closely after the national and state structures. The mayor was the chief executive, and the city council, composed of upper and lower chambers whose members were elected by the voters in different

[18] William Anderson, *American City Government*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1925, pp. 108–109.

[19] For example, if a state by state-wide referendum adopts a law prohibiting the sale of liquor, since every municipality is governed by the state statute, the sale of liquor becomes illegal in the city as well as in the state, even though the vote in a city which enjoys home rule is opposed to prohibition.

districts of the municipality, acted as the lawmaking body. In addition to the mayor and the city council there was also a city court.

Although this form of organization had operated satisfactorily in national affairs, and somewhat less efficiently in state governments, in the city, with its rapid growth in area and population and with its new economic requirements concomitant with the rapid expansion, the plan was too cumbersome to function effectively. The system of checks and balances offered opportunities to avoid responsibility for ineffective operation of governmental agencies. American city government became identified with political corruption and inexcusable inefficiency to such an extent that it became "the world's stock example of the shortcomings of a democracy." [20] In 1890 a movement to reform city government made some progress. In many cities the two-chambered council was abandoned for a unicameral council of a reduced number of members. Fewer elective officials were retained and greater authority was vested in the hands of a mayor who could be held responsible to a much greater degree than had been possible. At present only a few cities in the United States still retain the bicameral system of municipal council.

In 1901, spurred on by the confusion following a disastrous flood, Galveston, Texas, adopted a new form of city government known as the *commission plan.* Under this system the legislative and administrative powers of the city were vested in a five-member commission. Each commissioner was responsible for a particular field of effort, such as finance and revenue, streets and public property, police and fire protection, waterworks and sewerage. The mayor, who had no separate department, presided at the meetings of the commission and coordinated the work of the city. The Galveston form of commission government worked so effectively that many cities copied the plan with certain modifications, the most outstanding of which was the addition of popular safeguards such as the initiative, referendum, and recall.[21] By 1917

[20] Chester C. Maxey, *The American Problem of Government,* F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1935, p. 159.

[21] The initiative is a provision whereby a certain proportion of the electorate by petition may initiate a law — introduce it to be voted on by the lawmaking body or to be referred to the people for their approval.

The referendum is a provision whereby a small portion of the voters can require that a bill be referred to the voters for approval. Amendments to state constitutions are referred to the electorate for approval.

The recall grants the voters the right to hold an election to recall an official who is not satisfactorily performing his duties.

about five hundred cities in the United States had adopted the commission plan of government.

In 1913 Dayton, Ohio, finding the old system of government ineffective after a serious flood, drafted a new plan of government known as the *council-manager* government. The essential features of the system are as follows: a council of five members (the number varies in different cities) is elected at large for a term of four years, either two or three being elected every two years; a mayor, without special power, is selected from the council to preside at meetings; a city manager, who need not even be a resident of the city, is appointed by the city council without regard to political affiliation to administer the affairs of the city, much as a general manager of a private corporation conducts the business of the firm. The duties of the city council are to enact ordinances to govern the city, to raise and vote appropriations, create or abolish departments, investigate the operation of departments of the city government and its officials, and to elect the city manager.

The council-manager plan of city government grew rapidly after its successful trial by Dayton and other municipalities. In 1934 the council-manager system of city government had been adopted in 425 cities of the nation.

Experience has demonstrated that no political system will of itself provide a satisfactory government. The success or failure of a political program, whether in the nation, the state, or the city, depends largely upon the character of the men selected to office. It is therefore of utmost importance that the voters of the electorate realize how vital is the selection of men who have ability and integrity rather than glib-tongued politicians.

D. *Summary*

The states of the United States enjoy powers reserved to them by the Federal Constitution, such as control over education, public health, public welfare, highways, intrastate commerce, and business; maintenance of law and order; and settlement of requirements for admission to the professions.

The responsibilities of the federal government toward the state include maintaining the territorial integrity of each state; maintaining the safety and peace of a state; and guaranteeing each state a republican form of government. Each state is entitled to equal representation in

the United States Senate and proportional representation in the House of Representatives; it can regulate suffrage and elections within its jurisdiction; and it can express its wishes with respect to proposed amendments to the Federal Constitution.

Along with the rights and guarantees provided in the Constitution, states are subject to limitations on their powers.

The states of the Union cooperate with the federal government and with other states in many different ways.

The structure of the state government is in many ways similar to that of the national government. In each state there is an executive, legislative and judicial department. Each state has a constitution which is the supreme governing organ.

The state executive department usually comprises, in addition to the governor and lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, a state treasurer, an auditor or comptroller, an attorney general, and a superintendent of public instruction. The executive officials are usually elected by popular vote.

The governor of a state is charged with many and diverse powers and responsibilities which are executive, legislative or judicial in nature. The powers of the other members of the executive department are usually fixed by the nature of the offices and allow but slight exercise of discretion on the part of the incumbents.

All states except Nebraska have bicameral legislatures. The representation in the two chambers of the legislative bodies is based on geographical districts of the state. The organization of the state legislatures resembles rather closely that of the National Congress.

The state judicial system resembles in many ways the system of courts in the national government. At the top is a state supreme court as court of final appeal; next is an appellate court — court of appeals; next, a county or district court, the court of original jurisdiction for most cases; and, at the bottom, justices of the peace, police judges, justices, aldermen, magistrates, squires, and even mayors in small cities, serving to try minor civil and criminal cases.

One of the remarkable phenomena of the last half-century is the growth of American cities. This development has been attended by problems relating to the government of these units. During the early period of the nation all cities employed a mayor and bicameral council. As cities developed, the bicameral system of council proved too cumbersome to work efficiently. There are now three forms of city govern-

ment in wide operation: (1) the mayor-council form, with a small council of one chamber; (2) the commission plan; and (3) the manager-council form of city government.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What particular rights belong to the states of the United States?
2. What limitations are placed on states' powers?
3. What is the difference between delegated powers and reserved powers as mentioned in the Federal Constitution?
4. Compare the position of governor as the chief executive of his state with that of the President as chief executive of the nation.
5. Compare the state constitution with the Constitution of the United States.
6. What elective officials are to be found in the executive or administrative branch of the state government?
7. What objections do you see to the practice of paying state legislators by the day of legislative session instead of a yearly salary?
8. Are the limitations placed on the state legislature greater than those placed on Congress?
9. Give an outline of the state judicial system most commonly found in the United States.
10. Give reasons why American city government has been frequently wasteful, inefficient and often corrupt.
11. In what ways are cities handicapped by the city charters under which they function?
12. Compare commission government with council-manager form of municipal government.

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CHAPTER 32

European Democracy: England

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY is marked by the struggle between two political ideals, that is, democracy, or the rule of a nation by a majority of the electorate, and totalitarianism, or the rule of a country by an individual or small group of persons not directly responsible to the governed. The preceding chapters devoted to political institutions dealt with the government of the United States, the oldest and most powerful of the democracies. This and the following chapter compare the government of England, as the representative of European democracy, with the governments of Germany and Russia, as the representatives of the totalitarian philosophy of government.

Whereas hardly a government in Europe extends back before 1800 and few antedate 1870, the government of England goes back directly, with but one interruption, for more than a thousand years.

The government of Great Britain is one of the oldest in the world, extending back in a continuous line, except for the short interruption during the period of Oliver Cromwell, to a time before the Norman Conquest in the eleventh century. One reason for such a long line is that Britain has not been subject to such sudden and serious revolutions as the French Revolution of 1789 or the Russian Revolution of 1917.

A. *The Constitution*

The government of England has gradually evolved through the generations. From the viewpoint of Americans, Britain has no constitution; there is no written statement of principles upon which the government is based, nor is there any document which outlines the structure of government and the functions of public officials. However, if we consider as a constitution the rules, provisions, and customs which are accepted by a people as the basis of government, rather than the formal document incorporating these rules, provisions, and customs.

England has a constitution. As Munro says, "A constitution is something established as the basis of government — whether by a constitutional convention or by process of evolution is immaterial." [1]

1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of Britain is an excellent example of a basic political organ which has evolved with the passing of time to meet new and changed conditions within the country. There was no constitutional convention in Great Britain, as was held for the United States in Philadelphia, for the adoption of a formal system of rules and structure of government. On the other hand, there has been a continuous accretion of acts which has determined the Constitution — the Constitution of Clarendon by Henry II in 1164, when rules were established governing the relations between the secular and ecclesiastical courts; the Magna Carta, which was wrung by the barons from King John in 1215 as a guarantee of certain rights and privileges; the Model Parliament brought together by Edward I in 1295, marking an early step in a direction which later led to a bicameral parliament to represent the English people and to assist the Crown in the government; the Petition of Right imposed upon Charles I in 1628 to protect the private citizens against acts of the Crown which were unauthorized by the Parliament; and the Bill of Rights drawn up and adopted by the Parliament to set forth to William and Mary in 1689 the powers of the British Parliament to limit the authority of the Crown. The outline of the British Constitution was complete with the adoption of the Bill of Rights. Since that time the government has changed as occasion has demanded, but the changes have in reality been restatements or elaboration of the fundamental principles laid down by the Bill of Rights.

With the passing of time the principles of the Bill of Rights have become more strongly embodied in the British government. The monarch has assumed less authority and the Parliament has gained power. The cabinet system has provided ministers with more and more power to act in place of, or in behalf of, the British monarch.

When the bicameral system was established in the Parliament, growing out of the Model Parliament brought together by Edward I, the higher clergy and the great barons drew together because of their common interests — both were owners of large estates — into the

[1] William Bennett Munro, *The Governments of Europe* (3d ed.), The Macmillan Co., New York, 1938, p. 15. Reprinted by permission.

House of Lords, and the elected representatives of the towns assembled as the House of Commons. Naturally the interests of the two governing bodies were different. Many conflicts arose between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, with the Lords holding the veto power over the Commons. As the right of suffrage was liberalized and more people were permitted to vote, the House of Commons came to be a body representing the British people in fact, as well as in name. The power of veto held by the House of Lords was a restraining bond that prevented the British electorate from having a real voice in the government. Finally, after years of disagreement between the House of Lords and the House of Commons, the Parliament Act was forced through the two houses in 1911. By this measure the House of Lords became a secondary body with only limited rights of veto.

2. THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS

The British Constitution is in many respects very different from that of the United States. The outstanding differences are the following: (1) In Britain, there is no legal distinction between a constitutional provision and an ordinary statute passed by the Parliament. Any law which the Parliament passes is constitutional and cannot be declared null and void by any other government agency. If the act is displeasing to the British public, it can be repealed by the action of a subsequent Parliament. (2) The British Constitution recognizes no separation of powers such as is emphasized in the government of the United States. The chief executive, the Prime Minister, is the head of the majority party in the Parliament and holds a seat in the lawmaking body, as do all of the cabinet officials. (3) There is no division of powers between the national and state governments as in the United States; consequently there are no limitations on the nature of the laws which the Parliament can pass. Actually the Parliament can legislate for any subject on which the majority of the membership may agree. (4) In Britain, all power is legally vested in the Crown. England began her political history as an absolute monarchy, in time became a constitutional or limited monarchy, and finally a crown republic; however, the British have never bothered to take the form of an absolute monarchy out of their constitution. The navy is His Majesty's navy, the government is His Majesty's government, and so on; and all members of the cabinet are advisers to the Crown, and all officers of government are servants of the Crown. In actuality the position of the King is far removed from

his theoretical place in government, and his power is infinitesimal in comparison with that of the President of the United States.

The British people love the pomp and ceremony associated with regal formality and are not bothered by the fact that the forms are relics of the medieval period, and that the King must assent to all laws passed by the Parliament. They, the people, know that the power rests very securely in their own hands.

3. COMPOSITION OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

The British Constitution is made up of the several charters, petitions, statutes, and other important constitutional provisions such as the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement (1701), the Act of Union with Scotland (1707), the Great Reform Act (1832), the Parliament Act (1911), the Irish Treaty (1921), the Statute of Westminster (1931), and the Government of India Act (1935). These acts and statutes constitute but a small portion of the Constitution. In the main they deal with grievances and problems peculiar to their particular times. The Parliament may change any or all of them at any session.

A second body of material embodied in the Constitution is the great number of statutes which have been passed by the Parliament during the history of the nation. The statutes relate to such subjects as suffrage, elections, powers and duties of public officials, the rights of citizens and other individuals, and the operation of the government. In a strict sense there is no legal difference between the general statutes and the great landmarks mentioned above.

A third part of the Constitution is made up of the decisions of the British courts. Although a court may not declare a law unconstitutional, it may by its decision on a question establish a precedent which has the force of a constitutional provision. In this respect the British Constitution is not unlike the American organic law.

A fourth portion of the Constitution is the common law of England. Many of the principles and rules of common law pertain to functions, powers, methods, and relationships of government. For example, the prerogatives of the Crown rest almost entirely on common law, as do the right of trial by jury in criminal cases and the rights of freedom of speech and of assembly.

The common law of England evolved from customs of people of the island as far back as the Saxon period. The common law was never

enacted by a legislative body or ordained by a king, but it had the royal authority behind it. The common-law system has been handed down to the modern period by a long line of jurists and legal commentators who have gathered up in books the significant rules of various periods. These jurists, the most famous of whom is Blackstone, who wrote *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, compiled the different rules, commented on them, cited cases on which they were based, and thus helped to systematize the law and to shape the lines of its future development.

A fifth part of the British Constitution contains certain political customs or usages, sometimes called conventions, which are scrupulously observed and which exert a great influence on the different branches of the government. These conventions, although they consist only of understandings, habits, or practices, regulate a large proportion of the activities of even the most important public authorities. It is by the conventions of the Constitution that the Parliament is convened at least once a year; that a ministry which has lost the confidence of the House of Commons retires from office, or holds a general election in the hope that the voters will sustain the ministry by electing a new parliament of men with views in support of those held by the cabinet.

B. *The Crown*

British government has evolved from an absolute monarchy to a crown republic. In the early days of English history the power of the King was virtually limitless. The first successful attempt to restrain the power of the King occurred when King John was forced to accept the Magna Carta. Since that time the political control by the King as a person has become extremely limited, but the power of the Crown as an institution is almost limitless. The Crown could, if it desired, make peace with Germany on any terms; it could turn the British fleet over to Germany, to the United States, or to any other country; and it could do any other act which a nation can perform. When one says that the powers of the Crown are so very great, it is very different from saying that the King of Britain possesses such authority. By the power of the Crown is meant the power of the representative government of Britain, that is, the King, together with his body of ministers. The King can act only in accordance with the advice of his ministers who are chosen from the majority party in the House of Commons, a body

elected to represent the people of Britain. The advice of the ministry to the King must be in accord with the wishes of the majority of the members of the House of Commons; otherwise the Parliament would reject it and the proposed act could not be carried out.

The King as a person inherits his position by virtue of being the eldest son of the preceding ruler. If there is no son, the eldest daughter of the monarch becomes the ruling queen of the country. During the past ten centuries England has had forty-seven kings and four queens as hereditary rulers of the nation. Each ruler has a large private income from an estate which the royal family of England has owned for many years. In addition to the private income the King has a yearly allowance granted by the Parliament from the treasury of the nation. The title borne by the British King is now as follows: George, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King; Emperor of India, Defender of the Faith.

1. THE CROWN AS THE EXECUTIVE

Although the King as an individual has lost power with the passing of time, the Crown has gained. With each new law which has broadened the scope of government, the power of the British Crown has increased.

The British Crown is the executive of the government; it sees to the enforcement of all national laws; appoints and commissions practically all higher executive and administrative officers, all judges, and the officers of the army, navy and air force; directs the administrative work of the nation; has unlimited power to remove officers (except judges); conducts the country's foreign relations; and wields power of pardon and reprieve within the limits of the law. The Crown of Britain has all the executive authority which the President as chief executive of the United States wields, and more.

2. THE CROWN'S PART IN LAWMAKING

The Crown has the right to convene the Parliament at any time, with the requirement that it must be called at least once a year. The Crown also has the right to adjourn or prorogue the Parliament at the end of its session.

At the opening of a session of the Parliament the King addresses the legislative body in a speech written by the Prime Minister. When bills are passed by the Parliament, the King authorizes a commission of

five men to go through the formality of assenting to the bills in the King's behalf. "The royal assent is now a picturesque formality and nothing more. The King does not even read the measures." [2] It makes no difference whether the King reads the bills passed by the Parliament or not, as he can neither secure passage of a bill by the legislative body nor prevent its passage.

Although the King has no power in the matter of legislation, a monarch who is popular with his cabinet may exert a great deal of influence in favor of or in opposition to an act of the Parliament by letting his own stand be known.

3. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KING TO BRITAIN

Americans often ask why the British keep a king when it is known that his powers, as an individual, in the government are very slight. Would it not be better to save the many thousand pounds paid out each year to maintain the royal establishment? The Britisher immediately counters with the question, whom or what would you put in his place? The American system could not be used without rebuilding the entire British form of government, and a government as old as that of England is not discarded lightly. The British people might substitute for their king such a president as existed in France before the German invasion of 1940, but if the new executive were to have only such powers as those possessed by the French president, why change an old established system for one very similar but not supported by national sentiment?

In reality the British King serves very valuable functions in the government and in the empire. The King is the recognized social head of the nation. He receives ambassadors and prominent visitors from foreign countries. Just as every country has its social leaders who set patterns of good taste, manners, and morals, in England the royal family inherits the tradition and position of social leadership. A system based on generations of social leadership and responsibility within one family functions better than a system wherein leadership changes as new figures arise and secure their recognition through economic power. At least the English people think so, for there is little disposition on their part to do away with their king.

The King, whose position is secure and above party politics, acts as an umpire between the opposing political parties to see that the game

[2] Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.

of politics is played according to the rules. Members of both parties hold the King in high regard and are usually willing to accept his rôle as peacemaker. Often the King exerts his influence to gain the passage of a measure through Parliament even against strong opposition in the legislative assembly. George V used his influence toward the settlement of the Irish question; and without the help of the King the power of the House of Lords could hardly have been curtailed.

The King is the bond which holds the British Empire together. The Parliament acts largely for the British Isles. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have their own parliaments, but they all recognize the King and give him their allegiance. As Prime Minister Baldwin reminded King Edward VIII when he was contemplating a marriage which was against the royal tradition, the King is "the last link of Empire that is left," since the dominions are all virtually independent nations.

The value of the King to his nation and to the Empire varies with the wisdom, the diplomacy, and the personality of the ruler. A popular monarch can exert great influence even though his actual power over the British government is very limited.

C. *The Cabinet and the Ministry*

The British cabinet is the most important single piece of mechanism in the national political structure. In one respect it is like the cabinet of the United States; that is, it has but slight constitutional basis for existence.[3] It is unlike the cabinet of the United States in that each cabinet member is a member of the Parliament and serves both as lawmaker and law administrator.

1. COMPOSITION OF THE CABINET

The British cabinet is the political body wielding the executive power of the nation. It is composed of leaders in the majority party of the Parliament, except in times of great stress or when there is in the Parliament no party with a majority; at these times a coalition cabinet is formed of members of the different parties, the greatest number being

[3] Gladstone once said: "The cabinet lives and acts simply by understanding, without a single line of written law or constitution to determine its relations to the Monarch, or to Parliament, or to the nation; or the relations of its members to one another, or to their head." In 1937 an act was passed which does specifically mention the cabinet and provides a schedule of salaries for the members. Cf. Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

from the most powerful party. At the head of the cabinet is the Prime Minister, appointed formally by the King. In reality the Monarch has no discretion in the appointment of the Prime Minister. He must appoint the man who is recognized as the strongest political leader — the recognized head of the strongest party — and one who can secure a following of a majority of the members of the Parliament.

When a Prime Minister is appointed, he immediately starts to form a cabinet to work with him by appointing members of the Parliament who agree with his political views and who can bring the support of the members of his parliamentary group. A cabinet member must be a member of the House of Commons or of the House of Lords. The number in the cabinet is variable because it has never been fixed by law. Prior to the First World War, there were twenty members; during that war, Prime Minister Lloyd George formed a "war cabinet" of five members for the sake of increased efficiency; between the First and Second World Wars about twenty members was customary most of the time. The cabinet officers are heads of particular branches of the government. The cabinet may include the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in charge of national finance; First Lord of the Admiralty, responsible for British naval affairs; eight secretaries of state, with responsibilities indicated by their titles, such as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the Home Department, for War, for Scotland, for the Dominions, for the Colonies, for India, and for Air; and other important department heads.

Sometimes a man who has been selected by the King to serve as Prime Minister and to form a cabinet, finds that he cannot select men from his own party who can command a majority vote of the Parliament. In that case he tries either to secure men from all parties who can win a vote of confidence, or he admits that he is unable to form a cabinet and gives way to another Prime Minister. In Britain a situation wherein the cabinet is out of harmony with the Parliament cannot exist. The moment a majority of Parliament fails to vote to support a major proposal of the cabinet, "the government falls";[4] that is, the Prime Minister and his cabinet resign and a new cabinet is formed.

2. THE MINISTRY

All members of the British cabinet are ministers, members of the ministry. Whereas the cabinet is seldom composed of more than twenty

[4] The fall of the government means that the Prime Minister and his ministry have lost the

members, the ministry has more than fifty — all of whom are members of the Parliament and hold important administrative posts which they must release when "the government falls." Ministers, like all cabinet members, are selected by the Prime Minister and are responsible to him for their acts. Parliamentary secretaries and heads of minor departments are also members of the ministry.

The functions of the ministry are individual rather than group; that is, the ministry does not act as a body; it does not meet as a unit to transact business, but each individual member has his own duties to perform in his particular branch of the government.

3. CABINET FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The functions of the cabinet are executive and legislative. Like the American executive department, it is responsible for the administration of the government. Through the various cabinet officials, acting as responsible heads of their different departments, the work of state is carried on. Although each man is individually responsible for the work of his department of government, he knows that the entire administration must take the responsibility for his acts. Consequently a cabinet official will hardly make important or vital decisions without the advice of the Prime Minister. Should a cabinet officer differ fundamentally with his leader, the Prime Minister, he has no alternative but to resign to make way for a new man who will act in accordance with the administration's wishes.

Although cabinet members act as individual heads of various departments of government, the cabinet also acts as a collective unit. Once a week, or more frequently if occasion demands, a meeting of the cabinet is held, usually at the Prime Minister's official residence, No. 10 Downing Street. At the cabinet meetings questions of general policy and matters of legislation are considered. Questions involving the operation of a particular department seldom come before the cabinet meeting for discussion. Such matters are decided upon by the individual heads of the department with the advice of the Prime Minister. Matters which are discussed by the cabinet in meeting are held in strict secrecy. The majority opinion of the cabinet members is not binding on the Prime Minister, but he will hesitate to take a step which is contrary to the wishes of his associates. An appearance of unanimity in the cabinet must be maintained if the policy of the government is to be carried out. For that reason a dissenting individual or group

must either reach a compromise, submit to the majority opinion, or resign so that the cabinet will not be divided.

The most important work of the cabinet in joint session is to plan the legislative program for each meeting of the Parliament. In the United States, the executive department does not introduce measures into the Congress; but, in England, important bills are usually introduced to the Parliament by a cabinet member and are pushed through the lawmaking body by the joint support of the ministry. Thus the British ministry serves an important lawmaking function. Bills drafted by the cabinet must be ratified or approved by the Parliament. Should the Parliament refuse to pass an important measure submitted by the cabinet, there are but two alternatives open to the Prime Minister. He and his ministry must resign or he must call on the King to dissolve the Parliament and call for a general election to select a new Parliament. If the new Parliament approves the measure of the cabinet, the government has won the support of the people and the Prime Minister and his cabinet remain in power; otherwise, he and his entire ministry resign. Under the British system the Prime Minister can secure a tangible expression of approval or disapproval of the voters whenever the need arises.

D. *The British Parliament*

The Parliament consists of two bodies, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. This legislative assembly meets once each year, and in special session at the call of the Prime Minister in the name of the King. The Parliament meets in the Palace of Westminster, the largest Gothic structure in the world, covering an area of nine acres.

The British Parliament has greater power than the Congress of the United States, for there is no constitution to limit its political acts and no executive head to veto its measures. The Parliament controls the finances of the nation, fixes the jurisdiction of the courts, controls the action of the Crown; in short, its powers are unlimited in national and local affairs. Under the British government there are no powers reserved to states as in the United States.

1. THE HOUSE OF LORDS

When one speaks of the great powers of the Parliament, he means, in reality, the House of Commons. The House of Lords, although it

is first, in the sense that it is older than the House of Commons, has lost its powers to such an extent that it is sometimes referred to as "an anachronism in a democratic state." Although the House of Lords has lost importance in the government, it still serves many useful functions.

a. *Membership in the House of Lords.* The House of Lords has about 750 members, the majority of whom (over 600) are hereditary peers of the United Kingdom; a few are princes of the royal blood who seldom attend meetings and do not take part in debate or vote; twenty-four are bishops of the Church of England; fifteen are representatives of the declining Irish peerage; and seven are law lords — distinguished jurists of the British Empire.

The oldest son of a British peer who is a member of the House of Lords inherits his father's peerage and his seat in the House of Lords. An heir to a peerage may not resign, although many peers do not actually attend any session of Parliament.

The King can create new peers if he so desires and he frequently honors distinguished men by offering them a peerage. The King, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister, sometimes uses his power to create new peers to secure the passage of a bill through the House of Lords.

b. *Powers and functions of the House of Lords.* The House of Lords has certain powers which it does not share with the House of Commons. First, it is the supreme court of appeal for hearing certain civil and criminal cases; second, it hears and tries impeachments brought by the House of Commons.

The House of Lords may not originate a financial measure nor may it amend or veto such a bill passed by the House of Commons. The House of Lords can only go through the form of passing any measure pertaining to financial subjects. All other bills may be introduced into the House of Lords, but few public measures actually start their legislative course in the upper chamber. The power of the House of Lords to veto an act passed by the House of Commons was restricted in 1911 so that any measure passed without amendment in three successive sessions of the lower house becomes a law without approval of the Lords.

2. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Many people of Britain have advocated abolition of the House of Lords since in reality the essential lawmaking functions rest in the House of Commons.

a. *Membership of the House of Commons.* The House of Commons contains members elected from parliamentary districts as follows: England, 492; Wales, 36; Scotland, 74; North Ireland, 13; and 12 individuals selected to represent the great universities of the Kingdom. Unlike the representation in the United States congressional districts, members in the House of Commons are not elected on a proportional basis. Parliamentary districts are strictly geographical divisions with little consideration of the population living within the area. This method of allocating members makes possible a condition which could not exist in America; for example, in 1925 the Baldwin government had a majority in the House of Commons of over two hundred members, while at the same time that administration had a popular minority of nearly three million voters.

b. *Organization.* The Prime Minister is the recognized leader of the House of Commons; he acts to defend the measures of his government and to secure the passage of legislation which he desires. The presiding officer is the Speaker, who acts as chairman when the chamber is in session. He is nonpartisan in his actions, much as the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. A government may fall and a new party take over the reins without changing the Speaker of the House of Commons. His position is often indefinite in tenure. When he desires to retire, he is pensioned and is often made a peer.

The House of Commons is organized into committees, as is the American House of Representatives, for the transaction of the great mass of business which regularly comes before that body.[5]

E. *Elections and Political Parties*

England is the home of political parties, that is, groups of persons organized to promote, by means other than war, the conceptions of government policy held by the members. For more than five hundred years England has had its political parties — Lancastrians and Yorkists, Cavaliers and Roundheads, Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives. Political parties acting in opposition to one another seem to be an essential part of a government wherein the wishes of the populace or the electorate are given consideration.

[5] In the United States much of the lawmaking is taken off the shoulders of Congress by state legislatures. In England all measures come before Parliament since there are no divisions of the nation which can relieve the Parliament to any extent.

1. PARTY COMPOSITION

Today there are three major parties in British politics, the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Labour Party. The Conservatives are for the most part drawn from the upper social strata of the kingdom; that is, the nobility, the landowners, the clergy of the established church, and the upper classes of English society in general. The Liberals draw their strength chiefly from the middle class and from well-to-do industrialists. The Labour Party is composed principally of the trade-union membership and the socialists of the nation.

2. PARTY ORGANIZATION

Each political party has a national organization with a central office under the direction of a national chairman, a principal agent, a director of publicity, and other salaried officers. An interesting feature of British parties is the annual conference or assembly held in some large city. Here the delegates draw up statements of principles on governmental affairs — resembling the American party platform — make speeches to maintain the interest of party members, and elect certain party officials and committees.

Beside the national organization the political parties have local organizations in the cities, small towns, and rural areas. The local organizations send delegates to the parliamentary election district in proportion to the population of the local community.

3. ELECTING A MEMBER TO PARLIAMENT

Unlike the United States, Great Britain has no fixed time at which elections must be held. There is a general provision that a period longer than five years may not pass without an election of members to the House of Commons.

When an election is held, the parties present their candidate or candidates (in districts entitled to more than one member in the House of Commons) who have been selected in the district association (called in the United States a party caucus) of the representatives of local party organizations. There is no provision for direct primaries to nominate officeholders. As a general practice the incumbent is selected by his party to stand for re-election and the opposition parties usually renominate the individuals who opposed the officeholder in the previous election.

In the United Kingdom a plurality vote is all that is required for

election; that is, an individual must receive more votes than any other candidate. In case there is but one candidate for a seat in the House of Commons, no election is held. All citizens over twenty-one years of age are eligible to vote in British elections.

F. *British Courts*

Although in the United States all courts may at one time try a civil case and at another time try a criminal charge, in Britain separate courts usually try the different types of cases. A civil case is brought by a private citizen against a citizen, a corporation, or even against the government wherein the claims can be settled by money or property damages. In a criminal case the government aims to impose punishment for a crime.

1. CRIMINAL COURTS

Petty crimes, those involving minor offenses, are usually tried before justices of the peace, of whom there are about twenty thousand in England and Wales. The justice of the peace cannot impose a greater penalty than a fine of twenty shillings or send the accused to jail for longer than fourteen days. If the case is more serious, the justice of the peace hears the evidence, without a jury, to see if the case is sufficiently strong to warrant trial. He may, on the basis of the testimony, release the accused or commit him for trial before the court of "petty sessions." The trial is public and without a jury. If the accused is convicted, he may receive a fine or a limited period of imprisonment. If he appeals, his case is considered in the "quarter sessions."

In still more serious cases the accused is formally "indicted" or charged of a crime in writing. These cases are tried before either the "quarter sessions" or the "assizes." The assizes are held periodically in all parts of the country and are presided over by judges of the high court of justice, who go on a judicial circuit to try cases. At these trials the accused are entitled to trial by a jury of twelve men. The judge in each criminal trial is expected to preside to see that the rules of procedure and of evidence are followed. The accused is represented by an attorney who presents the evidence in favor of his client. The attorneys in addressing the jury after the presentation of the case make no appeal to the jury to convict or to free the accused; rather, the evidence in the case is reviewed and stressed. At the close of the trial

the judge reviews the case and instructs the jury as he deems necessary on points of law.

A person convicted in the courts may appeal to the court of criminal appeal on questions of law or on questions of fact to determine if the verdict of the jury was justified by the evidence. On very rare occasions a criminal case may be appealed from the court of criminal appeal to the House of Lords.

2. CIVIL CASES

Where civil cases start depends largely upon the amount of the claim involved. Suits involving relatively small sums of money are usually instituted in county courts. County courts have no connection with counties as they are designated in the United States. There are about five hundred county court districts with their own courthouses. In cases involving more than five pounds either party to the suit may demand a jury (this jury consists of eight persons). Appeal from decisions of the county courts may be taken, on points of law, to the "divisional sitting" of the high court of justice.

A case that is not tried in the county court may go before a branch of the high court of justice.[6] Appeal from one of these divisions goes to the court of appeal. From the court of appeal a case may in rare instances go to the House of Lords.

3. SUMMARY OF BRITISH COURTS

The House of Lords as the supreme court of England consists of the Lord Chancellor and six law lords. Below the House of Lords there are, for criminal prosecution, the court of criminal appeal, the assizes, the quarter sessions, and justice of the peace courts. For civil procedure, there are the court of appeal; the high court with three branches, that is, the Chancery, the King's Bench, and the division of Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty; and the county courts.

The British judicial system deserves respect at home and abroad for fairness, sureness, stability, dignity, and speed. The judges are appointed for life by the Crown on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor. The compensation of the judges is high enough to secure men of ability, and the security of tenure relieves them from the necessity of "playing politics." Not only the judges but the other court

[6] There are three branches of this court: the Chancery division, the King's Bench division, and the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty division.

officials such as sheriffs and clerks are appointed. In British court procedure, technicalities which have no important bearing on the case are not allowed to interfere with decisions — a condition too often true in the United States.

G. *Summary of British Government*

The British government is a democratic adaptation of an old aristocracy; many of the outmoded forms of the aristocracy are retained but exercise little power in governmental action. The British Monarch and the House of Lords are examples of governmental organs which have been deprived of a great deal of their power. Unlike that of the United States, the British Constitution is not a written document. Rather, it is a body of rules, customs, statutes, common law, and political usages. Any law passed by the Parliament is constitutional and becomes in fact a part of the Constitution.

In Britain there is no division of the legislative and executive branches of government as is characteristic of American political organization. The cabinet holds the executive power in the nation and at the same time controls a majority of the legislative branch.

One important difference between the House of Commons in Britain and the House of Representatives of the United States is as follows: although the members of the latter group are elected from congressional districts with representation based on the population of the state areas, and each member of the House of Representatives by custom must live in the congressional district from which he is elected, in the House of Commons, parliamentary districts are based on area solely, and a man living in one area may be, and frequently is, elected to represent another district.

Political parties are very old in Britain. For the greater part of her history there have been two parties, but at present there are three major ones — the Conservatives, the Liberals, and Labourites. Each party has a national organization and many local clubs. An annual convention is held for each party.

The British judiciary has gained the respect and admiration of the people of the world for its fairness, sureness, speed, and dignity.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what ways does the British Constitution differ from the Constitution of the United States?
2. What individuals or groups of persons constitute the British Crown? What are its powers?
3. Do you agree that the British King is an obsolete institution which should be abolished? Explain.
4. Compare the British cabinet with that of the United States. Wherein are the two organizations different? Similar?
5. Compare the British Parliament with the American Congress. Wherein are they different? Alike?
6. What political parties are found in England?
7. Describe the British judicial system.
8. What particular characteristic of the British courts has tended to give them "respect at home and abroad"?

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CHAPTER 33

A Socialist State: The U.S.S.R.

THERE ARE MANY significant similarities between the Soviet Union and the United States. Both nations, as they are constituted, grew out of revolution, followed by evolutionary processes. While the period of evolution in the United States has extended for more than a hundred and fifty years, that of the Soviet Union has been relatively short, less than thirty years. As the evolutionary period grows longer, the Soviet Union may become more like the present government of the United States. Both countries were originally agricultural in nature and interest. The United States, however, has become a highly industrialized nation; the Soviet Union is making great strides in the direction of industrialization. Both countries are federal states; both countries have national legislative bodies, with two houses or chambers. Both countries have written constitutions which are designed to be the basic laws of the land.

There are likewise many differences. In the United States, members of Congress may attack one another, the President, the courts, individuals, and institutions, private or public, which they feel inclined to oppose, with relative freedom and safety (for a congressman cannot be held accountable for anything he says in debate); newspapers are given freedom to print facts or fancy, to attack the government or to defend its policies; citizens are permitted to meet in public gatherings to denounce or to approve actions proposed by Congress or the President; labor unions may call strikes of their members, even when the workers are employed on projects vital to the national safety; political campaigns are waged, even in a critical stage of war; individuals may buy and sell property for personal profit, own and operate industrial plants for financial gain, and otherwise transact capitalistic enterprises with the approval and protection of the government.

In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the other hand, legislation is largely under the control and direction of one dominant party — the Communist Party; legislators often do little more than approve or

ratify the programs initiated and sponsored by the party; newspapers are under the control of the government; all gatherings of citizens, and all public meetings are controlled by the party, which in turn controls the government; there are no political parties representing divergent points of view, but only one party, the Communist Party; labor unions are encouraged, but they may not call a strike, for to do so would be to oppose the government of which the labor union members constitute an important part; no political campaigns are conducted, for there is only one party to nominate men for office; private ownership of industry and other means of production is practically abolished.

Between them, the United States and the Soviet Union control the greatest aggregation of power and resources in the history of the globe. The degree to which mutual understanding between their governments and their peoples can be created will measure to an important extent the probability of future world peace.

1. WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION?

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the largest country in the world; its area extends across the northern part of Asia, from the North Pacific Ocean on the east to the Gulf of Finland in northern Europe on the west. The nation not only embraces all northern Asia, but the eastern half of Europe as well. Comprising one-sixth of the earth's land surface in territory, the Soviet Union has a population slightly in excess of one hundred and ninety million, or some fifty million more than that of the United States.

The population of the Soviet Union is composed of many different nationalities, races, and language groups living within sixteen constituent republics.[1] The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the largest and most important of the federated republics, comprises an area of about three-fourths of that of the Soviet Union and contains about two-thirds of the entire population of the nation.

Each of the sixteen republics possesses its own constitution, legislative and executive organs, courts, budgets, and party organization. Each republic is subject to the authority of the Soviet Union only so far as the Union Constitution provides. Actually, however, instead of a rather loosely knit federation of independent republics, one finds in the

[1] Incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Karelia into the Soviet Union took place in 1940.

Soviet Union one of the most highly centralized governments in the world.

2. THE COMMUNIST DOCTRINE

The philosophy underlying the communist state is based principally upon the teachings of Karl Marx (1818–1883), who held that the capitalist state is an instrument of the exploiters to keep the exploited under control and subjection. The "exploiters" are all persons who receive a profit from the productive activities of others. The "exploited" are those who work for others for wages or salaries. Thus, according to Karl Marx, the state has its origin and owes its being to the existence of social classes. If social classes are destroyed, there will be no longer any need for the state. Social classes, under the capitalistic system, are the product of economic inequalities which exist through the private ownership of the means of production.

One cannot expect the capitalists who run the state for their own protection to give up voluntarily the position of power and influence they hold. For that reason, argues Marx, it is necessary for the proletariat — the workers — to rise up and take over the state by revolution, and to establish a government by the workers which will create a classless society. When the classless society has been developed, there will be no further need for the state, and it will "wither away" to make room for a communist commonwealth. In other words, the dictatorship of the capitalists will be succeeded by a dictatorship of the proletariat which will "wither away," and which will give all men the opportunity to enjoy real freedom.

In order to evolve into the communist commonwealth, two stages of development must be followed. The first is the nationalization of all means of production, and, consequently, the termination of the exploitation of workers by employers. Private ownership of property, except that which is used as means of production, such as factories, railways, farms, and the like, will be retained. Everyone must work. "He who does not work does not eat" is a maxim applicable to the socialist system. Individual earnings will be based on the principle of "for an equal amount of labor, an equal amount of the produce." The state will continue to exist during the first stage of the transition to communism in order to protect the rights of private property in goods other than productive agencies. The second state is known as *integral communism*. This stage will be characterized by the disappearance of an-

tagonism between mental and physical labor, by the many-sided development of the individual, by the expansion of the productive forces, and by the increase of social wealth. When this stage of development is reached, the ideal of integral communism, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" will be attained. Then the state will wither away, and mankind will be truly free.

3. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

No one can understand the Soviet system of government without first taking into account the Communist Party. In the Soviet Union there is but one political party and that party is responsible for and directs the government of the nation.

a. *Party membership.* Although the population of the Soviet Union is estimated to be more than one hundred and ninety million persons, the membership of the Communist Party numbers less than five million (in 1944 the membership was 4,600,000).[2] Membership in the party is strictly curtailed, so that only men and women who have a record of adherence to the party standards are considered for membership. To be admitted to membership in the party, a candidate must have recommendations from at least three members of three years' standing who have known the applicant for at least one year as a co-worker. Admission of new members must be approved, not only by his local group, "primary party organ," but by the party committee of the country or city as well. The new member is approved for full membership when he signifies that he will submit to party discipline and to all other requirements of the party charter. It is not required that the new members understand the party program, as the process of education can be carried on after admission to membership. Prior to 1939, it was more difficult for individuals to gain membership in the party. From one to five years of probation were required before full membership could be attained.

The party members have certain rights which they enjoy. They may: (1) criticize any party members at party gatherings; (2) vote at party elections and hold party offices; (3) defend themselves when their own conduct is investigated; (4) ask for information or make representations to any party agency. These rights were defined in the amendment of the Communist Party Charter in 1939 to protect the individual

[2] Cf. B. Moore, Jr. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union: 1928–1944," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 267–278, June, 1944.

members against unjust and unwarranted action by the bureaus and by party bosses. Party members have certain distinct advantages over non-members. They have a priority over non-members in regard to employment, and they have first claim to the services of hospitals and rest-homes. Members also have greater opportunities for promotion. The most important public offices are usually held by party members, and all public officeholders must be approved by the party.

The duties and obligations of party members are rather heavy and exacting. All members are required: (1) to pay an initiation fee and to pay dues, which may be as much as three per cent of the members' income, for the support of the party — additional assessments may also be made; (2) to accept without question the party policy and action; (3) to observe strict party discipline; (4) to take an active part in the political life of the party and of the country; (5) to work diligently to understand all the party rules and policies, and to help instruct other members and non-party groups; (6) to work diligently to improve their production and work qualifications; and (7) to refrain from all trade or other lucrative occupations.

A party member may resign at any time, or he may be expelled for laxity in attending party meetings, for failure to carry out party obligations, for criticizing any of the party principles or its leaders publicly, for failure to pay the dues, for abuse of office or authority, for participation in religious services, for habitual drunkenness, and for behavior tending to discredit the régime.

b. *Party organization.* At the bottom of the party organization, and basic to it, is the "primary party organ," or "cell," as it was formerly called. The primary party organ may be formed in any factory, village store, office, collective farm, or Red Army unit — wherever there are as many as three members of the Communist Party to organize the unit. The duties of the primary party organs are to work to strengthen the loyalty of party members, to spread favorable political information among the non-members, to strengthen labor discipline among all workers, to strive to strengthen and improve the position of labor, and to participate actively in the economic and political affairs of the country.

(1) *All-Union Congress.* Above the primary party organs stand the higher party organs. Each town and county has its party organ or committee whose members are chosen by primary party organs of the areas served. The committees for each town and county are expected to meet at least once a year. Above the town and county party organs

are the organizations for the major territorial subdivisions of the Soviet Union. The representatives to the higher party organs or congresses of the various republics are selected by the committees of the towns and counties. At the top of the pyramid is the All-Party Congress for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Members of the All-Union Congress are selected by the major subdivisions of the Soviet Union.

The All-Union Congress has supreme authority over all actions of the party. It is supposed to meet every three years, but its meetings have been irregular. Since the All-Union Congress has representatives from all the republics of the Soviet Union, it has a very large membership totaling around two thousand individuals. Such a large body of persons is too cumbersome to accomplish much work. Therefore, a smaller group of seventy members of the party organization, known as the Central Committee, is selected by secret ballot by the All-Union Congress to exercise supreme powers when the larger organization is not in session.

Although the Central Committee exercises a great deal of power and influence, one must look still farther for the ultimate seat of power. One comes closer to the real fountainhead of power in the three committees whose members are appointed by the Central Committee: (1) the Secretariat of four members, headed by Joseph Stalin as Secretary-General of the Communist Party; (2) the Political Bureau (*Politbureau*) of ten members, one of whom is Stalin; and (3) the Organization Bureau (*Orgbureau*), also of ten members, one of whom is Stalin. In actual practice, the members of the three all-important committees are named by Stalin, and are approved by the Central Committee. In these committees, with their interlocking directorates, the decisions are made which have the effect of governing not only the Communist Party, but the Soviet Union as well. It is from these party connections that Joseph Stalin draws the powers which make him in effect the most powerful individual in the Soviet Union, and one of the most powerful rulers in the world.

(2) *Young people's organizations.* The Communist Party in the Soviet Union recognizes the value and need of training the youth in the doctrines of the party, and has developed organizations to accomplish that objective. Young men and young women are encouraged to join an organization of Communist Youth or *Komsomol.* The Komsomol is organized along lines similar to those of the Communist Party, except that it has almost twice as many primary organs as the Communist Party, and a membership about twice that of the adult party.

Members of the Komsomol range in age from fifteen to thirty years. During their membership the young people are subject to rather strict discipline — not so strict, however, as that required of the adult members — and are instructed in the ideals and policies of the Communist Party. The purpose of the organization is primarily to prepare young people for membership in the Communist Party. Although it is not expected that all members of the Komsomol will pass into the ranks of the party, it is hoped that the time will come when all party members will be drawn from the youths' organizations.

Younger boys and girls between the ages of eight to ten and ten to sixteen, respectively, may join the Octobrists and the Pioneers. Membership in these organizations is open to all children of the Soviet Union of proper age. The purposes of these two organizations are to provide training, under the tutelage of members of the Komsomol, in communistic principles, in the formation of habits of "socially useful labor," and in military drill and discipline.

4. GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION

Although the party is the seat of the real power and authority in the Soviet Union, there exists a rather complex system of government through which it functions.

a. *The Constitution of 1936.* In theory, the Soviet Union is governed under a constitution formulated in 1935 by a commission of thirty-one members, under the chairmanship of Joseph Stalin. The new constitution was unanimously ratified by the All-Union Congress called into special session for the purpose of considering and approving it. According to this constitution, the Soviet Union consists of eleven constituent republics,[3] each of which has the expressed right to secede from the Union, if it desires to do so.[4]

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federation of constituent republics, each of which has its own constitution and structure of government, patterned after that of the Soviet Union. Each republic is free to make its own laws and to administer them, subject to the Union government only in so far as the constitution of the federal government prescribes. However, when one examines the constitution of 1936 for the powers and responsibilities of the Union government, he finds that

[3] The number has since been increased to sixteen.

[4] Although each republic is given the right to secede, the right to advocate secession is not given, and anyone who might advocate such action could be declared guilty of "counter-revolution."

the chief right remaining to the republics is the right to maintain, without interference from above, the language and other cultural diversities characteristic of the people of the subdivision.

The Union government has authority over foreign affairs; the acceptance of new republics into the federation; confirmation of changes of boundaries between the constituent republics, and of the formation of new territories, provinces, and autonomous republics within the constituent republics; organization of national defense and domestic security (the police organization is under Union control); regulation of foreign trade; establishment of economic plans for the Union, approval of the federal budget and the taxes and revenues which are apportioned between the federal, republican, and local budgets; administration of banks and of industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises of All-Union significance; administration of transportation and communication; control of money, credit, and insurance, including various forms of social insurance; involvement of constituent republics and their subdivisions in debt; establishment of "fundamental principles" for land use and for the exploitation of natural resources; establishment and regulation of educational and health institutions; determination of "fundamental principles" of labor legislation; establishment of civil and criminal codes, and the organization of the judiciary; enactment of legislation concerning the rights of citizenship and the position of foreigners. Any provision in the constitution or any law of a republic which is at variance with the constitution of the Soviet Union is nullified by the Union instrument.

b. *Legislation.* Legislative power is vested in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., whose members are elected for a period of four years. The Supreme Soviet is a bicameral congress which consists of the Council (Soviet) of the Union and the Council (Soviet) of Nationalities. Members of both bodies are elected by direct popular vote, but on different bases. Members of the Council of the Union are selected on the basis of one member to represent about three hundred thousand population. Members of the Council of Nationalities are selected on the basis of representation of the constituent republics, and of their subdivisions. Each republic is entitled to twenty-five members on the Council of Nationalities.

In order for a bill to become a law, it must be approved by both houses. There is no such distinction between the two houses as exists in the United States and England; any kind of measure may begin its

legislative course in either house. A majority of the two houses can enact a law, and by a two-thirds vote, the constitution can be amended. The Supreme Soviet meets regularly twice a year, and may be called into special session.

As an important legislative and administrative organ of the government, the Supreme Soviet appoints forty-two of its members [5] to serve as a standing committee, known as the *Presidium*. Although the Presidium is a standing committee of the Supreme Soviet, and serves for the parent organ during the periods that it is not in session, its functions are more administrative than legislative. The Presidium cannot make laws. That power is reserved to the Supreme Soviet. It has power to convene the Supreme Soviet in session twice a year, and to dissolve it in case of the failure of the chambers to reach an agreement on a question. It interprets the existing laws and issues decrees; arranges for new elections; holds referendums on its own initiative, or on the suggestion of one of the constituent republics; revokes the decisions and orders of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union, and of the constituent republics, if they violate the law; bestows decorations and honorary titles; pardons criminals and those charged with offenses against the government; appoints and may recall the nation's diplomatic representatives, and members of high command in the armed forces; ratifies or denounces international treaties; orders mobilization of the army; declares war; receives the credentials and letters of recall of foreign representatives. In many instances, the Presidium exercises the powers listed above only when the Supreme Soviet is not in session. When the Presidium does take action, it is later ratified by the Supreme Soviet.

c. *Executive.* The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. designed by the constitution as the "supreme executive and administrative organ of the state power," is appointed in a joint session of the Supreme Soviet. The members are selected for appointment by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. Members of the Council function collectively very much like a cabinet, and individually as cabinet ministers.

There are two kinds of People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. First, there are the *All-Union People's Commissariats* which operate throughout the entire territory of the Soviet Union, exactly as in any unitary government. The All-Union People's Commissariats function

[5] In practice, the selection of members of the Presidium is little more than the ratification or approval of selections made by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

in such fields as national defense, foreign affairs, foreign trade, railways, water transportation, communication, heavy industry, and defense industry. Then there are the *Union-Republic People's Commissariats*, which operate in fields in which the constituent republics share authority with the Union government and have appropriate commissariats of their own. Such commissariats or departments are food industry, light industry, timber industry, agriculture, state grain and livestock farms; finance, domestic trade, home affairs, justice, and health.[6]

In addition to the People's Commissariats established in the Soviet Union, there are committees and other organs established for special purposes. The most important or prominent of the special organs are a State Planning Commission, which is in charge of the entire program of economic planning and social reconstruction; a Soviet Control Commission, which is expected to see that all decrees and orders are properly executed; and committees on Higher Education, Art, and Purchasing Agricultural Products.

As one can see from the account just given, there is no complete separation of legislative and executive functions, as is found in the United States. The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics has no president or nominal executive. The Council of People's Commissars has a president or presiding officer, but he is not a dominant figure in the Soviet Union.

d. *Republican and local government.* The structure of the government of the Soviet Union is duplicated in each of the constituent republics. The highest legislative body in each republic is its Supreme Soviet, composed of members elected by popular vote for a period of four years. The Supreme Soviet of the constituent republics is a unicameral body. It selects its Presidium and its Council of People's Commissars as the supreme executive body within the republic. Under the authority of the federal constitution of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, and the Council of People's Commissars of each republic enjoy powers within their jurisdiction, similar to corresponding federal organs. One must keep in mind, however, that the limitations on the powers of organs of the constituent republics are many and far-reaching.

[6] Instead of the "state withering away," as was predicted by Karl Marx following the dictatorship of the proletariat, one finds that the number of commissariats or departments is constantly increasing as greater specialization is sought. In 1939 the Commissariat of Defense Industry was divided into four separate People's Commissariats — aviation, shipbuilding, munitions, and armaments. Furthermore, a great many more subdivisions have been made and new commissariats established. The state, instead of "withering away," seems to be thriving lustily and its many branches or commissariats are multiplying.

Within each constituent republic there are smaller subdivisions, such as autonomous republics, territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, and counties. Each autonomous republic has its constitution; its Supreme Soviet, whose members are elected for four years; a Presidium; and a Council of People's Commissars. The powers of the government organs of the autonomous republics are similar to the larger governmental organs, but their sphere of action is limited.

The administration of territories, provinces, autonomous provinces, regions, counties, cities, and rural areas is performed by soviets, whose members are elected by the populations of the areas for terms of two years. Each soviet elects from among its own members an executive committee, consisting of a chairman, a vice-chairman, and secretaries. All administrative and executive functions of the subdivisions, ranging from a rural area to a territory, are entrusted to the soviets. Local soviets are not only responsible for local affairs, but are also responsible for carrying out orders and laws coming down from higher governing units.

e. *The judiciary.* The highest official in the judicial system of the Soviet Union is the Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., appointed for a term of seven years by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Attorney General has as his chief function the enforcement of the law by administrative departments and by individuals as well. His business is to investigate cases of suspected graft, sabotage, misuse of public funds and property, crimes against the socialist order, and to prosecute offenders before the appropriate courts. The power of the Attorney General extends directly to cases involving serious crimes against the Soviet Union, and indirectly to the most insignificant case tried before a court of lowest order, for the Attorney General appoints state attorneys for the constituent republics and their subdivisions, down to the local district and urban areas. District attorneys for the local areas are appointed by the state attorney of the area, subject to the approval of the Attorney General. Thus, in so far as this branch of the judiciary is concerned, there is no degree of local responsibility for the prosecution of crime.

In the Soviet Union, the judiciary is not regarded as a separate branch of the government as it is in the United States and in Britain; it, like any other commissariat, is looked upon as a part of the regular administration of the government.

The courts of the Soviet Union are with but one exception — the

U.S.S.R. Supreme Court — state rather than federal. The court systems of the constituent republics are all alike; the only difference found in court procedure is that the language used in the respective courts is that of the local people. Although courts serve to protect individuals against one another, they do not protect them against the state; according to the Soviet idea of government, such protection is unnecessary.

The Law of 1938 set forth certain definite principles which govern the judiciary. These are the equality of all citizens before the law; the uniformity of criminal and civil procedure; the independence of judges, who are subject only to the laws; the use of local language in all courts; the rights of defendants to legal defense, except in certain specified cases; the publicity of court procedure, except in certain specified cases; the elective character of the judges.

Each court of the Soviet Union is presided over by a judge and two "people's assessors" or associate justices.[7] The judges are elected to serve terms of from three to five years, but the people's assessors are not required to serve for longer than ten days a year, unless the particular case on which they are serving extends beyond the ten-day period. There are no jury trials in the Soviet Union as in the United States and Britain; the judge and his two associates render the decision. All citizens of the Soviet Union entitled to vote are eligible to be elected judges; no educational or legal training is required. The compensation of assessors during their period of service equals that which they regularly earn in their usual employment. It is now specified by a decree of the People's Commissar for Justice that the remuneration of assessors shall not be less than that of the judges.

(1) *The people's courts.* At the bottom of the judicial system in the Soviet Union are the people's courts, which handle more than seventy per cent of all cases. Each district of each republic has such a court. In them, the judges and assessors are elected for terms of three years by secret ballot of the citizens of the district, from a list of names presented by the local soviets. The people's courts try both civil and criminal cases. Among the criminal cases which come under the jurisdiction of these courts are murder, rape, assault, robbery, theft, neglect of duty or abuse of power by officials, failure to perform obligations required by the state, and minor offenses. The civil cases tried in these courts include actions involving property rights and violations of labor regula-

[7] In a few specified cases the law requires that the "judicial college" must consist of three judges, instead of a judge and two assessors.

tions. In trials before the people's courts and in higher courts, the judges and assessors are expected to question the accused and witnesses in order to bring out whatever evidence is to be obtained from the person questioned.

(2) *Regional courts.* Above the people's courts are the territorial, provincial, and regional courts. The judges, who serve for five-year terms, are elected by the councils or soviets of the particular subdivisions served. These courts try cases on appeal from the people's courts and have original jurisdiction over such offenses against the government as "counter-revolution" and misconduct on the part of public officials. The trial of serious crimes is also within the jurisdiction of the regional courts.

(3) *Supreme courts of the republics.* Each republic has its own supreme court. It is presided over by a judge, selected for a five-year term by the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Judges of the courts must have served as judges in lower courts prior to assuming the higher rôle. Supreme courts try cases on appeal from the regional courts and other cases of exceptional importance which may be brought before them by the public prosecutor. Charges against high government officials, in any of the constituent republics, are brought to trial in these courts.

(4) *Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R.* At the very apex of the judicial system is the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Judges in this court are chosen for five years by the Supreme Soviet, in joint session of both houses. The number of judges and assessors of the Union Supreme Court is not expressly defined by law. In 1938, there were forty-five judges and thirty assessors in this court. The judges sit in three sections: civil, criminal, and military. Each section tries cases within its scope — appeals from the supreme courts of the constituent republics, disputes between republics, and cases against officials of the Soviet Union. The Supreme Court may be called upon to render advisory opinions on the constitutionality of laws and decrees, but it may not declare any law of the Soviet Union unconstitutional.

When the supreme courts, either of the Soviet Union or of the constituent republics, act as courts of appeal, the "judicial college" consists of three judges, instead of one judge and two assessors.

(5) *Special courts.* In addition to the three classes of courts mentioned above, there are three "special" courts, military, railway transportation, and water transportation. The judges of the special courts are selected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for five-year terms,

while the assessors are selected by the soviets of the republics and their subdivisions. Military courts, as the name implies, deal primarily with military offenses; the other two special courts deal with crimes against normal working of transportation and labor discipline.

f. *Suffrage and elections.* All citizens of the Soviet Union who have reached the age of eighteen years, without regard to sex, race, nationality, religion, educational qualifications, residence, social origin, property status, or previous political activities, are eligible to vote. The only persons disfranchised are the insane, and those who have been found guilty of crimes which serve to disfranchise them. The citizens vote by secret ballot, and every eligible citizen has one and only one vote. Great interest is taken in the elections, and often a high percentage of the qualified voters in a district cast their ballots. In 1931, before the franchise was extended to all citizens, out of eighty-four million qualified voters some sixty million cast their ballots.[8] Candidates for election to soviets, on all levels, are nominated by groups of voters in factories, plants, precincts, or other units. Some candidates simply announce themselves. The list of nominees for public office must be approved by the primary organ of the Communist Party for the local area. A majority of the voters can recall as well as elect an official serving in the Soviet Union.

5. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION UNDER THE SOVIET UNION

The basic concept upon which the Soviet Union was formed is that a capitalistic society is one in which a small number of entrepreneurs or capitalists profit at the expense of the great mass of producers. In order to free the masses from their plight under the capitalistic system, the government, acting for the workers, must take over the agents of production and operate them in such a way that no one group will receive the fruits of the labor of others, but that all people within the country will share in the rewards of productive labor. In a country operating under a program such as that of the Soviet Union, the economic system is inseparable from the governmental system. The two systems become in a large measure one operation or series of operations, designed to regulate and control the economic forces and activities as well as the political and governmental.

It is interesting to note that the first great country to attempt to put

[8] Frederic A. Ogg, *European Governments and Politics* (second edition), The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939, p. 899.

into operation on a national scale the philosophy of communism, which is primarily designed to correct the inequalities and evils of the modern industrial system, is a nation which has always been rural. In the last century, Russia had but few factories, and a very small proportion of its populations followed industrial pursuits or were skilled in such activities. The Russians and all inhabitants of the Soviet Union have been throughout the ages — and still are to a great extent — engaged in agriculture. The Communist Party has tried to transform a strictly agricultural nation and a farming population into one of the great industrial powers of the world in a very short period of time.

To accomplish the objectives of the Communist Party, all agencies of production became, with very few exceptions, parts of the government. Employees, instead of working for individual employers, are employed by the state. The officials of the Soviet Union determine what shall be produced, the amounts to be produced, and the dispositions to be made of the products of the various agencies.

A State Planning Commission (*Gosplan*) made up of seventy members, appointed by the Council of People's Commissars, together with a complex network of planning institutions, is expected to keep a record of the production activities within the country. It makes plans, too, for improving and increasing the economic production within the nation. In 1928, the first Five-Year Plan was inaugurated. Since that time there have been two other Five-Year Plans, 1932–1937; 1938–, the latter, of course, interrupted by the second World War. The Five-Year Plans are very inclusive; the "blueprint" of the First Five-Year Plan comprised three bulky volumes with a total of about sixteen hundred pages of statistics and tables of production. The plan consisted of proposed developments of various branches of national life and apportionment of the planned assignments among the subdivisions of the country for the five-year period. Each collective farm, each factory, was given a quota of production for the period. The production quotas were in two categories, minimum and maximum production. The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union is to be regarded in the light of a slogan or a drive toward attainment of definite goals. The maximum quotas of the First Five-Year Plan were met within a period of four years and three months.

a. *Agriculture.* In dealing with agriculture, the productive activity in which most Russians were engaged, two plans were adopted. The first was the organization and operation of state farms. Such farms would

be vast in size, so that they could reap the benefits of mechanized operation and better methods of farming. Farmers would work for the government like workers in the industrial plants and would receive wages for their work. The farms were also to serve as model farms to show the peasant farmers the advantages of large-scale farming and thus lead them along the path toward socialism. The results obtained from the state farms were disappointing, for their production was consistently below that of the nation as a whole, and the mortality of livestock on state farms was excessive. Since 1935, there has been a movement to disband the state farms and to transfer the land to collective farms. The area of the state farms declined between 1936 to 1938 by about twenty-five per cent.

The second, and more successful, plan for handling agriculture has been through the cooperative agricultural associations, or collective farms. The associations own the land, the farm buildings, the machinery, and the livestock used in working the land. The peasant owns his house; his garden; his livestock not used for work, in limited numbers; his poultry; and minor implements. In order for a peasant to join a collective farm, he turns over to the collective his land, work animals, implements, and so on, and pays an admission fee. A portion of his contribution becomes a permanent possession of the collective farm; the remainder, from one-half to three-fourths of his contribution, can be regained by him if he decides to leave the association.

Each collective farm is governed by a general assembly of the members, who elect a president, an executive board, and a control committee. It is not required that the president be a member of the cooperative association. The work of the farm is done by groups of laborers, working under the direction of a brigadier, who assigns his men their various tasks and is responsible for their operation. The workers are paid in money and in produce. The amount of compensation is based on the "labor day" as a unit. Not all work has the same labor value. The work of the farm is divided into seven classes with compensation for the work based on the particular class. For instance, the activities of the president and a tractor driver per day are worth two labor days, while that of the lowest-class agricultural worker is worth but one-half of a labor day. Each collective farm is free to devise its own scale of payment for each labor day, but as a rule the standard models are usually followed. Elaborate systems of premiums for brigadiers and workers are set up as incentives for production in excess of the quotas. Pen-

alties are also set for those who fail to meet the requirements. Every inducement is made for the brigadier and the workers to drive themselves to their utmost. Payments are made at the end of the year on the basis of the number of labor days employed.

Workers may be assigned to any kind of work, according to the wishes of the administration of the farm, and, as has been stated, the kind of work a farmer does determines his rate of compensation. Farmers may be punished for negligence, laziness, or refusal to work, by fines, reprimand, transfer to lower pay group, or expulsion from the farm. Refusal to work may even be regarded as being inspired by counter-revolutionary motives, and may carry with it the penalty of imprisonment or even death.

The increase in the number of collective farms in the Soviet Union has been remarkable. In 1929, less than four per cent of the peasant households were represented in collective farms of the nation; by January 1, 1938, the percentage had risen to 93.5. There were, in 1938, still some 800,000 peasant households operating as individual holdings.[9] During this period of time, mechanization of agriculture had advanced greatly. In 1929, there were some 66,332 tractors in operation on Soviet farms; in 1940, the number had increased to 500,000. In 1929, there were forty-five combines; in 1940, 168,000 combines were in use.

b. *Industry and labor.* In the Soviet Union all industry is under the control and management of the government. There are People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R., the constituent republics, and their subdivisions to control the production and distribution of products. Prices of goods manufactured in the Soviet Union are fixed by law, and not by the forces of supply and demand. There has been great effort on the part of the government officials responsible for industrial production to increase industrial specialization as a means to increase production. That there has been increase in the output of Soviet factories can be judged by the fact that between 1913 and 1940 industrial production increased to twelve times its former volume.

The expressed aim of the Soviet Union, as has been repeatedly set forth, is the desire to improve the lot of the laboring classes. How has labor fared under this system? There is no unemployment. Every worker is guaranteed a job. All industrial work is now under state employment. Wages are fixed by governmental authority on the principle of "to each according to his work"; that is, on piece wage, an idea

[9] *The New International Year Book*, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1943, p. 699.

which many labor unions in capitalistic countries oppose bitterly. Everyone is expected to work in fulfillment of the communist maxim, "He who will not work does not eat." Much attention has been given to increasing the productive efforts of individual workers. Bonuses and premiums are paid to individuals who exceed the expected or standard performance. Decorations and honors are given to "heroes of labor" who make outstanding records of production; also such tangible rewards as exemption from certain taxes, reduction of rent, free use of streetcars, social insurance, and so on. Not only is diligence and efficiency in production rewarded, but laxity, indolence, and negligence are punished severely by outright dismissal,[10] by sentence to imprisonment as an enemy of the people, by loss of vacation rights, or by reduction in social insurance.

Soviet workers are encouraged to join trade unions, and most workers belong to such organizations. In each factory there is a union comprising the employees of the establishment. Each labor union sends one or more delegates to district, regional, and republican conventions of trade unions. The most significant convention is the All-Union Congress of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., which meets each year.

Since all workers are employed by the government, trade unions do not represent the workers in collective bargaining in the sense that they do in countries where capitalistic enterprises are the rule. In the Soviet Union the trade unions function for the purposes of providing for the educational, recreational, and other needs of the members; improving housing conditions; promoting safety measures; promoting labor discipline; and increasing the production and efficiency of the workers. In brief, the trade unions are designed to cooperate with the Communist Party and the government in promoting among the workers the general objectives of the Soviet Union.

c. *Foreign trade.* All foreign trade in the Soviet Union is under the control of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade. Imports and exports, including goods made or used in government-operated factories and grown on collective farms, are entirely under the control of this department of the government.

6. EDUCATION

It has been recognized by all modern states that education, especially

[10] For instance, in January, 1939, the government issued an order to dismiss any worker who was more than twenty minutes late to work. Cf. James T. Shotwell (ed.), *Governments of Continental Europe*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940, pp. 888–897.

of the youth of the nation, is one of the foundations of a stable government. If the citizens are to accept the established régime, they must be indoctrinated as early as possible by the principles upon which the government rests. MacIver states "there is . . . much historical evidence that no law can be enforced if a very large *minority* is permanently and bitterly opposed to it." [11] The same fact seems to hold true with respect to a system of government. The Soviet Union has not neglected the education and indoctrination of its people. Every organization in the Communist Party, the government, and trade unions operate to educate the citizens in the desired pattern of thought and action. Schools have been widely established, with the period of compulsory education beginning for the child at the age of seven years. Illiteracy in the Soviet Union is reported to have declined from 67.7 per cent in 1917 to less than 8 per cent in 1937.[12] In 1940–41, 36,765,000 pupils were attending the elementary and secondary schools; 1,200,000 students were in technical schools and workers' faculties; about 1,800,000 children were in nursery schools and kindergartens, besides 5,700,000 children in collective farm nurseries during the harvest season; 550,000 students were enrolled in 781 universities and colleges in the country.[13]

Since the Soviet Union is attempting to develop itself into a great industrial nation, special attention has been directed toward the development of skilled mechanics, mechanical and technical specialists, and engineers, as well as the reduction of illiteracy. Special schools such as factory and shop apprentice schools, technical high schools, and higher technical institutes or colleges have been established to meet the need for technical education.

What the youth of the nation should be taught in the schools is under strict governmental control. The purpose of all education is to produce loyal, efficient citizens of the Soviet Union and of its constituent republics. In the beginning boys and girls went to school together and were taught the same subjects. On July 16, 1943, the government issued a decree requiring separate schools for boys and girls in the high schools of large cities. Coeducation was continued in primary schools and in rural districts. The reasons given for the change were that evidence had shown that "separate education had resulted in higher level of military and physical training and a better order of school life and better

[11] R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 345.

[12] *The New International Year Book*, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1944, p. 653.

[13] *Ibid.*

discipline." In the new organization boys were to specialize in technical subjects; girls were to be trained in pedagogy, handicraft, domestic science, personal hygiene, and child care.[14] Another interesting change brought about by the educational decree of July, 1943, was that Russian history and classical literature were to be emphasized in the schools.

7. RELIGION

Prior to and during the period of the Revolution of 1917, the leaders of the Orthodox Church opposed the Communists and supported the old aristocratic order within the country. As was to be expected, the revolutionary group classed the established church of Russia as anti-communistic, and issued a decree expropriating the land, buildings, endowments, and fluid assets of the Orthodox Church. The church leaders, in turn, issued an ecclesiastical excommunication against the revolutionary government, and called on its membership to refuse to support or to cooperate with the new régime. In the period of civil war following the Revolution, many church leaders were executed by the communists, and the property of the Orthodox Church was expropriated by the government. Probably more serious than the execution of certain religious leaders and the expropriation of church property was the conviction on the part of leaders of the Communist Party that the church was essentially an instrument of reaction, and was therefore a menace to the new order in the Soviet Union. When the civil war was over, a compromise was reached between the Communist Party and the church leaders whereby the patriarch was to submit to the communist rule and to withdraw the edict of excommunication, and in return the government of the Soviet Union would recognize religious bodies as private-membership organizations, which were required to register with the state. They would, in turn, receive from the state, under license, properties for purposes of worship. Registered congregations were to be protected; persecution by the government was to cease. This agreement was signed by Patriarch Likhon on June 16, 1923.

As a result of the struggle between the church and the Communist Party, the religious organizations were greatly weakened and their schools were closed. Religious structures were left idle or converted to secular use. Some religious services were carried on without the ap-

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 657.

proval of the government. However, some congregations bowed to the wishes of the Communist Party, were incorporated, and used governmental property for their services. Religious organizations were forbidden any access to propaganda or instructional material, such as books, newspapers, tracts, and the like; the use of the radio was denied all religious organizations, as were the usual means of spreading their doctrines — public preaching and spreading copies of the Scriptures.

On the other hand, the Communist Party membership took an active part in spreading non-religious propaganda. Anti-religious teaching was incorporated in the school curricula, and organizations were formed to promote atheism and disbelief in religion. Membership in the Communist Party was denied anyone who believed in any religious doctrine.

The constitution of 1936 marked the turning-point in the struggle between the church and the Communist Party. In that constitution, freedom of religious worship was guaranteed, but also freedom of anti-religious propaganda was allowed. After the adoption of the 1936 constitution, church-bell ringing and public solicitation for funds were allowed. The following year, anti-religious plays and films were forbidden and textbooks used by school-children were rewritten, omitting the anti-religious material. In 1940, the working week was rearranged, making the traditional Sunday the compulsory rest day. Taxes and assessments on church property were abolished.

In September, 1943, the rights and privileges of the Russian Orthodox Church were restored by the Soviet government. Metropolitan Sergius, a priest of the church who had remained in Russia during the period of anti-religious propaganda, became the Patriarch of All Russia. The government created a council attached to the Council of People's Commissars to handle relations between the church and the state. Permission was granted the church to reopen the religious schools for the training of priests and clerics to carry on the Orthodox religion, with the provision that the Soviet constitution and the organization of the Soviet Union should be a part of the curriculum of every student. The government granted permission for the publication of a church periodical, the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. Furthermore an order was given banning all ridicule of religious objects and ceremonial acts within the Red Army.[15]

[15] Cf. William Howard Melish, "Religious Developments in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 279–286, June, 1944.

8. CIVIL LIBERTIES

Judging by the constitution of 1936, the people of the Soviet Union have one of the most democratic systems of government yet established. By its terms citizens are guaranteed employment, with suitable compensation; leisure time is made possible by the short working day; social insurance provides for old age, sickness, and disability benefits; free elementary and higher education are provided; freedom of worship is allowed, including anti-religious activities, as well as freedom of speech, the right of assembly, freedom of the press, the right to form trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, and other societies; freedom from arrest is guaranteed, except with the sanction of a prosecutor or on decision of a court; and the citizens are granted the right to own private property which is for personal use and not held as a means for exploiting the labor of others.

In analyzing the position held by the individual citizens of the Soviet Union, the reader must keep in mind the fact that as yet the constitution of 1936 is still in the paper stage, since preparation for war and war itself have occupied Soviet energy since its adoption. The government of the Soviet Union is under the control of the Communist Party and its various organs, with the personal direction of the Secretary-General of the Party, Joseph Stalin. The constitution of 1936 might be regarded somewhat in the nature of a goal toward which the people of the Soviet Union want to progress.

The people of the Soviet Union have throughout their history been accustomed to subjection to absolute governmental control in all matters. Before the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the Czars had ruled the nation with little regard for the rights of individuals. Since the people of the Soviet Union have been for centuries prepared to accept complete domination by the government, Americans must not expect them to resent or to resist governmental measures which to Americans might seem oppressive. In the Soviet Union every individual is strictly regimented by the dominant party and its official organs. The educational program which a child shall follow is prepared for him in accordance with the wishes and aims of the party and is accepted by the child and his parents. To Americans, with their highly developed sense of individual rights and liberty, the system under which citizens of the Soviet Union live, work, and play would seem repressive.

After almost thirty years of rule by the Communist Party one can see few signs of the "withering away" of the State in the Soviet Union.

On the contrary, there has been a continuous multiplication of bureaus to regulate and control the activities of individuals from the cradle to the grave. One does not yet find the classless society in the Soviet Union which was predicted would follow the nationalization of productive property. Instead, one finds social stratification based on the individual's position in the government. At the top of the social pyramid, one finds the ruling elite of the nation and its constituent republics, followed by the nonparty members next in order; then there are the "toilers" consisting of the workers and employees, and the peasants and the artisans. It is even claimed the membership in the peasant group is practically hereditary and membership in the two upper classes is becoming hereditary.[16]

9. SUMMARY

The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, unlike the United States and Great Britain, has just one political party, the Communist Party, which maintains control of all governmental activities in the country. Although the population of the U.S.S.R. is about one hundred and ninety million people, the membership of the Communist Party is less than five million.

Party organization reaches from the local village, collective farm, or factory to the district, the province, the constituent republic, and the Soviet Union; the U.S.S.R. is a system of organizations bound together by the All-Union Congress as the supreme authority. The real head of the Communist Party and, consequently, of the Soviet Union, is the Secretary-General — Joseph Stalin.

The Soviet Union has a written constitution which provides the structure of government in the country. It sets forth the duties and responsibilities of officials; guarantees the rights of citizens; and establishes a democratic form of government. The language and other culture traits of the various groups are supported and encouraged by the governmental agencies. Each republic has its own government, modeled after the pattern of the Union government.

Legislative authority in the Soviet Union is vested in a Supreme Soviet, a bicameral congress whose members are chosen to represent the geographical districts, on the basis of population, and on the basis of the republics of the Union. As functioning legislative organ, the

[16] N. S. Timasheff, "Vertical Social Mobility in Communist Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Vol. L, No. 1, July, 1944, pp. 9–21.

Supreme Soviet selects a standing committee of forty-two members called the Presidium. Its functions are more executive than legislative.

Executive authority is lodged in a ministry called the Council of People's Commissars. As a group, this council serves as a cabinet; as individuals, each member serves as departmental minister of the government. The Council of People's Commissars is duplicated in each of the republics.

The judiciary system of the Soviet Union is made up of three principal grades of courts; that is, local or people's courts, regional, and supreme. At the apex of the judicial system is the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union.

The local governments in villages and towns are under the authority of soviets elected from the respective areas. Local areas, regions, and republics have cultural autonomy, but the Secretary-General of the Communist Party through the party organization regulates other phases of life, local as well as national. All economic activities as well as the education of young and old are under strict governmental control. Of recent months the restrictions against religious observance have been lifted to a considerable extent.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Would you class the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics as a democracy? Explain.
2. Compare the party system of the U.S.S.R. with that of the United States, especially in the South where there is only one party.
3. Has the state in the Soviet Union shown signs of "withering away" because a classless society has developed?
4. How is the legislative system of the U.S.S.R. similar to that of the United States? How different?
5. Describe the judicial systems of the Soviet Union.
6. Compare the economic system of the U.S.S.R. with that of the United States.
7. Describe the executive branch of the Soviet government.
8. What rights do the constituent republics enjoy?
9. What are the requirements for a person to vote in the U.S.S.R.?

10. What are the forms of agricultural organization found in the Soviet Union? Describe one.
11. Compare the "rights of laborers" in the United States with those in the Soviet Union.
12. What changes have recently been made with regard to religion in the U.S.S.R.?
13. Why have the communists worked to eliminate illiteracy in the Soviet Union?
14. How do you explain the recent changes in the Soviet attitude toward religion and the Orthodox Church?
15. Why must an American be careful in judging the happiness or unhappiness of people living in the Soviet Union? What factors must he keep in mind in evaluating the conditions of the Russian people?

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CHAPTER 34

International Organization

MAN HAS MADE great strides along many lines during his evolution from a primitive to a relatively civilized state. He has greatly prolonged his life span through the reduction of infant mortality and the conquest of diseases which formerly periodically decimated his group. Man has increased his productive efforts so that a more satisfactory plane of living can be attained by the general mass of the population and more people can live in comfort on a given area of space. He has developed machines to do the heavy and grueling work more efficiently than he could do it himself. He has drawn on the products of the four corners of the earth to supply his wants. He has harnessed the cataract and the torrent to do his work and to light his homes and factories. He has utilized means of travel which have a speed greater than that of the wind; he transmits his thoughts around the world with the speed of light. With all his great achievements, however, man has not yet succeeded in abolishing war as a means of settling international disputes.

Although nations and people are bound together by commercial bonds, communication, and understanding more closely than ever before, they still engage in wars which destroy commerce, prevent communication, and substitute hatred and prejudice for understanding and cooperation.

Today War stands as the greatest enemy of mankind. As man has made inventions to make life easier and richer; he has at the same time invented machines which are most efficient when directed to destructive uses. Great cities with millions of men, women, and children are severely damaged or completely destroyed by the modern weapons of warfare. With each generation, with each new mechanical invention, war becomes more devastating and more destructive. Wars no longer destroy only the most able men of the conflicting nations; they also destroy thousands of others without regard to age, sex, or ability. Through war, material possessions and natural resources upon which

the people of the world depend for their well-being are destroyed, wasted, and dissipated. One is led to the conclusion as he witnesses the increasing destructiveness of war that man must arrive at some satisfactory method of avoiding or preventing wars or war will destroy human civilization.

This chapter deals with the attempts which have been made to organize nations to avoid warfare.

A. *Trend Toward Larger Governmental Units*

If the student wishes to go back into the history of primitive man, he will find that human society evolved gradually from small governing units toward larger units of control. From the family as a basic unit of authority society expanded into the horde, the clan, the tribe, the confederacy, and the nation. In early historic times one finds individual city-states joining with other similar units to form more powerful organs through which internal peace could be more effectively maintained and greater strength attained for conflict with other large units. In some instances the unification of the small city-states into more powerful units was accomplished in a peaceful manner by agreement; in other cases wars were fought and the smaller units were added to the more powerful organizations by conquest.

Consideration of the subject of the trend toward larger governing units is in this volume confined to a few cases which occurred during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

1. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As has been pointed out in an early chapter [1] of this textbook, the colonies which later became the original states of the United States were founded as separate and independent governing units. Within the early colonies one found cultural differences, such as different languages, religious faiths, political organizations, and systems of education. The colonies were separated by distances greater for those days than the distances which separate the United States of today from any of the other countries of the world. In addition to the divergencies just mentioned there were grounds for conflict existing between the colonies in relation to trade with one another and with European nations.

The union of the Thirteen States into the United States as a Federal

[1] Cf. Chapter 28, pp. 533–548.

Union was accomplished through the efforts and leadership of Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, George Washington, and others. Many leaders, among whom were Patrick Henry and George Clinton, vigorously opposed the unification of the Thirteen States on the grounds that the independence of the constituent members would be lost and that the federal rather than the state government would become the supreme authority. The predictions of Henry and his followers came true, but the results were beneficial rather than harmful. The citizens of all the states enjoyed much greater security and peace than would have been possible had the states remained independent. In addition to the thirteen original states, the United States has admitted thirty-five other states to the Union upon the request of the voters of the respective areas and has acquired, through purchase, annexation, and conquest, possessions and protectorates in many parts of the world.

Through the unification of small governmental units into the Federal Union of the United States, internal wars have to a large extent been avoided and the people have lived in peace together. Each section of the nation is enriched by the exchange of goods and ideas with all other sections of the country. A person living in any part of the United States is free to travel into or to make his home in any section of the nation if he so desires. Railways, highways, and other means of communication cross state lines as though no such boundaries existed. Such freedom of action could not exist if the states of the Union were separate, independent units. The Union, although it restricts the states in certain respects, guarantees to all citizens a degree of safety, freedom, and security which no member state could individually and separately provide.

2. EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENTAL UNITS IN EUROPE

a. *Italy.* From the fall of Rome in 476 until the final Unification of Italy in 1870, Italy was largely a "geographical expression." During the greater part of that time it was divided into a number of small principalities under the rule of outside governments which were not acceptable to the Italian people. There was no free movement of goods or of persons from one principality to another. In no sense of the word was there an Italian state. During the period of time just mentioned there were frequent wars between the various cities of the peninsula and struggles involving the outside ruling powers.

The Napoleonic Wars did much to unify Italy, but the work was undone by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. By the terms of the Congress of Vienna, Italy was divided into a group of kingdoms and duchies together with the States of the Church. The divisions were for the most part ruled by Austria. France cooperated in maintaining the established rule, especially in the States of the Church.

During the period 1815 to 1870, Italy was ravished by internal strife in various attempts to free the people from the rule of Austria and to form an Italian state. Under the leadership of Mazzini, Charles Albert, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II, and Garibaldi, Italy finally became a united nation with its capital in Rome in 1870. With the unification of Italy, all the provinces of the Italian Peninsula, extending to the Swiss border, Sicily, and Sardinia became a part of the Kingdom of Italy.

b. *Germany.* During the years prior to the Napoleonic Wars Germany was made up of some hundreds of petty states all more or less independent and waging almost incessant wars with one another.[2] At the Congress of Vienna the German Confederation was formed, composed of about forty states, not including Austria. Each state of the German Confederation had a considerable degree of autonomy. From the formation of the German Confederation until the conquest of France by the German armies in 1871, there were repeated wars waged for the purpose of establishing a united German nation. The leaders in the movement toward German unification were Bismarck and William I. The efforts of the two leaders were crowned with success when William I was crowned Emperor of Germany at the Palace of Versailles on January 18, 1871.

c. *The British Empire.* The British Empire grew from what was, during the Middle Ages, an assembly of rather autonomous towns and villages under the nominal rule of a King of England. During the period from A.D. 450, when the Roman forces were withdrawn from England, to 1066, when the Normans conquered the island, about 123 wars were waged among the various groups, or an average of a war every five years. Almost continuous warfare was waged between Scotland and England from an early date until the two countries were joined together under the rule of James I (who had been James VI of Scotland) in 1603.[3]

The people of Britain have been seafaring traders since the early

[2] Cf. Oscar Newfang, *World Federation*, Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 21–26.
[3] Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–13.

Middle Ages. As new lands in various parts of the world were discovered, the British seamen and traders were among the first to visit the newly discovered regions. Colonists were sent to the lands to form outposts of trade for the mother country. The newly settled countries sent their raw materials to England and in return received manufactured products from the mother country. By the process of colonization the British Empire was extended to the far corners of the earth.

In addition to her colonizing activities Britain engaged in numerous wars with other colonizing and imperialistically minded countries such as France and Spain and thereby greatly expanded her holdings in new worlds. Britain also sought trade centers in the Far East, and by means of wars of conquest she was able to bring most of India and southeastern Asia under her control or sphere of influence.

In most instances British rule over her empire has been moderate, and home rule in the form of dominion status in the Empire was given to various regions when they had demonstrated capacity for self-government. On the whole the countries under British rule have been contented with their lot and do not apparently desire change in their governmental status. The people of the British Empire have enjoyed great freedom to go wherever they desired and to trade freely with other countries. Since the unification of political units in the British Empire, internal peace has been enjoyed to a degree which was unknown prior to the formation of the larger governmental organization. The people have engaged in trade and industry to an extent previously unknown, and health and living standards have been raised.

3. FACTORS IN THE MODERN TREND TOWARD LARGER GOVERNMENTAL UNITS

During the Middle Ages there was very little travel between towns and villages, few contacts were made between neighboring countries, and small states and principalities were almost entirely self-sufficient. Each governmental unit had its own natural resources which the people exploited to their own advantage and to meet their immediate needs.

a. *Modern trade and industry.* With the coming of the Industrial Revolution conditions changed. With the new inventions a few workers could produce more goods than formerly so that there was a surplus of commodities for sale. Markets were needed for the surplus goods. As the production of goods increased, there was greater demand for raw products to be used in the manufacturing process. Since the supply of

natural resources varies from one region to another, the resources of near-by or distant areas were needed to supplement those of any particular locality. Furthermore the products manufactured in one small province were not diverse enough to satisfy all the needs of the population. Where the area of a state could be expanded, increased supply and greater variety of natural resources could be secured and a wider market could be obtained for the manufactured products. By the simple process of expanding the territorial limits of the state, the populations of all sections of the country were benefited economically and the people enjoyed a higher plane of living.

b. *Modern transportation and communication.* During the period of development of new manufacturing methods and machines improvements were being made also in means of transportation and communication. Highways were constructed; the steam locomotive was invented and railways were built; the steamboat was built for river transportation and later for ocean trade. In the middle of the nineteenth century the telegraph and the Atlantic cable came into use. Later the telephone was invented and its use became widespread. With the improvement in means of travel and communication, goods were shipped in greater volume and with greater speed than had been possible before. The improvement in means of communication and transportation coupled with the increased production of factories and farms greatly increased the trade from place to place. Manufactured goods became available to purchasers in increasing volume and the demand for customers and for raw materials for production increased as trade expanded.

With the growth of economic competition governments tried to protect the industries within their borders by trade barriers in the form of protective tariffs to keep out the products of factories in competing countries. So long as each government insisted on protective tariffs against trade with other nations, each country felt that to be strong and to provide a high plane of living for its people it must have under its control the basic raw materials needed for manufacturing goods for sale or domestic consumption and at the same time it must have centers of population sufficiently great to provide adequate markets for the goods of the factories, farms, forests, and mines. There were very few countries with areas sufficiently vast and resources diverse enough to meet adequately the demands of modern economic competition without being dependent upon supplies from foreign countries.

c. *Governmental expansion.* The effect was also a cause. As certain nations expanded their boundaries and spheres of influence they gained in their controls over trade and industry and became more powerful in a military sense. Other nations fearful of the power of their neighbors sought ways to expand their boundaries or zones of influence to balance those of their neighbors. As a result of the factors already mentioned and others, an international struggle developed among the nations for land, natural resources, and populations.

4. CONSEQUENCES OF EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENTAL UNITS

As a usual thing the expansion of governmental units led to maintenance of internal peace to a greater extent than had existed when the regions were composed of many small governmental units. This was especially true when the government was satisfactory to a majority of the population and when freedom of travel and trade was gained by the expansion. Thus it may be said that two conditions are necessary for peace, namely, political unity and economic freedom.[4] However, as the individual political units became larger and more powerful, the wars which were waged among the states became more destructive of life and property and encompassed the entire world instead of small segments of it. The need for establishing agencies and methods for maintaining peaceful relationship between nations became increasingly apparent.

B. *Methods to Avoid Wars and to Regulate International Relations*

Society has endeavored in various ways to maintain peaceful relations between states. Some nations have attempted to become so powerful and so self-sufficient that no other country would dare to engage in wars against them. Some states have attempted to maintain peace through other means. One of the oldest and most widely used methods of establishing and maintaining international cooperation has been through diplomacy.

1. DIPLOMACY

All modern states maintain official contacts with other states with which they are at peace through the exchange of representatives or agents. The agents which are sent to represent a state in another coun-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. ix.

try are of two major classes: diplomatic and consular services. The diplomatic representatives are political agents and maintain relationship with the governments; the consular agents are commercial representatives and take care of trade relations between the two countries, protect citizens traveling in the foreign countries, and enforce customs and immigration laws. The seat of the diplomatic service is located in the capital of the country in which it is operating; the consular service, on the other hand, is located in the large cities, especially the ports of entry into the countries.

a. *Rank of diplomatic and consular agents.* In order to avoid confusion and controversy between representatives of different states over questions of precedence and dignity a definite system of ranking diplomatic agents was established by the Congresses of Vienna (1815) and Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) which has been followed since that time. According to this plan there are four classes of diplomatic agents now recognized in order of rank as follows: (1) ambassadors; (2) envoys and ministers; (3) ministers resident (a class seldom used today); (4) *chargés d'affaires.* As a general practice ambassadors are received only from sovereign states.

In addition to the establishment of four classes of diplomatic representatives, two additional practices have been adopted by the United States and other nations. In case of representatives of equal rank the one enjoying the longest period of service or seniority shall have precedence over others. For example, at a state banquet given in Washington, if the ambassador from Belgium has served in that capacity longer than any other ambassador, he enjoys a position of honor above that of the other ambassadors who in turn rank in accordance with their periods of service. Other classes of the diplomatic service likewise rank in accordance with tenure in office. The second practice which has been widely followed is that of sending a diplomatic representative of the same rank as that of the country to which the representative is being sent. For example, China sends an ambassador to the United States, which in turn sends an ambassador to China.

The United States divides its consular service in foreign countries into five categories as follows: (1) Consul generals at large, who travel through a particular region to inspect the consular posts; (2) Consul generals, who are responsible for the consular activities of a particular area, usually an entire nation; (3) Consuls, who handle the consular activities in the more important commercial centers; (4) Vice-consuls,

who serve as subordinate officers and assistants at the principal consulates or as head of consulates in smaller cities; (5) Consular agents, who serve in consular posts which do not require the services of a full-time agent.

b. *American foreign service.* The United States, prior to the Second World War, maintained fifty-nine diplomatic posts abroad, of which seventeen were embassies — posts headed by ambassadors. At that time the United States maintained a small army of thirteen hundred "civil servants" to represent it in political affairs, business, and in such other ways as occasions demanded. The personnel, except that with policy-determining functions, of both the diplomatic and consular services are selected on the basis of competitive civil service examinations and are protected by civil service rating, with provisions for promotions and retirement at the age of sixty-five years.[5] The ambassadors, ministers, and consuls are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate.

c. *Conditions required for exchange of representatives.* Exchange of foreign service agents between nations is carried out only when countries are at peace with each other. One of the first acts of war is usually the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the countries involved. That means the representatives in the respective countries are called or sent home.

Sometimes a government of a particular country is distasteful to another country to such an extent that the other country refuses to "recognize" that government. That may happen when a revolution has unseated the former rulers and established a new administration in power. When such conditions arise there is no exchange of diplomatic or consular representatives. For example, the United States government did not approve the Bolshevik régime of the U.S.S.R., and from November 7, 1917, until November 16, 1933, there was no exchange of diplomatic representatives by the two countries.

The individuals which a nation sends to another nation as its representatives must be acceptable to the countries in which the agents are to serve. The reasons why an individual is not acceptable need not be

[5] Cf. Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics* (second edition), McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1937, pp. 120–150.

The countries to which ambassadors were sent are: Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Belgium, Poland, Spain, Turkey, and China.

Although the United States had only 59 diplomatic posts, it had at that time about 345 consular posts scattered throughout the world.

made public. It is sufficient reason to require an ambassador or representative of lower rank to be recalled to his homeland or for him not to be accepted as a representative if he is officially declared to be *persona non grata* (meaning a not acceptable person) to the country in which he is serving or is expected to serve.

d. *Functions of the diplomatic representative.* The functions of the diplomatic agent in a country is to strive in every way possible to advance the interests of his country in the land to which he is sent. He tries to create good will toward his country; increase or develop international confidence in his state; encourage cooperation; bring to the forefront common interests of his state and of the country in which he serves; allay fears; be alert to find out influences which weaken international solidarity of action to the disadvantage of his own country and remove or weaken those forces; and to maintain friendly relations with the press. The ambassador and diplomats of lesser rank are to look and listen to what is going on in the nation in which they are stationed and to report it fully and accurately to the proper officials at home. In turn the homeland sends messages to the proper governmental officials of a foreign country through the diplomatic representatives within that country. For example, if the President or the Secretary of State desires to transmit a message to the British government, it will first, in most instances, be sent to the American Ambassador in London, who will deliver it to the proper British official.

2. BALANCE OF POWER

A method of attempting to maintain peace which is about as old as the state itself is the application of the principle of *Balance of Power.* As Schuman says, "it has emerged more or less clearly in every system of States in which the units have engaged with one another in a competitive struggle for power." [6] In essence the principle simply means that while all nations are competing for power, there is widespread effort to prevent any one nation or any combination of nations from becoming so powerful that it or they can singly or collectively endanger the other powers. For example, imagine three nations, A, B, and C, situated within access of one another. Should A attack B with the view to taking over some of its territory, C, in order to prevent A from becoming too strong, will go to the assistance of B. There may be no desire on the part of C to befriend B, but considerations of self-interest

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

will motivate C. Each unit of this state organization will tend to throw its weight in the balance behind any of the other two states if it is menaced by the third. Should B attack C, A will support C, and so on. No state will thus be able to overcome another and the independence of all will be preserved. A very good illustration of the operation of balance of power is to be seen in the Crimean War (1853–56). Russia attacked Turkey. France and England, fearing that Russia by defeating Turkey would gain an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea through the Dardanelles and would then threaten their power on the sea, went to Turkey's defense. Russia was defeated and she continued to be a landlocked nation. If a student will study the conflicts of modern times he will find that the principle of balance of power was a factor in most of them. Through the operation of balance of power no state has been able, in modern times, to conquer the world.

3. INTERNATIONAL LAW

As MacIver so well points out, every community, every association of individuals imposes rules on its members.[7] The above statement is true whether it refers to a family, village, city, nation, or the world. Where there are no rules to guide and control human behavior, a condition of anarchy and chaos is to be found. To control or to guide the relationships between states an elaborate system of international laws has been developed.

a. *Origin of international law.* The development of international trade which followed the Crusades, the discovery of new continents, and the settlement and exploitation of the riches in the new territories, led to a great deal of economic competition and conflict among the nations. Many questions were raised as to the rights of various states in their commercial and other international relations. Prior to the seventeenth century there were no recognized rules to govern or to guide nations in their international relations. In 1625 Hugo Grotius, a Dutch scholar and diplomat, published his work on *The Laws of War and Peace* which has come to be recognized as the foundation of international laws. Since that time many scholars have written treatises and textbooks describing the rules of international relations, many rules have developed by the process of adapting old regulations to new situations, and treaties have been made which had the effect of establishing new laws.

[7] R. M. MacIver, *Society a Textbook of Sociology*, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 330.

Today many volumes would be required to describe adequately the vast body of international laws and practices.

b. *Sources of international law.* There are four basic sources of international laws. The most important source, in the sense that it has produced more laws than any other, is *custom.* Through common and accepted practice a custom comes to have the force of law and in time it is accepted as a law. The second source is by *agreement* between or among states. A treaty may set up certain practices, conditions, or principles which are accepted by the signatories. These treaty agreements provide a very important source of international law. A third source of international law is *reason*, which means that when a situation arises for which there are no established rules then deductions shall be made from established principles or from some similar situations for which rules have been formulated. The fourth source is *authority.* Decisions and awards which have been made by legally constituted tribunals, such as courts or boards of arbitration, and the opinions of recognized authorities in the field of international law are sources of international laws. Agreements and authority are written sources; custom and reason are unwritten sources of international law in the sense that they are not incorporated as parts of treaties or of judicial decisions.

c. *Character of international law.* International law is different from the laws of a state in several respects. No legislative bodies, such as congresses or parliaments, pass international laws. Instead international laws arise as agreements accepted by parties — states — of equal status. State laws are designed primarily to regulate the behavior of individuals, groups, or organizations of individuals living within the country; international laws deal with the actions of states in their relationship with other states.

International law is concerned with such matters as what qualities a state must possess to be entitled to membership in the community of states (states are admitted to status in the community of states when diplomatic recognition is extended them by other states); what constitutes sovereignty of the state; ceremonial matters connected with the heads of states and diplomatic agents; jurisdiction of states in certain matters (territorial waters, on the high seas, over foreign ships in port, over aliens); relations between states in time of war.[8]

[8] Cf. R. Yorke Hedges, *International Organization*, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, London, 1935, pp. 34–35.

State laws are administered and interpreted by the executive branch of the government with the assistance and advice of various courts. International laws are interpreted by the foreign offices of the various states concerned. For example, the State Department of the United States with its various branches at home and abroad interprets international laws in so far as they affect the United States. In rare cases when two states cannot agree as to the meaning and intent of international law as it affects them, the question may be referred to an arbitration tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is to be noted, however, that, before the case can go to either type of court for decision, the nations involved must give their assent to the procedure.

Another difference between state and international laws is in the matter of enforcement. The state has its police force coupled with its systems of courts and penal institutions to enforce its statutes. International law has no enforcement agencies. Each state determines for itself whether it will or will not abide by the regulations and practices which have been established. There is no force, except the fear of war, to compel observance of international law by a state.

4. TREATIES

Treaties are rather formal agreements made between or among states on subjects of mutual interest. In some cases treaties may be a source of international laws. Where a number of states agree to rules of conduct under certain conditions the treaty agreements are accepted as part of the international regulations. On the other hand where two states make a treaty for a particular period of time or on a special subject, such an agreement cannot be regarded as constituting international law. In some cases treaties are made in order to avoid or to set aside international rules so far as particular provisions apply to the specific countries.

The practice of treaty-making between states is of great antiquity, but the use of treaties has increased greatly within the past hundred years. As Schuman states:

> Since July 4, 1776, the United States has entered into no less than a thousand formally ratified international engagements, exclusive of executive agreements. Of these only 59 were concluded prior to 1838, 110 during the next thirty years, 134 in the following three decades, and the remainder during the period since 1898. The record of most other

States would show a comparable growth of treaty engagements during the past half century.[9]

a. *Other forms of international agreement.* In addition to the formal types of agreements between states there are other less formal forms such as: *conventions*, *protocol*, *Declarations*, *armistice*, *cartels*, *compromis*, and *executive agreements*.

Conventions are less formal agreements than treaties, which usually relate to more specific and technical matters. It is often left to the discretion of the negotiators as to whether the agreement will be in the form of a treaty or of a convention.

Protocol is a term applied to an agreement less formal than either a treaty or a convention. The term sometimes applies to preliminary drafts of agreements signed in anticipation of the preparation of more formal documents later.

Declarations are statements of two or more states setting forth a common conception of certain principles of international law. The term may also refer to the statement of a policy to be followed by a particular government. In the latter case it does not constitute an international agreement.

Armistice is an agreement between combatant forces to suspend hostilities at a certain time.

Cartels are agreements entered into between belligerent states for such purposes as the exchange of prisoners of war.

Compromis is an agreement between states to submit a dispute to arbitration.

Executive agreements are made by the executives of two or more countries with the understanding that the agreement is simply between the executives and does not bind the state in case a new executive takes office. An example of executive agreement is the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908 between the United States and Japan relative to Japanese immigration into the United States. It was accepted by succeeding executives and remained in effect until 1924 when the immigration act of that year was passed by Congress. An executive agreement in which the United States is a party is not sent to the Senate for ratification.

b. *Procedure in treaty-making.* The making of treaties has been formalized through usage and involves adherence to a well-established order

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

of procedures which must be followed if the agreements are to be valid. The negotiators who represent their respective countries meet and establish their right to serve as representatives of their states through the credentials they bear. The negotiators may be members of the established embassy or may be special diplomatic representatives. The negotiations are transacted and the agreement is signed by the agents. The agreement is then transmitted to the respective countries for ratification by the proper authorities — in the United States all treaties must have the approval of two-thirds of the membership of the Senate present. Ratification of the agreement may be withheld or reservations and amendments may be attached by the ratifying authorities. Such reservations and amendments must be accepted, if they are to be binding, by the other power or powers. The negotiating parties then exchange ratifications in a formal ceremony and pledge to one another that each will faithfully execute the terms of the agreement. The final step in the procedure is the formal promulgation of the treaty and its actual execution.

c. *Enforcement of treaties.* The enforcement of treaties among nations is similar to the enforcement of international law. The word or guarantee of a state is all that the other states have to guarantee fulfillment of treaty obligations. There is no police or other force to require a state to fulfill its responsibilities under the terms of any form of international agreement. In most cases the states do abide by the terms of treaties and execute them faithfully.

5. INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES SETTLED BY NEGOTIATION

It is inevitable that people and states carrying on business and other forms of intercourse together should have disagreements. The disagreements may be brought to a satisfactory solution through various forms of negotiation. Many international disputes have been thus solved. The negotiation may be carried on through the regular diplomatic channels established between the disputants, or it may be conducted by special agents appointed to meet at some place acceptable to both parties to the dispute. If agreement is reached, the decisions may be incorporated into a treaty or some other less formal international engagement.

a. *Mediation.* In many instances the agents of the disputing states are unable to reach an agreement and relations between them become "strained." A state which is friendly to the disputants may then make

a "tender of good offices" in order to help them reach a peaceful settlement of their difficulties. Such an offer is merely a polite inquiry by the outside party as to whether it can be of service to the disputing parties in reaching a settlement of their disagreement. If the disputants accept the offer of the neutral state, it may attempt to find grounds for settlement of the differences upon which the disputants can agree. In 1905 President Roosevelt tendered "good offices" to Japan and Russia which were then at war. Both states accepted his offer and sent delegates to the United States. President Roosevelt served as mediator and a peace conference was held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A treaty of peace was later signed between the two belligerents.

b. *Arbitration.* Sometimes when two states cannot reach a peaceful solution of their disagreements they agree to submit the matter to an arbitrator for his decision. The arbitrator may be an individual, like the Pope or the head of some friendly state, or it may be a committee made up of a specified number of representatives of friendly neutral states. Article 37 of the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes defines arbitration as follows: "International arbitration has for its object the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice, and on the basis of respect for law. Recourse to arbitration implies an engagement to submit in good faith to the award." This definition identifies four elements which are characteristic of arbitration as follows: (1) the settlement of disputes between states is by their own voluntary action; (2) by judges which they themselves choose; (3) on the basis of respect for law (which implies that the arbitrators may go beyond the strict letter of international law in their deliberations and may consider extralegal facts which they regard as relevant to the controversy); (4) the disputants obligate themselves in advance to abide by the decision of the judges.

Arbitration has an advantage over mediation in that the disputants agree in advance to submit to the decision of the arbitrators; a peaceful settlement of the problem is thus assured.

Serious difficulties stand in the way of large scale and successful use of arbitration as a means of avoiding war. States are seldom willing to allow a third party a free hand in the settlement of their disputes; this is especially true if the matters are regarded as serious or if the "national honor" is involved. Another difficulty inherent in the use of arbitration as it has been employed is the matter of securing well-qualified arbitrators to handle the problems skillfully. In order to meet

this difficulty the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration was established in 1899. In a strict sense this was not a court in which the jurists were in regular or continuous session. Instead it was a list or panel of names of persons designated by different countries as well-qualified and willing to serve as arbitrators.

6. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

When individuals disagree and quarrel, rather than take their troubles to court for settlement, the disputants by "getting together," either personally or through their personal representatives, can sometimes reach an amicable settlement of their problems. The same process — called in international affairs a *conference* or sometimes a *congress* — has been utilized successfully in international affairs. Whenever the representatives of two or more states meet to settle an international difference through the process of discussion and mutual agreement, without the use of arbitration or other judicial process, such a meeting may be called a conference.[10]

Until fairly recent times international conferences were held only by nations at war with one another for the purpose of arranging peace terms. In more recent times the conference has been utilized by nations at peace for the purpose of arriving at mutual understanding on a great variety of subjects and reaching agreements as to future policies and actions in the fields considered. Within the past century there has been an increasing number of international conferences held by nations which were at peace with the other negotiators. For example, in the year 1929 the United States participated in at least forty-eight conferences dealing with many different subjects; in 1930 it participated in sixty-one conferences; in 1931, fifty; 1932, twenty-three; 1933, fifty-one; and 1934, fifty-nine.[11] Significant conferences were held during the Second World War by the heads of the Allied and Axis powers. As the close of the war appeared in sight, conferences were held among the representatives of the Allied Nations for the purpose of agreeing on post-war matters such as aviation, food distribution, world peace organization, and other matters of vital concern to the world as a whole.

The functions of the international conference are of three somewhat different natures. There are the conferences held for the purpose of settling disputes between or among nations. These may be the peace

[10] Cf. Pitman B. Potter, *An Introduction to the Study of International Organization*, The Century Company, New York, 1925, p. 317.
[11] Schuman, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

conferences held to bring about a cessation of wars so that peace can be reestablished between or among the states, or it may be held so that war may be avoided. There are also conferences held for the purpose of making new laws or altering existing laws. For example, it is felt necessary, with the growth of air travel, to lay down rules to govern navigation rights in the air. Shall a plane of another country be permitted to fly over the United States with passengers and cargo, or shall an American plane be allowed to fly to England, the Soviet Union, or other countries? By use of the conference international understanding and agreement on such points can be reached. Then the conference is used to establish international organizations to execute or carry out a program of action previously agreed upon.[12]

The work of the conference is usually, especially when the matters considered are regarded as sufficiently vital to warrant such procedure, incorporated into a treaty which is later formally ratified by the participating states. When such procedure is followed the agreements of the conference become part of the international law governing and guiding the actions of the states.

7. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

As has been pointed out before, the states are free to abide by their treaty obligations, their conference decisions, or international law, without any power except that of their own opinion as to what is best for them separately and individually to guide their actions. There are, however, many activities carried on daily among states where an international organization, such as a bureau or commission with authority to act and to compel action on the part of states, is essential to the efficient operations of certain international affairs. With the world-wide expansion of commerce and communication and the consequent increase in interdependence among nations, many aspects of world life such as trade, finance, communication, navigation, transportation, health, and morals must be regulated by organizations which are world-wide in scope and which are recognized by all nations.

The first definite attempt to establish an international bureau to regulate the international activities in a particular field was the Central Rhine Commission, set up in 1804 to regulate commerce in the Rhine River. Since that time there have been many other commissions,

[12] Cf. Frederick A. Middlebush and Chesney Hill, *Elements of International Relations*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1940, pp. 181–182.

bureaus, or unions established to handle particular international activities. An excellent example of international administration is to be seen in the Universal Postal Union created in 1874 with permanent headquarters in Berne, Switzerland. This Union has charge of the foreign mail service throughout the world.

In the organization of international administration the cooperating states submit to the direction of the bureaus, commissions, and unions in matters over which they have jurisdiction and bear an equitable share in the cost of maintaining and operating such organizations.

Through the administrative machinery which has been set up the world has international cooperation in the fields of trade, communication, and so forth, such as has been as yet impossible in the sphere of political activities. The international administrative agencies have become an invaluable part of our international organization and operate with a minimum of friction or antagonism and with a degree of efficiency which would be impossible without such international machinery.[13]

8. PAN-AMERICAN UNION

The welfare of the states in North and South America has long been regarded as of vital concern to the United States, as can be attested by the fact that in 1823 President Monroe issued his declaration that the United States would resist any further colonization or the extension of control over American republics by European powers. The United States at that early date gave notice to the world that it intended to exercise leadership in the Western World. The Monroe Doctrine became an established principle in American foreign policy in so far as the Americas were concerned. In 1826 a Pan-American Congress was held in Panama which it was hoped would lay the foundations for some practical form of union between the Americas. The United States failed to take part in that meeting and it was not until 1889–90 at a Pan-American Conference in Washington that the Pan-American Union, comprising the twenty-one republics of the two Americas, was formed. The purpose of the Washington Conference of 1889 was to establish a commercial bureau which would foster trade relations between the republics.[14]

[13] Cf. Schuman, *op. cit.* (third edition), pp. 205–211; and Potter, *op. cit.* (fourth edition), pp. 201–218.

[14] Since the first conference in Washington in 1889 nine other conferences have been held as follows: Mexico, 1901; Rio de Janeiro, 1906; Buenos Aires, 1910; Santiago, Chile, 1923; Havana, Cuba, 1928; Montevideo, 1933; Lima, 1938; Rio de Janeiro, 1942; Mexico, 1945.

The Pan-American Union has its permanent headquarters in Washington, D.C. The Union is under the general direction of a governing body composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the representatives of the other American republics who are located in Washington. The organization is financed by quotas from all the American republics based on the populations of the countries. The executive officers of the Pan-American Union are a director general and an assistant director elected by the governing board and responsible to that body.

Since the meeting of the first Pan-American Conference in 1889 the functions of the Union have expanded so that the organization contributes to the strengthening of the ties between the states of the Americas in every field of endeavor. A primary and perhaps the most important function of the Union is to give effect to the resolutions adopted at the different conferences. The Union also cooperates in securing ratification by the member republics of the treaties and conventions signed by the delegates to the conferences. Through the efforts of the Union the republics of the Americas have been brought closer together in their commercial, financial, and cultural relationships. International security based on cooperation has been fostered. Since 1923 there has developed a comprehensive system for the pacific settlement of international disputes embracing facilities for mediation and arbitration. It is the declaration of the Union that it and the member states will not recognize territorial gains made by force. Differences arising between members of the Pan-American Union are regarded as the concern of the entire membership and the responsibility for maintaining peace rests not with individual republics but with the entire continent. When the United States was forced into war against the Axis Powers, every republic in the two Americas broke off relations with those powers and fourteen member republics declared war on the aggressors.[15]

The Pan-American Union has special divisions or bureaus on foreign trade, statistics, finance, agricultural cooperation, juridical matters, travel, and intellectual cooperation. Through these divisions information on various subjects in the different countries can be secured by all the citizens of the Americas.

The Pan-American Union has in large measure relieved the United

[15] The countries which did not declare war on Germany, Italy, and Japan within a very short time were: Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

States of the responsibility of maintaining the Monroe Doctrine. Instead the principles of that Doctrine are enforced by the joint action of all the American republics acting through the Union.

9. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The most significant attempt ever made in the field of international relations to substitute law and order for irresponsible force was the establishment of the League of Nations at the close of the First World War in 1919. Leading up to the organization of the League of Nations were centuries of "wishful thinking" on the part of political philosphers: in 1305 Pierre Dubois formulated a plan of international organization, and later William Penn, Emmanuel Kant, Benjamin Franklin, William Ladd, and others formulated plans for the establishment of organizations to maintain world peace. For various reasons the plans were never tried. During the nineteenth century the need for international cooperation became increasingly pronounced. During that century many international conferences were held for the purpose of working out satisfactory solutions to international problems; there was an increasing use of arbitration and in 1899 the Permanent Court of Arbitration was established. For four years prior to the formation of the League of Nations the great powers of the earth had waged a bloody and destructive conflict. During that time the sentiment grew in all nations, especially in England and the United States, that the war should be terminated with the formation of an international organization to prevent the recurrence of another such holocaust. The individual who is credited with the greatest influence in the final adoption of the League of Nations as a part of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 is President Woodrow Wilson. Although he was not the originator of the idea of a League of Nations, nor was he the sole author of the Covenant in its final form, he was largely responsible for having the League of Nations incorporated into the treaty of peace so that all nations which signed the peace treaty at the same time subscribed to the League of Nations. Schuman says of the League of Nations:

> It was a synthesis of the ideas of many people in many lands and it embodied into a single structure all of the past experience of the States of the world in establishing and maintaining international organization. That experience was supplemented by the efforts of the Allied Governments during the war to work out methods of joint action for the purpose of coordinating their activities in the fields of shipping, food supplies,

> munitions, and military affairs. The League was not, then, the creation of a single man or of a single generation of men, but was the culmination of a long process of practical and theoretical preparation for the building of an enduring structure of cooperation between States.[16]

a. *Organization of the League of Nations.* The membership of the League of Nations varied from forty-eight states in 1920 to sixty in 1934. The average number of states which were members was about fifty-five; a total of sixty-three states were members at some period of its existence.

The work of the League was carried on through three divisions, the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat.

(1) *The Assembly.* The Assembly was the most representative organ in the League in the sense that every member state participated with complete equality in this organ. Each state had as many as three active representatives and as many non-debating alternates and technical advisors as seemed desirable. Each state, however, had only one vote. The regular meetings of the Assembly were held once a year in September; special meetings could be called if desired. The officials of the Assembly were a president and twelve vice-presidents.

The functions of the Assembly were, as stated in Article 3 of the Covenant of the League, to "deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the world." The Assembly elected, by a two-thirds vote, new members to the League; it elected annually three of the non-permanent members of the Council; it elected, together with the Council, the fifteen judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice; it approved the Council's nomination for the position of Secretary-General; it amended the Covenant of the League; it considered general political, economic, and technical questions which were of international interest; and it prepared, with the aid of the Secretariat, the annual budget of the League. The work of the Assembly was carried on by a number of standing committees charged with particular functions. In this respect the Assembly resembled the American legislative bodies. The Assembly became the most powerful organ of the League.

(2) *The Council of the League.* The executive organ of the League was the Council. Originally it was designed as a small body with five permanent seats to be filled by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan and with four non-permanent seats originally assigned to Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece. Successors for the non-

[16] Schuman, *op. cit.* (second edition), p. 193.

permanent seats were to be filled periodically by the Assembly. The United States Senate did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles so the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations. When Germany became a member of the League, it demanded a permanent seat on the Council. This required a reorganization which admitted Germany to a permanent seat and increased the number of non-permanent seats to nine, with three to be filled annually for three-year terms. Later, in 1933, the number of non-permanent seats was increased to ten. In 1939 there were three permanent seats filled by Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, and eleven non-permanent seats.

The Council met four times a year and oftener if occasion required. The duties of the Council were executive and supervisory. In practice the most important activities of the Council was the settlement of international disputes which arose and which were referred to it. The Covenant of the League placed the duty of maintaining peace in the world directly on the Council.

(3) *The Secretariat.* The Secretariat was an administrative or service branch of the League organization. It was headed by a Secretary-General elected by the Assembly and the Council for a term of fifteen years, a Deputy Secretary-General, and three Under-Secretaries-General. The total staff of the Secretariat numbered between six hundred and seven hundred individuals from some fifty different countries.

In addition to the usual activities and duties of a secretarial branch of an organization, the Secretariat was assigned the non-political activities of the League. These obligations were: (1) to "secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children"; (2) to "entrust to the League the general supervision over the execution of agreements, with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs"; (3) to "entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition"; (4) to "make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League"; (5) to "endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of diseases." The accomplishments of the Secretariat have been among the most noteworthy of the League.[17]

[17] Cf. Frances J. Brown, Charles Hodges, Joseph S. Roucek, Editors, *Contemporary World Politics*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 433–435.

b. *Appraisal of the League's achievements and failures.* In considering the accomplishments and failures of the League of Nations two somewhat different fields of operations should be considered, the non-political and the political.

In the non-political activities the accomplishments of the League were noteworthy. In the field of health great strides were made to improve health and sanitary conditions throughout the world. Information on the treatment of diseases was made available to all people. Serums and antitoxins were standardized, and epidemics such as typhus, cholera, and bubonic plague were combated successfully. Traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs was regulated. Welfare of women and children was promoted. Information in many different subjects was made available on a world-wide scale. International economic cooperation was promoted. Intellectual cooperation was greatly stimulated. Communication and transportation were improved.[18]

In the field of political activities the League was not without its successes. During the first decade of its existence about thirty important cases were successfully handled by the League; some of the incidents might have resulted in war except for the actions taken. For example, in 1925 a dispute arose between Greece and Bulgaria. Border clashes occurred and the Greek army marched across the border into Bulgarian territory. Through action taken by the League Council peace was restored and the matter was settled. In 1931 Japan marched into Manchuria. The League for various reasons failed to take prompt action. Manchuria was taken over by Japan and the trail of aggression was blazed which terminated in the Second World War. As a result of the failure of the League to settle the Manchurian invasion and other aggressive acts, the prestige and influence of the League waned and finally little attention was given to League action in political affairs.

There are several reasons why the League was unsuccessful in its chief function, that is, maintaining world peace. One very important factor in the League's failure was the refusal of the United States to become a member. With one of the most important and influential nations in the world outside the organization, the League began its life very seriously handicapped. Another important reason for the failure of the League was the unwillingness on the part of the great nations to

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 435–446.

put their trust in collective security. The old habits of nations to depend upon their own military might were too strong to be overcome in a short time.

In spite of the failures of the League it "has given to the world a glimpse of the possibility of order and security exceeding anything the world has ever known . . . it provides machinery for a peaceful world based on social justice, which needs only the will of mankind to come into actual existence." [19]

10. INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Although the International Labor Organization is distinct from the League of Nations proper, provision for such an organization was a part of the Treaty of Versailles; Article 392 of the Treaty stipulates that "the International Labor Organization shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League." Its meetings were regularly held in Geneva. Members of the League were automatically members of the International Labor Organization, and a nation which was not a member of the League could join the Labor Organization. The United States became a member of the I.L.O. in 1934. Also a country which withdrew from the League could retain its membership in the Labor Organization.

The International Labor Organization maintained separate offices and a separate staff from those of the League; it enjoyed a large measure of freedom of action and was completely dissociated from the League in all political activities.

In the internal organization of the I.L.O. provision was made that in all cases representatives should be sent by the national governments, employee organizations, and organized industries.

The activities of the I.L.O. were directed toward the improvement of laboring conditions throughout the world through the reduction of hours of labor, regulation and prohibition of child labor, and improvement in the conditions of employment. A part of the work of the Labor Organization was the development of a labor library. This it did until it had the finest library of its kind in the world.[20] Workers from all parts of the world could secure information on any subject relating to labor and industry by applying to the International Labor Organization.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 449.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 474.

11. PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

As an agency for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the League of Nations provided for the organization of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The membership of this Court consisted of fifteen judges selected by the Assembly and the Council of the League. Not more than one judge could come from the same state. The term of office of the judges was nine years and the annual salary was thirty thousand dollars with travel and other allowances. When a state which had no judge sitting on the Court had a case before the Court, it had the right to appoint a judge (one from the particular state) to sit in the consideration of the case. Decisions were reached by majority vote of the Court.

Cases could be brought before the Court for judgment by member states, or by the Council of the League for advisory opinions. The Court had jurisdiction over cases which the states referred to it and to all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions. The functions of the Court extended to the interpretation of treaties, the application of general principles of international law, the determination of legal facts, and the amount of reparation to be paid to states suffering legal injuries. In fact, the Court had jurisdiction over any kind of cases which conflicting states wished to bring before it.

Between 1922 and 1939 the Court rendered thirty-one judgments and twenty-eight orders having the force of judgments. During that time twenty-three different states were parties to cases brought before the Court. Some states were parties in numerous cases. During that period of time thirty-one advisory opinions were rendered upon the request of the Council of the League of Nations. It is interesting to note that although the advisory opinions were rendered without the request of particular states involved in controversy, all of the opinions were accepted by the respective states.[21]

All states which were members of the League of Nations and those mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant, which included the United States, were eligible to membership in the World Court. Although the United States has long advocated peaceful solution of international problems and American citizens have taken the lead in promoting various organizations for maintaining world peace, the United States refused to become a member of the World Court. During the years

[21] Middlebush and Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 457–460.

from 1920 to 1939 four judges from the United States served as judges on the World Court.

Although the World Court achieved noteworthy results in certain cases and it undoubtedly marks a great stride forward in the endeavor to reach a means for the peaceful solution of international disputes, it failed as did the other branches of the League of Nations to maintain world peace. This failure may be attributed to the unwillingness, as yet, of nations to allow any outside organ to settle problems which they regard as involving national honor. For this reason the World Court was restricted in its jurisdiction to cases which the states were willing to submit to it. Furthermore the Court had no means of enforcing its decisions. Until the nations of the world reach the point where they will submit their difficulties to agencies other than military might for settlement and those agencies are provided with executive power to carry out their decisions peacefully, one cannot expect lasting international peace.

12. WORLD FEDERATION

As one studies the trend of national expansion, the increasing need for cooperation between states, the failures of international organization as it has operated in the past, and the great cost in lives and property of "civilized" warfare, one must arrive at the conclusion that a strong international organization with power to carry out its decisions is required if peaceful relationship among states is to be maintained.

The people of the United States and other nations cannot endure indefinitely the competitive struggle to maintain the "world's largest" army or navy or air force, together with the necessary equipment and supplies which these branches of the military arms of governments require. Furthermore, the experience of the past indicates that large armies and navies, maintained by individual states, are used not for the purpose of maintaining peace, but as a threat to other nations and for the purpose of waging wars.

As the people of various parts of the world have been able to enjoy domestic peace by becoming part of strong nations with power to punish disturbers of the peace, so, it seems, the people and states of the world could enjoy international peace if the principle of world federation were extended to all nations. In this way the federal power could act to prevent aggression and to protect the people of weak states as well as those living in the powerful nations. That great advantages to

people in all parts of the world would accrue from a well-organized and fully maintained world federation seems certain. Only through some such international organization can the world attain the political unity and economic freedom which are prerequisites for a lasting peace. The United States stands as an excellent example of the benefits to be gained by people who adopt the principle of federal government.

Although the difficulties to be overcome in attaining a World Federation are very great, particularly with the present bitterness existing throughout the world and the spirit of nationalism which has been aroused, yet the people everywhere are so desirous for peace and are so eager to find a method which will give promise of maintaining peace that steps may even now be taken which will in time lead to the formation of a World Federation to prevent wars.

C. *Summary*

Through the modern development of mechanized industry, and improved means of communication and transportation, the needs and wants of people in the Western World have greatly increased. This has led to greater demands for the exchange of goods within and between nations. Since few if any nations are large enough to contain all the natural resources needed to carry on modern industrial life, there is greater need for international cooperation than formerly existed. The needs which all nations experienced to greater or lesser degrees resulted in economic competition often accompanied by national power politics; imperialism; struggle to control world markets and sources of supply of natural resources; and bloody warfare on scales never before envisioned.

Under the constant threat of war, the need for international exchange of goods and services, and the necessity for international cooperation in many fields moved nations to form various organizations in the attempt to provide for peaceful settlement of international difficulties and for the maintenance of economic and political cooperation of people in different nations. In the non-political fields, great headway has been made in providing world organizations which successfully promote peaceful relationships. In political fields and activities less headway has been made. The spirit of nationalism; the unwillingness of states to allow political issues to be adjudicated by neutral third parties; the fear on the part of most nations of dependence on collective

security instead of force of arms; and habits which have their roots in the past have tended to make more difficult the solution of international political problems. However, some headway has been made and many international problems, even some which are political in nature, have been solved. In spite of the failures there are reasons for hope that a successful world organization to maintain peace can be achieved.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what ways was the situation among the Thirteen States of the United States similar to world conditions today? In what ways different? Would a solution similar to that adopted by the Thirteen States be applicable in world affairs today?
2. What are the factors which have been responsible for the trend toward larger governmental units? Is that trend likely to continue? Explain.
3. Explain the operation of our diplomatic and consular service.
4. Does a nation which has recalled its representatives from a country thereby declare war?
5. Explain how the principle of Balance of Power was applied in the beginning of the Second World War.
6. Explain the differences between international law and state statutes.
7. In what ways has the Pan-American Union promoted international solidarity among the nations of the Americas?
8. In what respects is mediation different from arbitration in international relations?
9. Trace the process of making a treaty with a foreign nation as it is followed by the government of the United States.
10. How do you account for the fact that nations have held many more conferences during the past quarter century than formerly?
11. What types of international relations are regulated by international bureaus or commissions?
12. Explain the organization of the League of Nations. Do you think its failure was owing to its structural defects?
13. Why did the United States fail to join the League of Nations?
14. Do you think the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations contributed to its failure to operate successfully?
15. Why is an international labor organization of value?
16. What arguments are raised against a World Federation?

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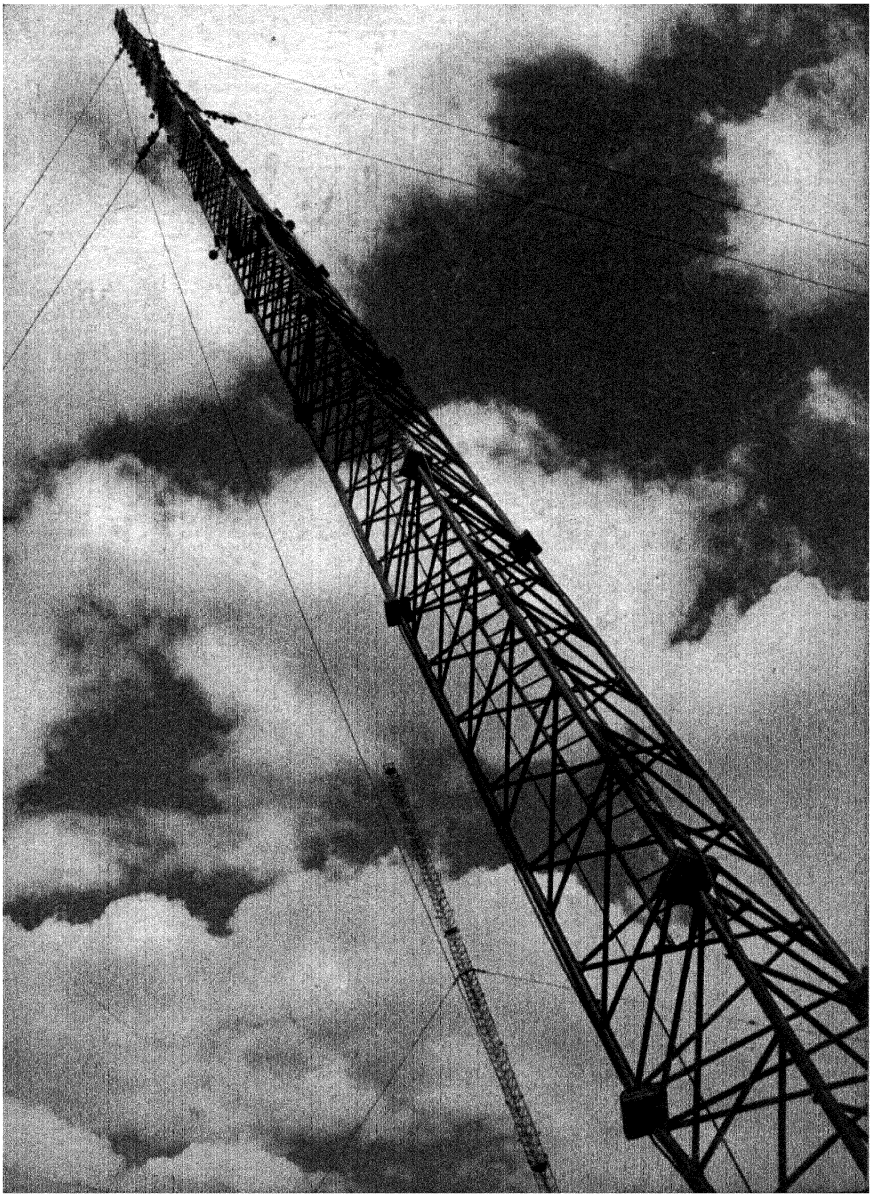
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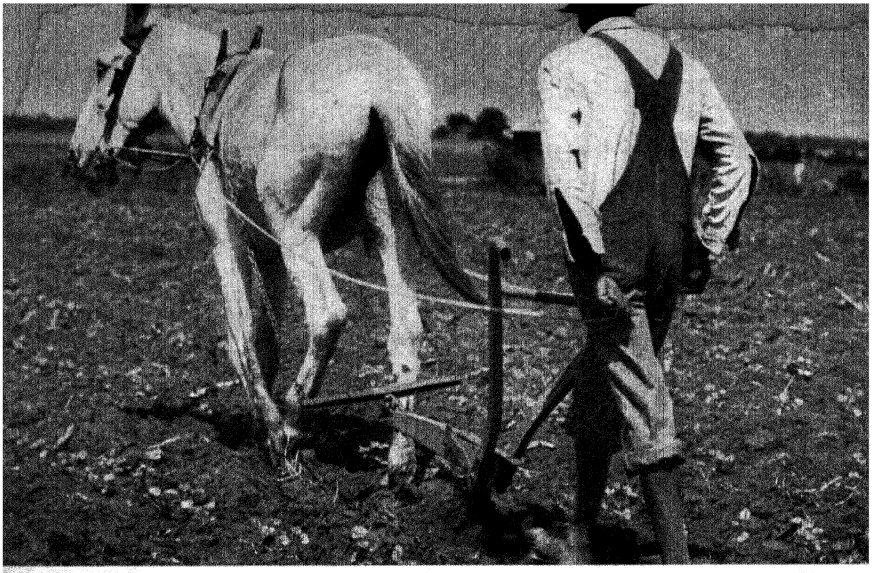
Part IV

Culture Change

Culture Change

Courtesy Westinghouse Station WBZ PLATE 30





Keystone



Gendreau

PLATE 31

A characteristic of all human societies is that they are continuously changing. The implements which are satisfactory for the accomplishment of a task at one period of time do not serve equally well at another.



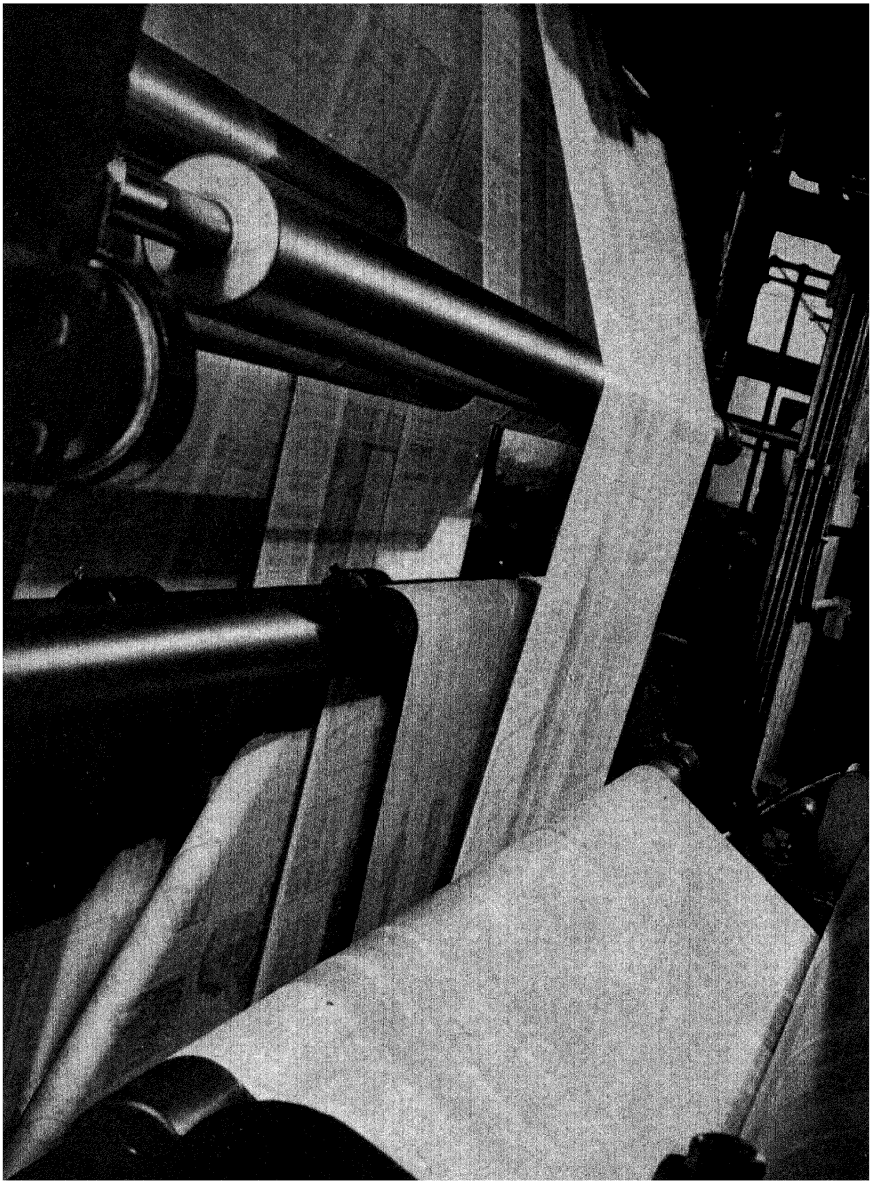
Black Star



Roberts

PLATE 32

People living in a sparsely populated area cannot have the same pattern of life as those who live in a densely settled city. Rural people will adopt only such portions of a culture as appeal to them and will fit these portions into the existing pattern of behavior.



Life Magazine

PLATE 33

The degree of isolation from contacts with outside groups is an important factor in influencing the rate of culture change of a group. The newspaper, the radio, and other means of modern communication have contributed much to speeding up the rate of culture change.

CHAPTER 35

Culture Change

A CHARACTERISTIC of all human societies is that they are continuously changing. There is no such thing as a changeless culture or a changeless institution. The implements which are satisfactory for the accomplishment of a task at one period of time do not serve equally well at another. Folkways and mores which guide a people during one period of its history are discarded and displaced during another period.

In this final chapter we shall discuss the sources of culture change; the differential rates at which cultures and culture traits change; and the consequences of too rapid and too great change, that is, social disorganization and personal disorganization; and social planning.

A. *Sources of Culture Change*

When a person is confronted with a problem which must be solved and when he feels that his available tools or methods for satisfactorily meeting the situation are inadequate, he tries to think of some new device by which he can accomplish his objective. Should he see a friend or neighbor in possession of an instrument with which he can more satisfactorily attain his desired goal, he either borrows the instrument from his neighbor or fashions a copy of it which he can use. Human society acts in much the same way. It either invents new devices with which to meet social needs or it borrows or copies new ideas from other groups. Thus, culture change comes about through the invention of new traits or techniques and through the borrowing of traits or techniques from other cultures and other groups.

1. INVENTIONS

Inventions are the utilization of known principles in new ways. Although the automobile was invented as recently as the latter part of the nineteenth century, the elements which composed the automobile were

known long before. Although Christian Science was developed — invented — during the latter part of the nineteenth century, many of the basic philosophies of the religion had been advanced hundreds of years before. What is true of these two "new inventions" is equally true of all significant inventions with which modern man is familiar.

a. *Social needs as prerequisites for inventions.* A society living in a Garden of Eden wherein every want of man is gratified without any work on his part has no occasion for inventions. There are no unsatisfied needs. The first prerequisite for inventions in any culture is a recognized need for new ways to accomplish desired objectives. It is not enough that the need exists; it must be recognized as a need by the group confronted with the problem. During the Middle Ages there was a definite need for ways to prevent or to reduce the ravages of Black Death. However, the people looked upon such epidemics as righteous visitations of the wrath of God on "evildoers," and the sufferers felt no real need for checking the epidemics. They felt that their need was for greater humility and greater obedience to what they conceived to be the wishes of the Almighty. Devices for reducing such contagious diseases through improved sanitation came about only when the members of particular groups felt that such changes were desirable.

As the frontiersmen pushed west and were followed by farmers, the farmers recognized a need for new methods of harvesting the grain which could be raised on the vast tracts of land. The answer to this need was Cyrus McCormick's reaper. Later, the people of the United States recognized the acute need, if the nation was to grow and to be a united people, for more rapid and more efficient means of communicating from place to place and for transporting goods from one part of the vast country to another. In response to this need the postal system, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, and the radio were invented or borrowed from other cultures. To facilitate transportation steamboats, highways, canals, railways, automobiles, and airplanes came into use.

b. *Existing culture base.* If inventions are new ways of using already known principles or techniques, an existing body of knowledge is essential before any invention can follow. Only those inventions can be made which employ traits already known or which are a part of the existing culture. Automobiles, telegraph, electric lights, and other modern implements could not have been invented during the period of the American Revolution for the reason that the principles of electricity

were not understood at that time. The modern internal-combustion engine could not have been developed in the absence of gasoline or some similar fuel. The invention or introduction of popular schemes of government such as the initiative, referendum, and recall was impossible before the ideals of democracy or popular sovereignty became a part of the existing culture of Americans.

The great compositions in music and in literature such as the works of Beethoven and Shakespeare are dependent upon the previous works of many generations of composers and writers. The achievements of every generation in all fields of endeavor are based on the results of former developments in the same or similar lines of activities.

c. *Superior individuals.* The recognized need for new ways of accomplishing desired goals and a culture base embodying the necessary traits for inventions are not enough to assure the development of new methods of doing what is needed. There must be individuals with initiative and imagination to lead in the development of new techniques, instruments, or systems to meet the needs. Without Edison or someone else with the imagination and vision to conceive of the incandescent lamp the modern world would be very different from that with which we are familiar. Had a Cyrus McCormick not invented the reaper, who can say what the United States would be like today? The importance of superior individuals, leaders, who can see the needs which exist and can build on the existing knowledge new and better instruments for satisfying the needs more fully can hardly be overemphasized.

d. *Group attitudes favorable to inventions.* For the superior individuals, inventors and original thinkers to work effectively, they must live in a society which encourages changes and inventions and which honors and rewards their efforts. In other words, the mores of the group must encourage individuals to seek "better" ways of doing what is done or needs to be done. The Chinese had social needs, a culture base, and superior individuals, but few inventions were made over a period of hundreds of years because changes were contrary to the mores of the Chinese. In the United States, on the other hand, individuals have been encouraged by the prospect of improved social and economic status to seek new devices for doing anything which was regarded as beneficial to the group. The attitude of people in the United States has been conducive to the development of men such as McCormick, Morse, Field, Bell, Edison, Ford, and Wilbur and Orville Wright. As a consequence of the American attitude toward change many inventions have been made

in this country which have revolutionized industry, communication, transportation, and living conditions throughout the world.

2. BORROWING OR DIFFUSION OF CULTURE TRAITS

Often when there is need for better methods or improved tools for accomplishing necessary tasks the answer is found not through inventions but through adopting into the culture traits which are found in another group. The American Indian borrowed the horse of the white man. The white man in turn borrowed tobacco, the potato, and maize from the Indians.

a. *Factors in culture-borrowing*

(1) *Imputed value.* Before any group will borrow new culture traits the borrowers must believe there is some advantage to be gained through the change. The white men did not borrow the Indian tepee or wigwam as their customary abode because they felt that the Indian form of dwelling was inferior to their own. The Indians did not see the value of the white man's religion, his system of government, or his marriage customs. Consequently they were slow to borrow those portions of the white man's culture. On the other hand, the Indians did recognize that the white man's gun was superior to their own implements of war and the chase and readily borrowed it. Generally speaking *material* culture is more readily and more eagerly borrowed by any group than the *non-material* culture because the utility of the former is more apparent to the *borrowing* group.[1]

(2) *Attitude toward new ideas.* The prevailing attitudes of people regarding new inventions and changes in the established culture pattern are important factors in the desire of groups to appropriate culture traits of others. The Chinese borrowed but few traits from other people because their folkways and mores were opposed to any changes. The Americans, on the other hand, have taken, from all parts of the world, traits which they felt would have value and utility. Thus the American culture is for the most part a body of traits which have been appropriated from other people. It is difficult to name any culture trait which can be regarded as purely American in the sense that the white native-born population of the nation originated or developed it without borrowing from foreign cultures.

(3) *Relations between the people in contact.* People who regard certain

[1] Cf. E. T. Hiller, *Principles of Sociology*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1933, pp. 357–361.

cultural or racial groups as distinctly inferior to themselves will seldom borrow culture traits from them. On the other hand, inferior groups may make special efforts to copy the culture of those they hold in high esteem. A relatively small part of the great mass of American culture has been borrowed by the white population from the Negro. Negroes, on the other hand, have attempted to borrow the culture traits of the whites to such an extent that their own culture traits have been largely lost. An examination of the existing culture of the American Negro reveals how small a portion can be called purely African or of African origin. On the other hand, an examination of the culture of the white race living in the United States shows how small a portion bears the imprint of Negro culture.

The attitudes existing among groups influence the inclinations to borrow one another's culture. People living in a spirit of friendship and mutual admiration for one another tend to exchange culture traits as well as goods in trade. Americans have been eager to borrow ideas and practices from the French people, for since the time of the American Revolution a spirit of friendship and of mutual admiration has existed between the two countries. There have been close and frequent contacts which have given the people of the two nations opportunities to familiarize themselves with each other's culture.

(4) *Cultural contacts.* A people living in isolation, removed from contact with other culture groups, has little chance to borrow culture traits. Only as people associate with others having different practices and beliefs do they have opportunities and inclinations to make use of borrowed customs and tools. The more numerous and more varied the contacts, the greater is the likelihood that culture diffusion will take place between the groups.

b. *Methods of culture assimilation.* Culture assimilation refers to the adoption and absorption of a portion of a culture which has been borrowed to such an extent that it becomes an indistinguishable part of the borrowing culture. The use of tobacco, although it was originally an Indian trait, has become so thoroughly assimilated into the white man's culture that now it seems definitely a characteristic of white people.

(1) *Substitution.* Sometimes, when a new trait is introduced into a culture, it takes the place completely of the trait it displaced. For example, steel plows have completely displaced the wooden plows which were used during the early period of our cultural development.

In such instances the borrowed culture is substituted for the old. Immigrants coming to this country have usually, after a period of time, substituted the culture of their adopted homeland for that of the country from which they came.

(2) *Fitting the new into the old.* More prevalent than complete substitution is the practice of adopting such portions of a culture as appeal to a particular group and of fitting these portions into the existing pattern of behavior. Primitive people, in accepting the Christian religion, often take the portions which appeal to their fancy and mould them into their original religious practices in such a way as to suit their ideas. Among the religions of the Negroes of Brazil are ceremonial practices of the Catholic Church together with many practices of magic. Images of the Christian saints are placed side by side with idols of their African religions in the same religious structure. Christian workers often fail to understand the tendency of man to adapt his newly acquired traits to the existing culture; they expect converts in distant lands to establish a religion and a church which is simply a transplanted institution from the workers' own culture. This complete substitution of one religion for another seldom takes place. The Christian church in China is very different from the Christian institution of the same denomination in the United States. What is true of religion and other non-material institutions and practices is true of material culture as well. For example, the Indians did not discard their bow and arrows when they borrowed the fire arms of the white man. The Indians simply added the gun to their existing weapons of war.

3. CAUSES OF CULTURAL CHANGES

a. *Geographical changes.* Changed geographical conditions necessitate culture changes which result in new patterns of life.[2] The meandering of a large river may result in a change in its course. Such physical changes have taken place along the Mississippi River, the Yellow River of China, and nearly all of the great waterways. People living along a stream which changes its course are required by the nature of their new environment to make radical changes. Furthermore, in regions where the forests have been exhausted, people who formerly depended upon lumbering as a way to make their living have been forced to move, to engage in farming, or to take up some other new occupation.

Geographical changes except for those brought on by man such as

[2] Under geographical conditions we include climate, topography, bodies of water — rivers, lakes, bays, seas, etc., natural resources, and flora and fauna of the regions.

depletion of forests, exhaustion of mineral resources, irrigation, or draining of swamps usually take place very slowly over long periods of time so that cultural adjustments can be made without great difficulty.

b. *Catastrophes.* Catastrophes often result from unusual natural phenomena, such as floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, tidal waves, droughts, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and snow slides. Many sudden and unexpected social changes have resulted from disasters which required abandonment of the accustomed behavior patterns and the substitution of new systems. The great storm and tidal wave in Galveston in 1900 led to the adoption of a commission form of city government. The floods in the lower Mississippi River Valley led to the present system of levees and spillways designed to prevent future inundations by the river. The great earthquake in San Francisco in 1906 led to a new and very different reconstruction of the city. The great disasters in the Middle Ages caused by epidemics of Black Death resulted in new economic and political systems in all the countries affected by the disease.

Wars often lead to culture systems very different from those existing before the conflicts. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was an outgrowth of the disastrous war from 1914 to 1917. The Nazi system in Germany succeeded the republic which followed the overthrow of Emperor William II. The First World War changed drastically the economic and political systems previously existing in Germany. The Second World War will without doubt result in many social changes throughout the entire world.

c. *Population variation.* Variations in the number of people living in a region necessitate changes in the way of living. A familiar sight in America has been the "boom town," a town or even a city which has arisen from a rural area of few inhabitants almost "overnight." Oklahoma City grew from an uninhabited spot on the plains to an aggregation of thousands of human beings within a period of a few weeks. On the other hand, the "ghost town" is not unknown in the United States. Certain centers of population have become largely depopulated because conditions have arisen which made it undesirable as a place of residence. Wherever such unusual increase or decrease in the number of individuals living in a region occurs, the culture pattern must be changed to fit the new circumstance. People living in a sparsely populated area cannot have the same pattern of life as those who live in a densely settled city. The converse of this statement is equally true.

d. *New inventions.* Since inventions are made in response to the definite needs of society, one invention or series of inventions may create conditions which are recognized as demanding further changes in the same or in different lines of activities. For example, the invention of the spinning jenny made it possible to spin cotton into thread faster than the existing machines could weave the thread into cloth. The need for an increased rate of weaving led to the invention of power looms. The spinning jenny and the newly invented power looms increased the demand for cotton. The cotton gin was the answer to this need. Similarly, the invention of the automobile led to a series of new developments. One development, resulting in large measure from the development of the automobile, was the present system of hard-surfaced roads extending throughout the nation. The great petroleum industry of the modern world came into being in response to the demand for gasoline with which to propel motor cars. Another less direct development was the modern distribution of population in urban and suburban areas.

Inventions of such great significance as the steam locomotive, the telegraph, the telephone, wireless telegraphy, the automobile, the airplane, and the incandescent light result in inventions and culture changes which affect the life of people in diverse ways. For example, the entire character of warfare has been changed by the use of the automobile and the airplane. The invention of the incandescent light and the electric motor have caused great changes in the modern home, both in illumination, and in the performance of household duties.

4. RESISTANCE TO CULTURE CHANGE

In every society there are forces which resist change and which seek to block the utilization of inventions. In material culture new machines have often been broken and destroyed by those who sought to continue the accustomed ways of performing certain tasks. Inventors have been ridiculed by a portion of society and in some cultures have even been persecuted for their attempts to disturb the "good old ways."

Changes in religious beliefs, educational practices, systems of government, and economic ideas have been and are subject to strong resistance. Darwin's theory of the evolution of species is still condemned by some as contrary to the Bible and therefore evil. Many new educational practices and materials have been condemned as "fads" and devices for making learning attractive and easy; these new methods

have been considered, by those who clung to the established conventional instructional methods and systems, actually harmful to the children who came under their influence. Advocates of reorganization of the American governmental systems are often accused of violating the sanctity of the Constitution and of undermining American democracy. The manner in which the President of the United States has been elected is criticized by some people as cumbersome and anachronistic, yet all attempts to secure a method which is more in keeping with their ideals of democracy have met with failure. New economic practices or philosophies are often branded as "socialistic" or "communistic" even though they suggest few of the principles of either.

a. *Inertia.* One reason for resistance to culture change is inertia resulting from established habits. A person who is accustomed to a particular method of work seldom likes to discard the familiar ways and learn some new system. For example, although a person realizes that the touch system of typing is superior to the sight method, because he has developed the habit of using the "hunt and peck" system he will seldom take the trouble to learn to type by touch. Teachers often cling to methods of instruction with which they are familiar long after new and superior methods have been developed for no other reason than that it would be a considerable "bother" to make the change. Although the metric system of weights and measures is almost universally recognized as superior to the English-American system, little headway has been made in either country, except in scientific fields, in securing the adoption and use of the metric system.

b. *Established attitudes.* Often an emotional state is built up around the established customs to such an extent that alterations are regarded as immoral, destructive, or even sacrilegious. Certain individuals, therefore, regard it as their moral, patriotic, or religious duty to defend the *status quo.* Resistance to culture change because of established attitudes is found in fields or subjects which have strong emotional appeal to members of society. There is little emotional reaction aroused because of a change from one machine or mechanical device which has been in use a long time to one which is more efficient in its operation; but the form of religious observance, domestic institutional activities, governmental systems and practices, and customs of a society are supported by emotional attachments which often resist change very strongly.

c. *Economic costs.* Resistance to culture change often occurs because

of the economic cost involved in making the change. Inventors often find great difficulty in getting their invention manufactured because of the cost of advertising, promoting, manufacturing, and selling a new article, even though it may be very superior to anything known in its line. In the non-commercial fields the resistance because of economic cost is often insurmountable. The chief reason why cities do not have more and better equipped playgrounds is often the economic costs involved in establishing and maintaining them.

d. *Social dislocations caused by the change.* No culture change can be made without producing important dislocations in the established social order. An invention such as the combine for harvesting wheat threw thousands of men who had formerly worked in the wheat fields of western United States out of employment. These unemployed men flocked to our cities in search of work and greatly added to the problems of relief within the cities. At the same time the mechanization of the wheat harvest made it possible for one man with relatively few hired workers to cultivate and harvest larger acreages of wheat. As a result many small farm owners and operators were displaced and forced to find employment as hired laborers. A considerable amount of the migration within the United States, especially in the western part of the nation, during the nineteen-twenties and the nineteen-thirties was associated with the mechanization of agriculture.

The mechanization of industry has been associated with the growth of urbanism, the weakening of the family bonds, the increase in juvenile delinquency and adult crime, a relaxation in the accepted moral restrictions of the groups, the growth of feeling that society as a whole rather than the families and other primary groups should be responsible for the care of dependents, and the increase in the cost of government.

As Ogburn and Nimkoff say, "in general it may be said that, to be adopted readily, an invention must meet a need and yet must not disturb or dislocate society greatly. . . . Hence the adoption of such an invention means a weighing of the advantages against the amount of disorganization that might result." [3]

e. *Imperfections of new inventions.* New inventions are seldom free from imperfections. When the automobile first came into use the unreliability of the machine was one of its most pronounced characteristics. Operators were ridiculed by drivers of horse-drawn vehicles when

[3] William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940, p. 830.

the motorist was stalled on the road, as he was often; even popular songs were composed which set forth in striking form the fact that automobiles were repeatedly breaking down and requiring repair and were consequently unreliable in their operations. The airplane was not only unreliable but was extremely dangerous; many of the early aviators lost their lives because of the failure of the machines to operate consistently. The early radio was very crude and transmitted noise more than anything else.

In non-material culture inventions have often been equally imperfect when they were first tried. The first government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was noteworthy for its defects; the attempt to promote temperance through the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution; and the League of Nations to prevent world conflict, are examples of social inventions which did not operate successfully.

Often inventions fail to be adopted or to be given extensive trial because of their apparent imperfections, although the defects might be eliminated if the new device or plan were given a fair and complete trial.

f. *Vested interests.* One of the most powerful obstacles which new devices must overcome in order to be adopted is the resistance promoted by individuals and groups who are benefited, or who think they are benefited, by retaining the *status quo.* The liquor dealers, distributors, and manufacturers could hardly be expected to assist in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment which was designed to put them out of operation. Manufacturers of petroleum motor fuels, and of gasoline motors could not be expected to promote or to encourage the development of vehicles driven by steam or propelled by power developed by fuels other than that produced from petroleum. The county officials who hold office under our present organization of minor state subdivisions are not anxious to have the states reduce the number of counties within the states and thereby endanger their positions. Physicians and surgeons resist attempts to promote health measures which they fear will establish "socialized medicine" because it may endanger their present private medical practice. Public school teachers in states which have passed teacher tenure laws resist strongly attempts to change the statutes even when the existing laws protect conspicuously incompetent and unworthy teachers in their positions to the injury of many school children. Ogburn and Nimkoff point out that, "the free

delivery of mail to farmers was for some time opposed successfully by the owners of saloons, who liked the idea of the farmer coming to town for his mail. He might stop for a drink at the corner saloon or the one on the outskirts of town, usually called 'the last chance.' " [4]

B. *Differential Rates of Culture Change*

Every student of the development of human culture notices that changes do not occur at equal rates in all cultures nor in all parts of the same culture.

1. VARYING CULTURE BASE

The Eskimo, the Pygmy, the Igorot, and other primitive groups of people live in many respects the same type of life as their ancestors did one hundred years ago. They still hunt for their living, often with the same type of primitive weapons as were used by their ancestors. Their types of shelter, their food habits, and their customs have not undergone any radical changes within the period of a hundred years except in localities where they have been thrown in frequent association with white men. American patterns of life, on the other hand, have changed so materially within the period of one hundred years that a social world has been developed which is radically different from that at the beginning of the interval. Americans one hundred years ago lived, for the most part, in rural localities, the automobile and good roads were not developed, air travel was unknown, the radio had not been invented, and they had few contacts with other people. Today, most Americans live in urban localities, buy their food from the corner grocery store, travel much and at a rapid rate of speed, have contacts with many people, and know almost instantly important events and happenings in all parts of the world.

The nature of the culture base and the degree of isolation of a people greatly influence the rate of change in ways of living. Groups with a limited or narrow culture base, lacking the traits upon which to build rapidly, change very slowly. Groups, like the Chinese of the past, which had a relatively broad culture base but which held it as a part of their mores to maintain the traditional patterns, do not change rapidly. Modern civilized groups, on the other hand, with a broad, complex culture base, but with no such prohibitive mores, change very rapidly.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 838.

The degree of isolation from contacts with outside groups is an important factor in influencing the rate of culture change of a group. Few nationalities have had more numerous contacts with other nationalities and groups than the residents of the United States. As a consequence Americans have changed very rapidly, whereas people in less frequent association with outside influences have remained in a more static condition.

Not only different nationalities but also groups within a nation change their culture at different rates. For example, people in sections of the Appalachian Mountains have remained remote from the influence of modern American life and still live in a manner very different from the customary pattern found in the United States.

2. MATERIAL AND NON-MATERIAL CULTURE CHANGE

The material and non-material divisions of a culture also change at different rates. For example, the system of American transportation of goods has changed radically since the beginning of the nation. The religion, government, and patterns of family life have likewise changed, but not to such an extent as transportation of goods or communication.

The ideal American family today, as in the period of the Revolution, is a monogamous household wherein the father or husband is the nominal head. Religious practices and beliefs are still similar in principle and in certain forms to those of the former period. The government is still a democracy with a president as the head of the nation guided by the wishes of the electorate, or of groups presumed to represent the wishes of the electorate, and bound by the Constitution. Throughout the period of the past hundred years or more, material culture has changed at a much more rapid rate than non-material culture. The reasons for the unequal rates of change may be the same as those given for the willingness of groups to borrow material culture traits and their unwillingness to accept non-material traits; that is, the borrowers do not see the utility of new non-material traits whereas they readily see the superiority of material traits.

3. CULTURE LAG

Where one division of culture changes more rapidly than another, a condition known as culture lag results — one division lags behind another in the changes which occur. Because religion has in many places failed to change its explanation of the origin of man to conform to the

findings of scientists made through studies of the evolution of species, religion in modern society lags behind science.

Also in education, as it is conducted in many school systems, a culture lag exists. About forty years ago Thorndike, by a series of experiments, discredited to a large extent the theory that development of a specific mental power is transferred in such a way as to develop the mental power generally. The belief was almost universal in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century that geometry, for example, developed the powers of reasoning not only in geometry but in medicine, in law, and in all fields of human endeavor. Thorndike, however, showed that while geometry does develop one's powers to reason in mathematics, that power is not carried over to any considerable extent to problems which are not mathematical in nature. If Thorndike's experiments are accepted as valid — as they are by many educators — there can then be no justification for requiring all students who attend high school to study geometry; nevertheless many high schools still require their students to study geometry, and most colleges still prescribe geometry for entrance. Although educators generally agree that the transfer of training is very slight, they insist on requiring students to study a subject which is justified largely on its theoretical transfer value. What has been said of geometry applies also to other subjects taught in the curricula of high schools and colleges.

Another example of culture lag exists in the material and non-material divisions of culture. Within the past years many machines have been developed which have greatly reduced the employment of labor. Machines are, of course, part of the material culture of societies. Systems of taking care of the unemployment have not been developed with the same rapidity as the machines; consequently many men are frequently without employment. Systems of finding employment for labor are part of the non-material culture of society. The non-material culture in this instance lags behind the material culture in its rate of change.

A very striking example of culture lag appears in the field of government. When the subdivisions of a state known as counties were laid out, the automobile had not been dreamed of. Travel was customarily on horseback, in vehicles drawn by horses, or on foot. Most states aimed to have the county, the local governing unit, of a size such that residents could leave home in the morning, drive or ride to the center of government, the county seat, transact their business, and

return home the same day. Therefore, counties had to be rather small. In the state of Georgia, for example, there are 159 counties. With the advent of the automobile and hard-surfaced roads a person could go from almost any part of the state of Georgia to the capital in as short time as was formerly required for horse-drawn vehicles to go from an outlying section of a county to the county seat. In spite of the changes in methods of travel there has been no corresponding change in the size of counties. A governmental unit might now serve an area of four to ten times its former size with no reduction in efficiency and with great reduction in cost of operation.

Ogburn and Nimkoff, in discussing culture lag, point out, "cities with increasing population have fewer police per 10,000 inhabitants than cities with decreasing populations. The growing cities do not expand their police force fast enough; the decreasing cities do not reduce theirs soon enough. The change in the number of police lags behind the change in the population." [5]

C. *Social Disorganization*

When social change is too rapid or too sudden, the institutions, folkways, and mores lose the importance they once held in the group. Conditions of uncertainty, confusion, and disorder become apparent. The society may then be called disorganized. There is disintegration of the group. The various members of disorganized societies or groups do not act with the understanding and agreement found in well-organized societies.

If a person loses his powers of coordination and if his mind cannot control his muscular reactions, the individual is helpless. What such a person may say has no agreement with what he thinks and wishes to say. He has no control over his arms and legs; consequently he cannot walk or perform any manual tasks. He is physically disorganized and therefore helpless. The disorganized society is very much like the disorganized individual; if completely disorganized, it is as helpless as the disorganized individual in its ability to act as a unit.

Social disorganization is relative. Some groups are more disorganized than others. A society is never completely disorganized.

1. FACTORS LEADING TO SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

An individual may lose his power of coordination because of a stroke

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 886.

of paralysis or because of some other physical ailment; or he may be born with a neuro-muscular system which does not function in a normal way. Similarly, a society becomes disorganized through a number of causal factors.

a. *Culture conflict as a factor.* Where two cultures are brought into close proximity, conflict between the groups often results. It may not take the form of actual warfare; rather does it assume the form of smoldering resentment of smothered hostility in one culture group for the members of the other and for the characteristics of their culture.

Immigrants to the United States have been minority groups in most parts of the nation. Between the immigrant groups and the dominant groups of Americans there has been little understanding or sympathy. The immigrants have been resentful and hostile toward native-born or "Americanized" residents, while the latter group has been inclined to ridicule and to scorn the unassimilated "foreigners."

Within immigrant groups strong attempts are made to retain the respective cultures and to train children in the old behavior patterns. Although parents are able to dominate the lives of children during the early period of childhood, when the youngsters enter school they meet and become acquainted with a new world. The majority group in school ridicules the "foreign" children, their manner of dress, their speech, and their "strange" customs. The children from immigrant homes, caught in the margin of two different cultures, are confused. They do not want to offend their parents, yet they desire approval by their own age group. As they try to assume the culture of their schoolmates, they gradually lose respect for their parents and for their parents' culture. Often the native-born members then refuse to accept these marginal individuals, and the latter groups are forced to remain German-Americans, Italo-Americans, or other forms of hyphenated Americans. Such individuals have voluntarily discarded their own culture to accept the American pattern with the expectation of complete acceptance by the dominant group. When these marginal individuals have been disappointed in their desire for complete social acceptance by Americans, they have tended to lose their bearings. They find no satisfaction in their own culture group; the group which they accept rejects them. For such individuals disorganization is the all too frequent result. Why should they be restrained, they may ask, by the culture patterns of a group which refuses to accept them for membership? The seriousness of this problem of culture conflict varies in

accordance with the number of foreign immigrants in a region. In the northeastern part of the United States it is of great importance; in the South, on the other hand, there are relatively few immigrants and consequently slight culture conflict.

b. *Culture lag as a factor.* Probably the most important factor leading to social disorganization is culture lag and the consequent maladjustment which results from the unequal rate of culture changes. As has been pointed out, changes in methods of providing remunerative labor for men and women have not kept pace with the technological developments which reduce the number of individuals required for tasks. Unemployment of individuals and the resulting consequences — inability to live in a proper manner accepted by the group — produce uncertainty and often dissatisfaction with the existing social, and particularly the economic, system. Where large numbers of individuals are unable to secure such work as they are capable of performing, a state of social disorganization is either present or very imminent.

Culture lag within the church is another factor of social disorganization. The traditional church of the United States was developed in rural societies. It was suitable for rural people and a rural culture. It held tenaciously to the infallibility of the Hebrew legends of the *Old Testament* as divinely transmitted. Modern America, however, is mostly urban in population distribution and in culture. Americans tend to glorify science which teaches the doctrine of natural laws instead of explaining natural phenomena as products of supernatural creation. Since the traditional church in the United States has failed to a large extent to keep pace with social change, many people in America attend no church whatever and a large portion of those who do go to religious services go out of habit rather than because they believe in many of the antiquated doctrines held to tenaciously by certain religious leaders. Since religion is one of the strongest bonds in any culture which holds the members to strict conformity with the mores of the group, a group which loses its religious faith is likely to resemble a ship without ballast or without a rudder. It lacks the stabilizing influence of religion. Therefore, the deterioration or loss of strength which established religion suffers when the church lags behind other portions of the culture is serious.

Where governments fail to adapt themselves to changed conditions, there is danger of insurrection or revolution to precipitate the desired or necessary changes. In Russia prior to 1917 the government of the

Czars was much as it had been before the period of modern production machinery, of motor cars, airplanes, and telegraph. A change in the governmental structure was inevitable. No part of culture so vital as government can lag too far behind without producing social disorganization. Such disorganization finally results in reconstruction of the government; in its most violent form such change is called revolution.

c. *Physical crises.* A geographical or physical crisis which produces violent and sudden cultural changes is likely to produce conditions of social disorganization. Faith in the traditional religion may be lost; government may fail to function satisfactorily in the crisis; customary economic practices may be of no value under changed conditions. For a period of time disorganization follows the crisis until adjustment is made to the new physical conditions. A pertinent example is the epidemic of Black Death which we have already discussed.

2. EVIDENCES OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

A society may be very "backward" or primitive in its culture pattern and at the same time be well organized. For example, in a primitive society wherein the members have not come in contact with other cultures the individuals do not question the rightness of the customary practices. Any member who deviates from the approved pattern of behavior of the group becomes subject to bitter condemnation, ridicule, and in many instances death or banishment from his group. A well-organized society may be "narrow," according to some points of view, because the members are intolerant of any ideas or practices which are different from those of their particular group.

In a disorganized society, on the other hand, members are tolerant of violators of the culture pattern; consequently there is much violation of that pattern. There is confusion and uncertainty as to what is right and as to what is desirable behavior both for the individual and for the group. Since there is lack of agreement there is great variation in the behavior of individuals.

a. *Unemployment.* A society in which large numbers of individuals are unable to secure remunerative employment is a society which is highly disorganized. The existence of such a society indicates that social changes have taken place without proper regard for cultural integration. Not only are unemployed individuals the product of improper balance between techniques of production and devices for keeping all members of society purposefully occupied, but they represent a

threat to existing culture patterns because of the discontent aroused and because of the lack of the stabilizing influence of work.

b. *Cultural and racial conflict.* In a land where hostile cultural or racial groups live side by side, inevitably there is social disorganization. Race riots indicate the lack of agreement and understanding which is essential to a unified group. The existence of organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Camelia, and others indicates serious opposition to groups living within the country and encourages active hostility between different groups.

c. *High divorce rate.* Broken homes, and the disregard of husbands and wives for the marriage bond and for their social responsibilities, are indices of disorganized societies. Homes broken by divorce not only indicate present social disorganization but forecast even greater disorganization to come.

d. *Crime and juvenile delinquency.* Crime and juvenile delinquency are in many cases outgrowths of the indices of disorganization listed above. In any well-organized, stable society the crime rate is relatively low as compared with that in a country which is undergoing rapid cultural changes.

D. *Personal Disorganization*

1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION

Individual attitudes, habits, and beliefs are products of social environment. Individuals growing to maturity in a culture which holds groups closely integrated in their behavior patterns are likely to be firmly bound to the traditional folkways, mores, and institutions. Perhaps not all personal disorganization can be traced to loss of the power of culture to guide and control the members properly, but a close relationship exists between the rapid increase in delinquency, crime, drunkenness, and suicides and a rapidly changing, disorganized society. A person is largely the product of his social environment. The criminal and the delinquent are no less social products.[6]

[6] There are criminals who are so mentally unbalanced that they easily fall into crime, but they must work in a social environment and this environment may encourage or repress their tendencies toward unsocial acts.

In this text the criminal is considered as an individual who is personally disorganized, although as Hiller points out, a criminal may be demoralized (his habits are organized along lines which are contrary to those which are sanctioned by society) rather than disorganized. In the beginning, the criminal is a product of a disorganized personality. No individual is born a criminal. Combinations of factors acting together make criminals.

2. FACTORS IN PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION [7]

a. *Migration.* Personal disorganization grows out of loss of standards of values and out of the weakening of the mores of a group. As has been previously noted, this condition may result from culture conflict whereby individual uncertainty is created and personal disorganization results. Thus, migration of individuals within a broad culture area may in many instances have disorganizing effects on the migrants. Migrants from rural sections to cities have a higher delinquency rate than individuals who are born and remain to live in urban centers. Migrants from the United States to Canada have a delinquency rate about twice as high as that of the native Canadian population; and migrants from Canada to the United States have a higher rate of delinquency than the native white population in the United States.[8]

Within a city itself the crime and delinquency rate — indices of personal disorganization — are highest in slum areas. These urban sections are the parts of cities which are changing most rapidly and continuously; they are the most disorganized. The movement of families in and out of slum sections is almost continuous. There is little long-time residence such as one finds in the "better residential sections" of the city. Burgess, in a study of Chicago, found that 443 out of 1000 children in slum areas had court records whereas in the residential districts of the same city — where the percentage of home ownership is high, family organization is normal, and the population is homogeneous — there were practically no children with court records.[9] Clifford R. Shaw points out that in all cities there are "delinquency areas" — districts where criminals and delinquents tend to concentrate. These areas are the "zones of transition" in the urban centers — districts bordering on the business and industrial centers. These areas have formerly been residential districts but are undergoing a transition from residence to business or industry. These sections of cities are characterized by poor physical conditions, decreasing population, and disintegration of the conventional culture patterns and organizations.[10]

b. *Heterogeneity of population.* Closely related to migration, and grow-

[7] Frequently the term *personal disorganization* means various forms of mental disorders suffered by individuals. In this chapter the term is used in the sense that the disorganized person is confused in social relationships. He has lost the stabilizing influence of faith in the mores and other culture patterns of his society.

[8] Cf. Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 594–598.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

[10] Cf. C. R. Shaw and others, *Delinquency Areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, pp. 204–206.

ing out of population movement, is heterogeneity of a population. When many racial and cultural groups live in close proximity and in continual intercourse, the traditional bonds of their cultures are weakened. Individuals become uncertain of the rightness and values of their customary mores. The high rate of delinquency in the United States is often attributed to the fact that this country is a "melting pot" of many cultures. There is no such homogeneity in the United States as is to be found in European countries.

c. *Poverty.* Poverty, with its associates — slum residence, bad housing, overcrowding, low standards of living, low educational standards and opportunities, inadequate recreational facilities, and transiency — coupled with the American practice of evaluating individuals on the basis of their economic possessions, is an important factor in personality disorganization, crime, and delinquency. In a society where the possession of wealth is glorified as the most important of all human attainments; and where conflicting cultures have tended to cause individuals to lose respect for their traditional mores, many poor people are inclined to secure the objectives which their condition and which American culture hold most desirable, that is, money and possessions, by any means possible.

d. *Urban residence.* Personality disorganization is greater in urban areas, particularly in certain sections of cities, than it is in rural communities. Delinquency and crime are higher in large aggregates of humans than in the more sparsely settled sections, probably because the factors associated with social disorganization and disintegration are stronger and more numerous in well-populated centers.

e. *Broken homes.* Children reared in homes which have been broken by death of a parent, by divorce, or by desertion are not so likely to grow into well-adjusted persons as are those who are reared in a home bound by the traditional ties of the family. The broken home is a phenomenon of the city, particularly the slum area of a city, to a greater extent than it is of the rural population or of the small town

3. PUNISHMENT AS TREATMENT OF DISORGANIZED PERSONS

a. *Theories or underlying principles behind punishment.* Society has traditionally held each individual to be responsible for his acts. On the basis of the theory of individual responsibility the maladjusted person who committed acts against society was punished for his behavior.

The earliest and perhaps the most widely accepted justification for

punishment has been that of revenge or vengeance. According to this theory, if one person commits an act against another, it is to be expected that the party injured will seek to secure vengeance on the person who committed the deed. This principle is expressed in Mosaic laws as "an eye for an eye."

A second viewpoint regarding wrongdoing stipulates that the offender must make restitution or recompense for his acts. If he damages a person's property, he must restore it or pay for the damages. Similarly, if a person violates a moral code or state law, he must also make reparation or pay in some way to compensate for the harm done.

An ancient belief holds that a person who suffers greatly for his misdeeds serves as an example to others and deters them from performing similar acts. In line with this belief persons have been executed in public, often with the most gruesome torture, for offenses varying from minor thefts to murder, in order to present such a ghastly picture to the spectators that they would be afraid to commit acts similar to the one for which the culprit was punished.

A more recently accepted theory states that punishment is administered for the purpose of reforming persons who are socially maladjusted. Through suffering an individual will consider the "error of his ways" and will conform to the pattern of behavior approved by his society.

b. *Why punishment often fails to accomplish its objectives.* Punishment is not successful in safeguarding society against persons who act against their fellows. Punishment does not change the social situation to which the undesirable act is a response. For example, a delinquent child living in a slum district surrounded by persons who are social outcasts who steal and commit other anti-social acts will not be guided into a socially approved way of behavior by being punished and then left in the same surroundings. The child is delinquent because he has been directed in that course by his social environment and its influences. Punishing him does not change his environment or its influences.

The punishment may, however, embitter the individual to such an extent that he feels society, the established order, is against him and that it is his duty to revenge himself on society for the injustices done him. By embittering him, punishment may cause the individual to lose his sense of responsibility or of his debt to society and to the state. He may become obsessed by a feeling that he has no responsibilities to anyone, that he must consider himself first and solely.

Furthermore, punishment does not change a person's attitude to

agree with what is desired by his group. For example, if a person's attitude against Negroes is such that he commits hostile acts against them, punishment is likely to strengthen the undesirable feelings against the race rather than to weaken them. Punishment often strengthens rather than weakens or changes undesirable attitudes.

4. PREVENTION OF PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION

If delinquency were the result of an individual's willful desire or intent to do wrong or to injure his associates, punishment might be justifiable and proper. On the other hand, if individual behavior is the product of social environment, emphasis should be placed on improving the environment or social background rather than on punishment. Society, instead of instituting such elaborate systems for punishing persons who do not conform to the approved behavior patterns, would do well to study measures aimed at preventing non- or anti-social conduct. Better and more adequate recreational facilities; a more practical variety of education; measures designed to prevent such conditions as broken homes, slum residence, poverty, and other causes of personal disorganization, might be attempted. The logical place to stop personal disorganization, crime, and delinquency lies in the social environment, particularly in the home and its surroundings.

Confinement or imprisonment of violators of the laws may frequently be necessary for the protection of society, but local and state authorities too often take measures to imprison wrongdoers without taking steps to change the conditions which are largely responsible for the crime and delinquency. Although most people agree without hesitation that prevention of personal disorganization is of greater importance and should receive more attention than the punishment a person receives after he has broken the law, nevertheless, relatively little attention has been given, except in isolated cases, to the matter of crime and delinquency prevention. A great present and future need in America is an increase in the attention given to the improvement of man's social environment.

E. *Social Planning*[11]

In a society which is changing as rapidly as that of the present it is inevitable that individuals and groups will attempt to look ahead and to direct the social movements along certain lines and toward certain

[11] For a discussion of "economic planning" see pp. 491–493.

desired objectives. In other words, in a changing society there will be social planning. The social planning may be in many different fields. For instance, with the improvement in medical science there are those who wish to organize medical practice so that all persons can secure the benefits of proper medical treatment and improved public health; in crowded cities there are those who see the advantages to be gained to the population through the elimination of slums and the provision of better houses for slum dwellers and strive to promote plans for slum clearance and resettlement projects; as the waste in our natural resources is manifest there are some who wish to establish systems of conservation which will reduce the waste and increase the usefulness of the resources; when rivers overflow their banks and cause great damage to property along their courses, certain individuals formulate plans for controlling the stream and at the same time for utilizing the unused power of the flowing water; when large portions of a society are impoverished and kept in conditions of ignorance and subjection by the upper classes, segments of the society sometimes recognize the need for social reorganization and social planning which will give the subjected lower classes greater opportunities for education and social advancement. The attempt on the part of individuals or groups to establish social goals and to set up organizations to attain those goals is known as social planning. The term social planning usually implies the planning and carrying out of the plan by some governmental agency. The following discussion of social planning is from the point of view that it is a function of the government; planning which may be carried on by private industries is not taken into consideration in the following pages.

1. ESSENTIALS FOR SOCIAL PLANNING

Social planning may be limited in its scope and involve only some phase of the material culture, such as slum clearance and the erection of better homes for slum dwellers within a particular city; it may involve some phase of the non-material culture such as revising the established educational system to more nearly meet the social needs; or it may be very inclusive so that almost all phases of social life are included in a comprehensive program of social planning such as was to be found in the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution.

a. *Goal.* Social planning requires the establishment of a goal or a social objective toward which to work. The objective may be very narrow in its scope, as is indicated above, or it may be very broad,

depending upon the nature of the field. In cases where the objectives are limited to some particular line of activity a limited number of people may be involved and a minimum of disturbance in the normal life activities may occur. When the objectives are broad such as was the case in the Soviet Union almost complete reshaping of the social order is involved in order to work toward the desired or established goals.

b. *Time.* The matter of time must be taken into account in social planning. In the Soviet Union the plans were for periods of five years with definite goals set for attainment at the end of each period.[12] In social planning involving even limited fields a period of time must be taken into consideration; furthermore the period must not be too long for no one can foresee what social changes may take place during a long period. Furthermore the establishing of time periods for the plans permit the planners and operators to measure the progress they are making toward their goals.

c. *Operation.* For social planning to be successful the planning and execution of the plans must be done by leaders who are thoroughly trained and are familiar with the work to be done, both in its broad social implications and in the technical details required in operating the plans. Furthermore, the officials charged with successfully putting the plans in operation must be given sufficient power and authority for the execution of the work involved in the program. In many cases the placing of such power in the hands of officials selected to carry out a social program means the regimentation of the people involved to a degree not otherwise encountered. For instance, if the plans call for the vaccination of all children in order to prevent smallpox, then the doctors must have authority to compel all children to be vaccinated or the plan will not attain its goal; if the program is slum clearance, then the officials charged with the responsibility for carrying out the plans must have authority to move the slum dwellers out of their customary abodes and to raze the old structures in order to replace them with more suitable buildings.

2. DIFFICULTIES IN SOCIAL PLANNING

There are serious difficulties to be encountered in social planning and carrying the plans out in any society, but in a society where the members object to arbitrary rule by governmental agents the difficulties are multiplied.

[12] For more complete discussion of social planning in the Soviet Union see Chapter 33, especially page 645.

Social planning on a broad scale is much more difficult than that which is limited in its scope, because the broader the program of planning, the more complex it becomes and the more unknown factors become involved in the program. Broad scale social planning involves predictions of future conditions which are often unpredictable because of the vast number of uncertainties which may completely change them. The question then arises, can any society control all the factors of social change and direct them along socially planned lines? [13] The answer is no. For instance, who could have foreseen, in 1900, all of the changes which the invention of the automobile has brought about; what government could have controlled the changes or have prevented them? Even the most complete dictator cannot completely control social change. When he lays plans for the future of his society he must do so in the hope that he can guess approximately what changes will occur and the direction they will take.

In a democracy not only the difficulties encountered by the totalitarian government in social planning are present but in addition there are obstacles peculiar to democratic governments. In the first place, it is extremely difficult for a democratic society to agree upon goals toward which social planning shall be aimed. For example, is there any educational goal which is accepted by all Americans as the objective of our public school system? To many the public schools are organized to train children so that they can earn more money than their parents did; to some the schools are organized to provide employment for certain individuals who have qualified for teaching positions; to some the schools are designed to make good citizens. There are diverse opinions as to what the goals are, or should be, for almost any institution in our society. In a democratic society with its pressure groups and political connections it is very difficult to secure well-trained and qualified men in public positions. Too frequently the man with a pleasing personality and favorable political connections is chosen to head an important governmental agency instead of the well-trained individual who may lack the pleasing social bearing or the more important political connections. Finally individuals who have been born and reared under a democratic system of government such as ours dread bureaucracy and the multiplication of governmental agencies and agents to regulate or to interfere with the usual pattern of life. In totalitarian

[13] Cf. Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 909–928; Kimball Young, *Sociology*, American Book Company, New York, 1942, pp. 944–964.

states where citizens are more or less accustomed to the arbitrary rule of governmental officials there is, perhaps, less objection to vesting individuals with enough authority to carry out social plans. But in a society which is characterized by its spirit of individualism such as found in the United States, citizens tend to fear governmental agencies which have too much power, and object to placing too much authority in the hands of the government, even in time of war. To many Americans, when confronted with the obvious shortcomings of our existing social system, the choice is between retaining the defective organization without the governmental regulation or correcting it through surrendering some of their existing individual rights. Many Americans would prefer not to have the government correct the defects.

However, with all the difficulties involved in social planning the trend in modern society is toward more social planning and social planning on a broader scale than has previously been customary in our society.

F. *Summary*

Cultures change in response to need for more desirable ways of accomplishing desired goals. These changes come about through inventions and through borrowing new traits from other groups. Invention is the utilization of known principles in new ways. These new ways of using known principles appear in response to felt need by the group and are developed by superior individuals.

Obviously people borrow only those ideas and practices from other groups which appear to be superior to the existing culture traits. The new elements incorporated into a culture may be substituted for existing practices or they may be changed so as to conform more nearly to the old culture patterns.

Culture change may be occasioned by changes in the physical habitat of a people; by changes in the number and composition of the population; and by new conditions arising from the use of new inventions.

In societies generally one finds resistance to culture change, both that which results from inventions and that which comes through the borrowing of new ideas or practices from other culture groups.

When one part of the culture changes more rapidly than another a condition known as culture lag exists. During the modern age material culture has tended to change more rapidly than non-material culture.

Culture lag, if the lag is extreme, often results in a condition known

as social disorganization. Social disorganization results also from culture or race conflict and from physical crises such as earthquake, tornado, drought, and other natural disturbances.

Signs or symptoms of a disorganized society include unemployment of large numbers of individuals capable of employment and willing to work; conflict among groups; a high percentage of broken homes; and abnormally high rates of crime and delinquency.

Personality disorganization is a product of the social environment. It results from a number of factors operating together, such as a rapidly changing social order wherein there is a pronounced culture lag; culture conflicts; loss of stabilizing influences usually found in a well-integrated family; disregard or loss of respect for religious bonds; residence in slum areas; attitudes against the dominant forces in the state and nation because these forces are regarded as operating unjustly to keep certain less powerful segments of society under subjection; and organizations seeking by direct and indirect means to secure for themselves the rights and goods which they desire.

Society has long sought to control and to prevent the form of individual disorganization called crime by punishing the offender. Since society is the source from which the maladjusted individual develops, attention might well be directed toward correcting some of the social conditions which are responsible for such personality disorganization.

Man has frequently wished to control the forces which produce culture change and to direct the course of the change. During recent years social planning has been made a basic part of the totalitarian state and has been rather widely employed by democratic societies. Social planning involves social control to a degree formerly unknown in the United States. So long as segments of a society are troubled by conditions which they regard as wrong or undesirable there will be those who plan ways to correct the conditions. It is probable that there will be an increase in social planning in America in the future.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What causes culture to change?
2. What beside need is essential for inventions to be made?
3. Give examples in your own experience of resistance to culture change.

4. Why will groups borrow some culture traits but not others?
5. When a new religion is adopted by a people is it substituted outright for the previously accepted faith? Explain.
6. Give examples of important culture changes which were occasioned by catastrophes.
7. Explain the term *culture lag*. Give examples to illustrate culture lag.
8. In what ways do different rates of culture change produce social disorganization?
9. Explain what factors operate to produce social disorganization among immigrant families.
10. Why do certain factors operate to produce social disorganization in slum sections of a city to a greater extent than in the better residential sections?
11. In what ways is personality disorganization associated with social disorganization?
12. What are the fallacies in the theories underlying punishment as a cure or remedy for crime and delinquency?
13. What are the difficulties involved in social planning in a democracy?

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